GUIDE TO THE NN11 CREEK FILE

[This file is concerned with the Muskhogean-speaking Indians of the Creek Confederacy. The confederacy constituted the principal political element in the territory of the present states of Georgia and Alabama from the sixteenth century through the early nineteenth century. The Creeks were divided geographically into two parts, one called the Upper Creeks, on the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers', the other called the Lower Creeks, on the lower Chattahoochee and Ocmulgee Rivers. The confederacy was broken up by the removal of most of its members to the present state of Oklahoma during the 1830's. Therefore, the materials in the file represent in part a historical reconstruction of Creek culture during this period, supplemented by materials from Creek settlers in Oklahoma. There were numerous tribes included in the confederacy, including the Creek proper (or Muskogee), Alabama and Hitchiti, as well as many other smaller groups.

There are three sources in the Creek file, all written by the same man, John R. Swanton, an anthropologist who was the acknowledged expert on the Indian tribes of the Southeastern United States. 1: Swanton deals with social organization and social usages, and touches upon traditional history, towns and town organization, law and government, and general customs. 2: Swanton is concerned with medical practices and religious beliefs, with information being included on cosmology, mythology, eschatology, ceremonies, supernatural beings, shamanism and medicine. 3: Swanton is a historically reconstructed description of the traditional arrangement of several Muskogee square grounds.

This file contains the essential data on the culture of these Indians and is adequate for many cross-cultural research purposes. However, because of the great time depth and of the many tribal units involved in the file, special care should be taken to insure comparability of materials. Swanton worked both from historical records and from modern informants and was a careful anthropologist, so the data should be fairly reliable. The file does give a good picture of Creek life and culture, and was processed in 1956.]

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173 story tellers or that the Creeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation; but we know from several [211] sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta repre- [101] sented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.[17] This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground,"[18] and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

173 Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. 539 Milfort,[19] who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégy ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crëck."[20] We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own tástânagis and its head tástânâgi. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otciapofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for

[17] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 215-254.

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 208.

[19] Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes différens voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëck. Paris, 1802.

[20] On the title page of Milfort's work.

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One of these two moieties was called Hathagàlgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogàlgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanàlgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafàskàlgi, which is, however, applied to the tàstánàgàlgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagàlgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'màlgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tàgi or Hola'tàlgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagàlgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste. 616 [619]

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans. 616 773 539 526

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the 621 616 101

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same time from what town or towns each clan was reported. Numbers after the W and Tc tell how the clans were associated in phratries within the town, the 1's being in one phratry, the 2's in another, and so on.

Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Talladega	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	W	W		W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc.
Abihka-in-the-West	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(1)	Tc(4)	
Kan-tcati	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Otciapofa	W(1)	W(2)		Tc(3)		Tc(4)	W(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Tulsa Little River	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)		Tc(5)	W(5)	?(6)	Tc(7).
Lutcapoga	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(6)	?(7).
Okfuskee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	Tc(9).
Tcatoksofka	W	W	W	W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Nuyaka	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Talmutcasi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pakan tallahassee	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6?).
Wiogulki	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W?(2)	Tc(3)	W?(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Tukpafka	W			W		Tc	Tc	Tc	
Asilanabi	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)
Okchai (probably same connections).	W	W	W	W	W	Tc		Tc	Tc.
Łálogálga	?					?		?	
Wiwohka	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	(?5)	?(6)	?(7 perhaps 6).
Tuskegee	W(1)	W(2)	?(3)	W(4)	Tc?(4)		Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc?(6).
Koasati No. 2	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2).

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Snake
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W							
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati		Tc(8)						
Otciapofa		Tc(8)	W(9)	Tc(10)				
Tulsa Little River		?(8)	?(5)		Tc(5)	?(3)	Tc(9)(?)	
Lutcapoga		?(6)		?(4)	?(7)	?(7)		
Okfuskee		Tc(8)	Tc(6)	Tc(5)			Tc(5)	
Tcatoksofka						W	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(2)	Tc(7)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(7)	Tc(7)	Tc(4)	
Nuyaka								
Talmutcasi		?						
Pakan tallahassee	W(2)			W(2?)			W(2?)	
Wiogulki		Tc(5)		W?(2)	Tc(6)		W?(2)	Tc(2).
Tukpafka		Tc						
Asilanabi		Tc(4)		Tc(2)			Tc(2)	
Okchai (probably same connections).				W			W	
Łálogálga								
Wiwohka	?(2)	?(6)	?(4)	?(3)	?(6)		?(3)	?(3).
Tuskegee		Tc(6)		Tc(4)				
Koasati No. 2								

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Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Fox	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Otter	Teowasta	Tapascola
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)								
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tosti								
Otciapofa								
Tulsa Little River					?(9)	Tc(10)		
Lutcapoga							?(1)	
Okfuskee								
Teatokofka								
Abihkutci	Tc(7)	Tc?(7)	W(1)	Tc?(5)	Tc(6)			
Nuyaka								
Taimutcasi								
Pakan tallahassee			W(1)		Tc(4)			
Wiogufki								
Tukpafka								
Asilanabi						W(2)?		
Okchai (probably same connections).								
Łáłogtiga								
Wiwohka			?(1)		?(5)		?(6)	
Tuskegee					Tc(5)			
Kosati No. 2								Tc(2).

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Tukabahchee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Atasi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3?)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Kealedji	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	W(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(4).
Łapłáko	W(1)	Tc(2)	W(2?)	W(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Liwahali	W	W	W		Tc?	Tc	Tc		Tc.
Hilibi		W(1)	W(2)	?	Tc(3)	Tc(4) [W(4) (J. L.)]		Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Eufaula (Upper)	W(1)	W(2?)	W(2?)	W(?)	W(6)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)[1]	Tc(5)	Tc(5).
Alabama	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(5)	Tc(3?) W[2]	Tc(4)	Tc(2)		Tc(4).
Alabama in Texas	?(1)	?(2)		?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Tukabahchee		Tc(8)		Tc(4)		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(8).
Atasi		Tc(7?)		Tc(4?)			Tc(4)	
Kealedji	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(4)			Tc(4)	Tc(7).
Łapłáko		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)		Tc(3)	
Liwahali								?
Hilibi	W(1)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)			Tc(3)	
Eufaula (Upper)	W	Tc(5)		W(6)			W(6)	
Alabama							Tc(3?)	
Alabama in Texas	?(4)						?(3)	

[1] Formerly it is said to have been White.

[2] According to Billy Yahola.

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Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łádjámi	Fish
Tukabahchee	Tc(4)	W(1)		Tc(6)				
Atasi								
Kealedji	Tc(4)	W(1)	Tc(7)				Tc(7)	
Łapáko				Tc(5)				
Łíwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)		W(1)						
Alabama				Tc(2)				
Alabama in Texas		?(1)		?(5)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tookote	Salt	Nokfaba	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapesola
Tukabahchee								
Atasi								
Kealedji		Tc(7)						
Łapáko								
Łíwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)								
Alabama				W(2)				
Alabama in Texas				?(2)				?(3).

LOWER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Kasihta	W(1)	W(2)	W?	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(3)	Tc(3).
Hitchiti	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	W(3)	?(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)
Okmulgee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(6)	Tc(37).
Yuchi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(1)	Tc(1)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Kasihta	W(2)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)				Tc(3).
Hitchiti		Tc(6)	Tc(4)					
Okmulgee	W(2)	Tc(6)		Tc(4)				Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(2)	Tc(6?)		Tc(3)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)	
Yuchi	W(2)							

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łádjámi	Fish
Kasihta			Tc?(6)	Tc(5)?				W?(1).
Hitchiti			Tc(4)		Tc(3)			
Okmulgee				Tc(5)				
Apalachicola			Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)			
Yuchi		W(1)		Tc(1?)				W(4).

Town	Toad	Cane	Tookote	Salt	Nokfaba	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapesola
Kasihta								
Hitchiti								
Okmulgee								
Apalachicola	Tc?(4)							
Yuchi								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

LOWER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Coweta	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(4).
Łikatcka	?	W			?	Tc	?		?.
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)	Tc(2)	?(3)	?(3)	W(4)	?(5)	?(5)	?(6)	?(4).
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	W(27)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Osochi	?	?(1)	?	?	?	?	?(2)	?	?.

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Coweta		Tc(4)		Tc(4)				Tc(4).
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(2)	?(6)	?(5)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	
Chiaha	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(5)				Tc(7).
Osochi	?(1)	?			?			?.

Town	Wokni	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Coweta				Tc(5)				
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(4)	?(1)	?(1)	?(5)	?(4)	?(1)		
Chiaha		W(1)			Tc?(37)			W?(7).
Osochi				?(2)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tookote	Salt	Noktaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Coweta								
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)		?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	
Chiaha								
Osochi								

SEMINOLE TOWNS [1]

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Ochasse	W?(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	(W)(37)	Tc(4).
Okfuskee	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(2)	?(5)	?(2)	?(4).
Tallahassutci	Tc(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6)		Tc(8).
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(3)	?(5)	?(5)		?(3).
Eufaula	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)		?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(7)	?(4).
Łiwahali	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(3)
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(3)	Tc (6)		Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Mikasuki		?		?	?		?		

[1] [For key to symbols, see pp. 157-158, category 116. -- Analyst

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NATURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CREEK TOWNS

Muskogee tribes: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa (including (a) the Tulsa group and (b) the Okfuskee group), Abihka, Holiwahali (or Liwahali), Hilibi, Eufaula, Wakokai, several Muskogee tribes whose connection with the rest is uncertain, including Atasi, Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Fushatchee, Wiwohka, Kealedji, and tribes such as the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee, which seem not to have been constituted parts of the original body.

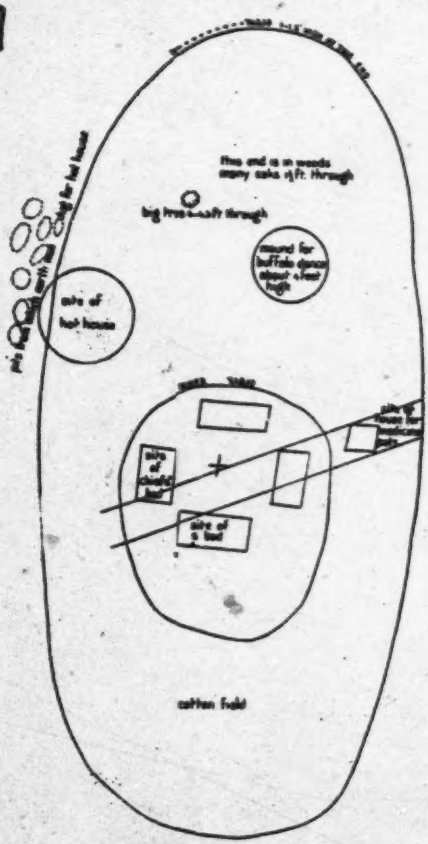

FIG. 49.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Maletta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912-14

Atcik hata (Hitchiti speaking tribes): Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Tamali, Chiaha.

Alabama.

Muklasa.

Koasati.

Tuskegee.

Yuchi.

Natchez.

Shawnee.

Tribes of uncertain connection: Osochi.

To these might almost be added the Chickasaw, since one band of Chickasaw lived with the Creeks for several years and they were all held to be of one fire with the Kasihta. According to the traditions given above the Kasihta and Coweta resulted from the segmentation of one original body, and it is probable that these and the next five towns in the above list were the original Muskogee speaking peoples in the confederacy. It seems likely that the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee were Muskogee in language but were late in uniting with the others. The Koasati were closely related by language with the Alabama, as was probably the case

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with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

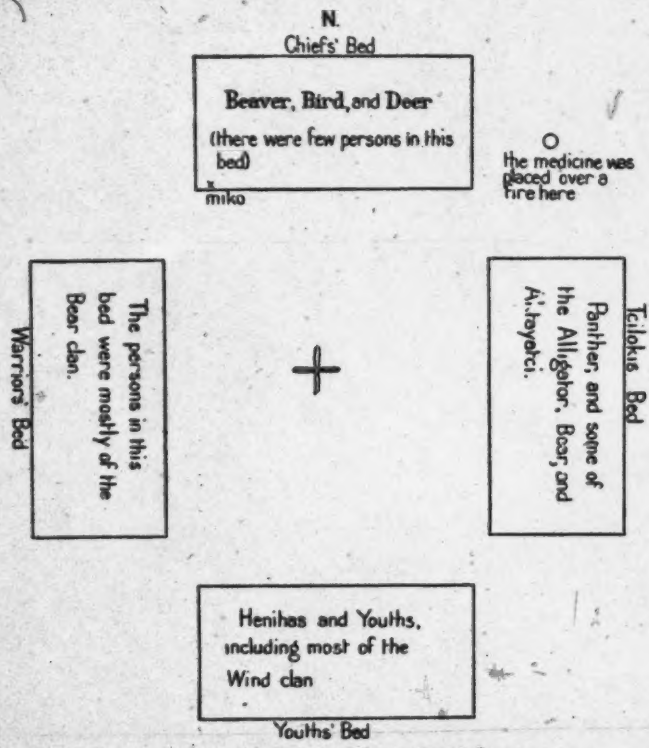

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196–197.

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619 621 [526] The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

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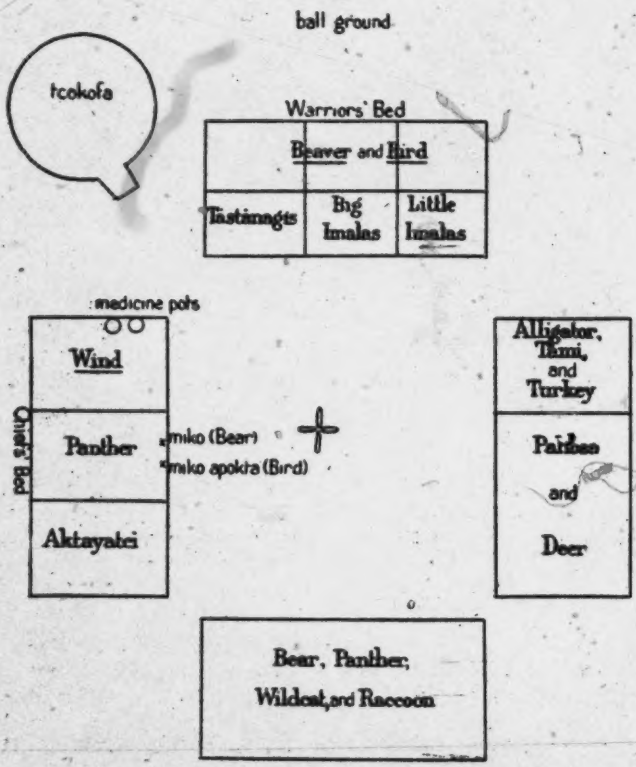

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (I)

619 •101 Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.	Tulsa Canadian.	Wiogufki.
Apalachicola.	Lutcapoga.	Tukpafka.
Hitchiti.	Okfuskee.	Wiwohka.
Sawokli.	Tcatoksofka.	Pakan tallahassee.
Okmulgee.	Abihkutci.	Okchai.
Kawaigi.	Nuyaka.	Łáłogálga.
Okitiyagana.	Abihka.	Asilahabi.
Yuchi.[20]	Abihka-in-the-West.	Koasati (1 and 2).
Coosa.	Talladega.	Tuskegee.
Otciapofa.	Kan-tcati.	
Tulsa Little River.	Wakokai.	

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RED

Coweta.	Eufaula Hobayi.	Łapłáko.
Łikatcka.	Tukabahchee.	Hilibi.
Chiaha.[29]	Kealedji.	Kitcopataki.
Osochi.	Hatchee tcabe.	Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Hotalgihuyana.	Atasi.	Talmutcasi.
Eufaula.	Holiwahali.	Alabama.

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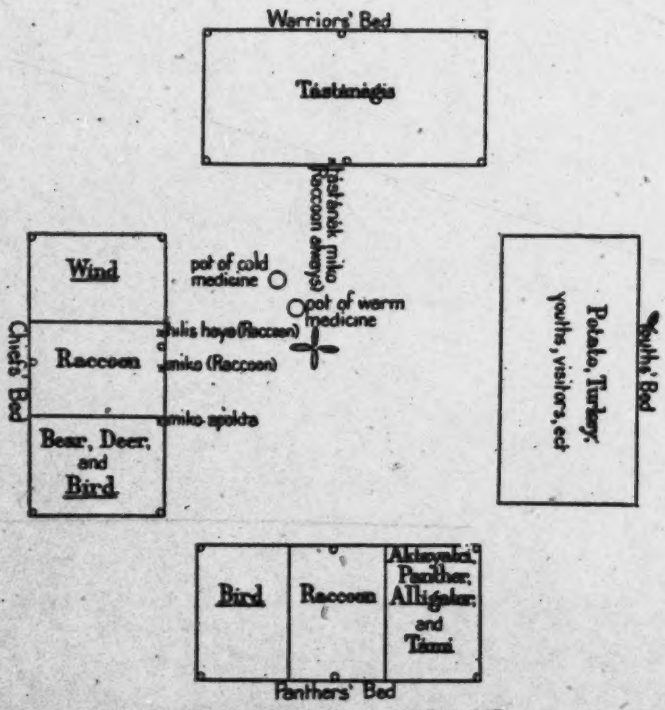

FIG. 18.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (II)

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This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Koasati was a Red town, a conclusion which

[29] The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Taitt who mentions a ball game May 3, 1772, in which the former defeated the latter (Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 382).

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114 to the Seminole grounds, but information was obtained regarding one
344 of these, Ochesee Seminole, which had been discontinued in 1912, when I visited the Seminole squares, but was afterwards revived.

000 In order to make the material obtained in 1929 intelligible, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the Creek political, social, and ceremonial organization.

101 The name Creek is a shortened form of Ochesee Creek Indians, a name which English traders from South Carolina came to apply to that part of the Indians of the Creek Confederation who were living upon Ocmulgee River in the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. The word Ochesee signifies "people of a different speech" in the language of the Hitchiti, one of the minor constituents of the Creek Confederacy, being equivalent to the word Tciloki in the Creek or Muskogee language. It was applied to the Creeks proper or Muskogee by the Hitchiti along with many other tribes, but came in some way to be particularly associated with the Muskogee and the river upon which they were then living.

101 Anciently there seems not to have been a single term applicable
619 to all of the Muskogee, the latter name having been unknown to the Spaniards who first entered this section. It does not make its appearance until the English had settled in the Carolinas. The origin of the word is uncertain, but there are indications that it was derived from Shawnee, since a band of Shawnee lived for a time near what is now Augusta, Ga., and from a very early period occupied an intermediate position between South Carolina and Georgia on the one hand and the Creek Nation on the other. It is probable that there were originally several tribes speaking the same language but having separate names and that the necessity for a distinguishing term for all did not present itself until the number of non-Muskogee tribes in the Confederation came to be considerable. As to the names of these Muskogee tribes, we seem to have indications of the following: Abihka, Coosa, Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Hilibi, Eufaula, Kasihta and Coweta (or perhaps an original tribe of which the Kasihta and Coweta were sections). There were some other groups on the lower course of Tallapoosa River, such as the Atasi, Kealedji, and Kolomi, which cannot be definitely placed and may have been independent of these or early subdivisions of them. Of course some may represent people of wholly different connections who had become assimilated to the Muskogee and had lost their own language and customs. This is rendered probable from the fact that we have

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several actual cases of such assimilation in later times. However, so far as the tribes enumerated are concerned, this must always remain in doubt. 101 619

When the tribes of the Confederation first became known to white people, they were distributed geographically into two main sections to which the names Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks have become attached. The former were on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers and the upper course of Alabama River in the present state of Alabama, the latter on the lower and middle courses of the Chattahoochee, which now forms part of the boundary between Alabama and Georgia. It was this latter division principally which lived upon Ocmulgee River for a time and thus gave rise accidentally to the popular English name for the entire people. A minor division also existed between those Creeks living on the middle course of Coosa River and those centering about the lower Tallapoosa, the two being sometimes designated as Upper and Middle Creeks, respectively. In the distribution of the original Muskogee tribes, the Abihka and Coosa constituted the greater part of the Upper Creeks, while the Kasihta and Coweta were the dominating element among the Lower Creeks. The Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, Łiwahali, Łapłàko, Kolomi, and a number of towns descended from the Coosa, including Otciapofa, the Tulsa towns, and the Okfuskee towns, besides several minor groups, formed the bulk of the Middle Creeks. The Eufaula had the distinction of being connected with all three. Their oldest seat seems to have been in the Upper Creek country; later they established themselves among the Middle Creeks and about the period of first white contact they formed a colony well down Chattahoochee River, among the Lower Creeks. To complete the story of their migrant habits, we may add that they seem to have furnished the first true Muskogee contingent to the Florida Seminole in the Red House or Tcuko Tcati Indians north of Tampa Bay.

Tradition seems to be borne out by circumstantial evidence in pointing to the Lower Creek country as that region in which the tribes in question began their federation. According to the story this had to do on the one hand with the division of the Muskogee into the Kasihta and Coweta and on the other with the relations between them and the non-Muskogee elements, particularly the Apalachicola. The relations of the Kasihta and Coweta to each other are somewhat uncertain, for while it is at times implied that they resulted from the fission of a single body of people, the most popular traditions speak of them as having come from the west 101 619 642

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as two distinct tribes and it is possible that the one-tribe idea may be the result of later rationalizing. The story goes that, having defeated all of their enemies, the Kasihta and Coweta instituted periodical ball games as a kind of "moral equivalent for war," and afterwards, when either of them established relations of friendship with other Indians, whether Muskogee or not, these Indians entered on the same side as their friends so that this dual system soon became general.

One of these sides, that of Kasihta, came to be known as the White or Peace side, though it did not receive that specific name; while the side of Coweta was the Red or War side.

At the same early period the Muskogee entered into intimate relations with the Apalachicola Indians, who spoke a dialect related to Hitchiti. This was the outgrowth of a treaty of peace following upon hostilities, or to avert threatened hostilities. The Apalachicola were then taken into the Confederation on the same side as Kasihta. In some particulars, however, they are held to have been more representative of the White towns than Kasihta and for that reason their settlement came to be called Tâlwa Łâko, "Big Town." Indeed, the migration legend related to Oglethorpe by Tchikilli implies that Kasihta was at least partly Red, their hearts being "red on one side and white on the other." However, in all later times Kasihta assumes the leadership of the White towns among the Lower Creeks, as does Coweta the leadership of the Red towns. Four having been the sacred number—the sacred formulae being gone through four times, four arbors or beds constituting the ceremonial buildings in the square ground and four sticks the number employed in the ceremonial fires—it is not surprising that the Creeks should select two towns from the Upper Creeks, taken collectively, to add to these two leading Lower Creek towns. The White towns of the Upper Creeks were represented by Abihka, the Red towns by Tukabahchee, the second being from that group I have called Middle Creeks, the other from the northernmost bounds of the Nation. These four towns were the "back sticks" of the Confederation, and each had a special ceremonial name, viz., Kasihta Łâko ("Big Kasihta"), Coweta Mahmayi ("Tall Coweta"), Tukabahchee Ispokogi, and Abihka Nâgi. Ispokogi was the name of the culture heroes of the Tukabahchee and it may be a Shawnee term. It bears a suspicious resemblance to that of the Kispokotha band of Shawnee. I do not know the meaning of Nâgi. The Abihka were also called specifically "the door-shutters" because they protected the northern frontier of the Confederation.

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In course of time the non-Muskogee element represented by the Apalachicola Indians was increased, first by other groups related to the last mentioned—such as the Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, and Tamali—who spoke closely related languages and called themselves Atcik-hata, a term said to have some reference to the ashes of the ceremonial fire in the square grounds. These Indians formed the greater part of the first Creek invaders of Florida who presently constituted the Seminole nation. The leading town in this southward movement was Oconee, almost certainly affiliated with the Atcik-hata, and the titular leadership among the Seminole remained with them until after the Seminole War. However, the complexion of the Seminole as a whole was changed from Atcik-hata or Hitchiti, to Muskogee by the multitudes of refugees which fled to Florida after the Creek War of 1813-14. The later removal to Oklahoma seems to have reversed the situation since more than two-thirds of the Indians now in Florida speak a language of the Hitchiti group.

There is strong evidence that the Chiaha Indians originally spoke Hitchiti and that the Mikasuki of Florida branched off from them, but some early event in their history separated them from the other Atcik-hata and made them allies of the Coweta. This friendship they shared with the Osotci who seem originally to have belonged to the Timucua linguistic group of Florida. To the Upper Creeks were added the distinct but dialectically related Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, while bands of Yamasi and Apalachee were temporarily connected with both Upper and Lower Creeks. The Alabama town of Tawasa seems to have had an origin similar to that of the Osotci. At a very late date the wholly alien Yuchi population was admitted into the Confederation, most of them making their home among the Lower Creeks though there was a small body also among the Upper Creeks. And more divergent still were the Shawnee, from among whom two towns made their homes in Creek territory for several decades during the eighteenth century. One of these probably continued on into the early years of the nineteenth century.

It may be added that towns are known to have changed from one side to the other. Alabama was once a White town closely associated with the Okchai, but later they were affiliated with the Tukabahchee and came to be reckoned as Red. Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Wiwohka are also said to have shifted from one side to the other. In the case of the two last this may be partially explained by the fact that, if we may trust native tradition, they were built up of refugees from other settlements.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogalga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłako, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tami with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

1: Swanton, John R. Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy. Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1924-1925, pp. 23-472, 859-900. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928.

7 plates; 107 text figures; 6 genealogical tables; tabular lists; bibliography; index.

Yale: A52.040.42.cop. 1.

[This source is the first part of a comprehensive ethnography of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy. The second part, which deals with religion and medicine, is filed as 2: Swanton in this file. Swanton has worked with historical materials as well as directly with Creek remnants in Oklahoma. Large sections of the source are quotations from earlier writers who had direct contact with functioning traditional Creek culture. Most of the work is concerned with descriptions of Muskogee, Alabama, and Hitchiti-speaking groups. However, frequent reference is made to Chickasaw, Choctaw, Natchez, Cherokee, and other Southeastern tribes. Swanton includes sections on Creek traditional history, Creek towns and town organization, law and government, kinship, and general customs. Diagrams of town squares and seating arrangements therein are furnished in

1: Swanton, John R.

all possible cases. Swanton has organized in tabular form lists of Creek towns and their associations with each other, as well as Creek clans and clan-linkages. --Analyst]

Field date: 1911-12
Analyst: W. W. Stein

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1956

2: Swanton, John R. Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians. Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1924-1925, pp. 473-672. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928.

6 plates; 1 text figure; bibliography.

Yale: A52.040.42.cop.1.

[This source is the second part of a comprehensive ethnography of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy. The first part, which deals with social organization, is filed as 1: Swanton in this file. For background information see 1: Swanton, category 111. Swanton includes here materials on Creek cosmology, mythology, supernatural beings, eschatology, and ceremonies. The last part of the source deals with shamanism and medicine. The material in this source is indexed at the end of the volume of which this source is a part. This index is filed as pp. 859-900, category 116, 1: Swanton in this file. --Analyst]

Field date: 1911-12
Analyst: W. W. Stein

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1956

3: Swanton, John R. Modern Square Grounds of the Creek Indians. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 85, pp. 1-46. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1931.

5 plates; 15 text figures; 2 genealogies.

Yale: A52.60.85.

[This source is primarily an historically reconstructed description of the traditional arrangement of several Muskogee square grounds. One section on Alabama is included. Supplementary information on contemporary Creek square grounds is given and five end plates of photographs of modern square grounds are included. The text figures consist of plans of the square grounds and seating arrangements therein. The discussion includes scattered references to rites and ceremonies associated with the square grounds and to local officials. Seating arrangements of Creek clans are given. The author made a second visit to the Creek country in Oklahoma in 1929 to gather data on the organization of contemporary square grounds. He conceives this paper as a duplication and a supplementation of his earlier work, filed here as 1: Swanton, NN11 Creek. --Analyst]

Field date: 1911-1912, 1929
Analyst: W. W. Stein

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1956

1: Swanton ✓E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL USAGES OF THE INDIANS OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

By John R. Swanton

INTRODUCTION

114 [121] In Bulletin 73[1] I reviewed the history of the Indian tribes which constituted temporary or permanent parts of the Creek Confederacy, and extended consideration to some of the peoples beyond with which they had intimate dealings, the tribes of Florida, and the Chickasaw, even including a brief mention of the Choctaw. This work was mainly an objective study, based upon Spanish, French, and English documents—the story of these tribes as related by the Europeans who came in contact with them.

A similar history of the same peoples from internal sources is, of course, impossible, the nearest approach to it being in the so-called origin or migration legends which contain but few facts of real historical value and must be assumed to apply only to a relatively recent period. A substitute for them must be sought in the archeological record left by the tribes as interpreted through an intensive study of the ethnology of their living representatives.

I have incorporated all of the Creek origin myths which I have been able to collect into the present paper. The rest of the space is devoted mainly to a discussion of the social and political organizations of the Creeks and their general social customs and usages.

The greater part of the present material was collected within the limits of the former Creek Nation, Okla., between September, 1911, and May, 1912, and on several shorter trips during the years immediately following. 115 In this connection I wish to render a most grateful tribute to George Washington Grayson, the most prominent and intelligent of all Creek Indians of his time, their representative in every important conference and at every crisis in their affairs, and at the time of his death chief of the nation. He was deeply interested in the history and ethnology of his people and did everything in his power to facilitate the work of all students of them. He rendered most valuable service to the late Albert S. Gatschet, and afterwards did everything in his power to assist the investigations of the writer, as well as to render his visits personally comfortable and intellectually delightful. For much of the included material Mr. Grayson is responsible, directly or indirectly, and the author wishes that it be con-

[1] [See bibliography, p. 472, category 116. -- Analyst]

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND MEDICAL PRACTICES OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By John R. Swanton

GENERAL REMARKS

114 771 The southern Indians, like other peoples, dealt not only with their environment as it was but with their environment as they conceived it to be, and one of the most important branches of ethnology is that which concerns this latter concept. Unfortunately, at the present day comparatively little may be gathered regarding their attitude on the broader aspects of belief that is free from suspicion of white influence, while on the other hand no early traveler among the Indians was sufficiently interested in them and sufficiently sympathetic to obtain and transmit a correct account of it. The writer who most nearly filled these requirements was the trader Adair so often quoted in previous papers, but unfortunately his assistance on this particular side of aboriginal life is seriously injured by a prepossession that the Indians were descendants of "the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel," and he read this prepossession into all of the religious activities of the people observed by him. Particularly he concluded that the meaningless vocalic sounds used by his red friends in songs were so many forms of the name Jehovah and that their repetition was a conscious or subconscious adoration of the Hebrew deity. Nevertheless he was an acute and honest observer and faithful recorder of the things he actually heard and saw, so that it is usually possible to separate the facts from his deductions. With his help, the little that is furnished us by other writers, the information that I have myself been able to collect, and that obtainable from native myths and legends, the following outline of Creek religious beliefs has been put together.

THE COSMOS

772 Like all other primitive peoples, the southeastern Indians conceived of the earth as a flat plane overarched by a solid vault. To General Hitchcock Tukabahchee miko expressed the opinion that the world is square. Eakins, whose information comes principally from an Alabama Indian, says "they generally entertain the belief that the earth is a square figure, and entirely surrounded by water; and by going to the verge of the plain, they could step off."[1] And, in another

[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 269.

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754 "Stitches in the side, or small rheumatic pains, which are frequent with them [the Creeks], are often considered as the effect of some magic wound. They firmly believe that their Indian enemies have the power of shooting them as they lie asleep, at the distance of 500 miles. They often complain of having been shot by a Choctaw or Chickasaw from the midst of these nations, and send or go directly to the most cunning and eminent doctress for relief." [34] Male doctors prescribed for witchcraft equally with women.

•114 753 Some other diseases and some different methods of treating the above are given by Doctor Speck, to whose paper (Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 121–133) the reader is referred. Also cf. the same writer's Yuchi paper, Anthrop. Pubs. Univ. Mus., I, pp. 132–135.

753 Sickness was sometimes attributed to the absence of the soul from the body, and this was probably assigned as a principal cause of disease as well as a secondary cause. It was then the object of the doctor to induce it to come back. I have an Alabama story telling of such an occurrence. This is given by the same people as the specific cause of "slow fever." [34a]

753 177 Adair gives us in one invaluable paragraph an account of the origin and naming of a new disease. He says:

"In 1767, the Indians were struck with a disease, which they were unacquainted with before. It began with sharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and swelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and also the testicles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like space of time went off gradually, without any dangerous consequence, or use of outward or inward remedies: they called it *Wahka Abeeka*, 'the cattle's distemper,' or sickness. Some of their young men had by stealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themselves, and were smitten in that strange manner, by having their heads, necks, etc., magnified like the same parts of a sick bull. They first concluded, either to kill all the cattle, or send them immediately off their land, to prevent the like mischief, or greater ills from befalling the beloved people—for their cunning old physicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former resolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would spoil their open cornfields; upon which account, the traders arguments had no weight with these red Hebrew philosophers. But fortunately one of their head warriors had a few cattle soon resented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reasoning proved so weighty, as to alter their resolution, and produce in them a contrary belief." [35]

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[34] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[34a] See p. 666.
[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 132.

3:Swanton E-5 (1[illegible]-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11

MODERN SQUARE GROUNDS OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By JOHN R. SWANTON,

ETHNOLOGIST, BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

(With Five Plates)

The writer has already published descriptions of many of the square grounds of the Creek Indians, the sacred areas where their busks and other annual ceremonies took place.[1] In collecting this material, however, my endeavor was to learn the most ancient arrangement of the several grounds and the arrangement of those grounds no longer in use. During the summer of 1929 I visited the Creek country again to secure information regarding the organization of the extant grounds. This work duplicates and supplements the earlier to a considerable extent, but the main purpose was somewhat different.

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Besides the three Yuchi grounds, now in the vicinity of Kellyville, Bixby, and Depew, respectively, with which I did not concern myself, there are, or were in 1929, 17 square grounds, as follows: Abihka and Otciapofa near Henryetta; Nuyaka north of Okemah; Łâłogâlga[2] or Fish Pond and Âsilanabi west of Okemah; two Tulsa grounds near Holdenville; Tukabahchee at Yeager; Łapłâko near Wetumka; Alabama east of Alabama Station on the Frisco Railroad; Eufaula west of Eufaula; Kasihta east of Okmulgee; and Hilibi, Kealedji, Okchai, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki about Hanna. Abihka, Otciapofa, Nuyaka, Łâłogâlga, Kasihta, Hilibi, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki were visited, and new information obtained regarding all of the others except Eufaula, of which I secured very good descriptions 17 years before. The Eufaula ground, that of Âsilanabi, one of the Tulsa grounds, Tukabahchee, Alabama, and Okchai were visited in the winter of 1911-1912. Kasihta is the only square ground representing the Lower Creeks now maintained. It was not in existence during my earlier work in the Creek Nation, nor were Łapłâko or Kealedji.[3] These two last and the Yuchi grounds are the only ones that I have not seen. I was present at part of the busks at Otciapofa, Nuyaka, and Pakan Tallahassee. Not much attention was devoted

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[1] 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1924-25, pp. 204-296, 1928.

[2] In the present paper, â indicates the obscure a in such a word as ability, and ł or Ł is a surd l approximating thl in English.

[3] But see p. 35 regarding the former.

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114 to the Seminole grounds, but information was obtained regarding one
344 of these, Ochesee Seminole, which had been discontinued in 1912, when I visited the Seminole squares, but was afterwards revived.

000 In order to make the material obtained in 1929 intelligible, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the Creek political, social, and ceremonial organization.

101 The name Creek is a shortened form of Ochesee Creek Indians, a name which English traders from South Carolina came to apply to that part of the Indians of the Creek Confederation who were living upon Ocmulgee River in the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. The word Ochesee signifies "people of a different speech" in the language of the Hitchiti, one of the minor constituents of the Creek Confederacy, being equivalent to the word Tciloki in the Creek or Muskogee language. It was applied to the Creeks proper or Muskogee by the Hitchiti along with many other tribes, but came in some way to be particularly associated with the Muskogee and the river upon which they were then living.

101 Anciently there seems not to have been a single term applicable
619 to all of the Muskogee, the latter name having been unknown to the Spaniards who first entered this section. It does not make its appearance until the English had settled in the Carolinas. The origin of the word is uncertain, but there are indications that it was derived from Shawnee, since a band of Shawnee lived for a time near what is now Augusta, Ga., and from a very early period occupied an intermediate position between South Carolina and Georgia on the one hand and the Creek Nation on the other. It is probable that there were originally several tribes speaking the same language but having separate names and that the necessity for a distinguishing term for all did not present itself until the number of non-Muskogee tribes in the Confederation came to be considerable. As to the names of these Muskogee tribes, we seem to have indications of the following: Abihka, Coosa, Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Hilibi, Eufaula, Kasihta and Coweta (or perhaps an original tribe of which the Kasihta and Coweta were sections). There were some other groups on the lower course of Tallapoosa River, such as the Atasi, Kealedji, and Kolomi, which cannot be definitely placed and may have been independent of these or early subdivisions of them. Of course some may represent people of wholly different connections who had become assimilated to the Muskogee and had lost their own language and customs. This is rendered probable from the fact that we have

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL USAGES OF THE INDIANS OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

By John R. Swanton

INTRODUCTION

114 [121] In Bulletin 73[1] I reviewed the history of the Indian tribes which constituted temporary or permanent parts of the Creek Confederacy, and extended consideration to some of the peoples beyond with which they had intimate dealings, the tribes of Florida, and the Chickasaw, even including a brief mention of the Choctaw. This work was mainly an objective study, based upon Spanish, French, and English documents—the story of these tribes as related by the Europeans who came in contact with them.

A similar history of the same peoples from internal sources is, of course, impossible, the nearest approach to it being in the so-called origin or migration legends which contain but few facts of real historical value and must be assumed to apply only to a relatively recent period. A substitute for them must be sought in the archeological record left by the tribes as interpreted through an intensive study of the ethnology of their living representatives.

I have incorporated all of the Creek origin myths which I have been able to collect into the present paper. The rest of the space is devoted mainly to a discussion of the social and political organizations of the Creeks and their general social customs and usages.

The greater part of the present material was collected within the limits of the former Creek Nation, Okla., between September, 1911, and May, 1912, and on several shorter trips during the years immediately following. In this connection I wish to render a most grateful
• 115 tribute to George Washington Grayson, the most prominent and intelligent of all Creek Indians of his time, their representative in every important conference and at every crisis in their affairs, and at the time of his death chief of the nation. He was deeply interested in the history and ethnology of his people and did everything in his power to facilitate the work of all students of them. He rendered most valuable service to the late Albert S. Gatschet, and afterwards did everything in his power to assist the investigations of the writer, as well as to render his visits personally comfortable and intellectually delightful. For much of the included material Mr. Grayson is responsible, directly or indirectly, and the author wishes that it be con-

[1] [See bibliography, p. 472, category 116. -- Analyst]

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115 sidered in some degree a monument to him. Mr. Grayson had begun to compile a history of his life which would have been of the greatest interest to both the ethnologist and the historian, but unfortunately death intervened before it was well under way. By the courtesy of [127] his family I have been able to incorporate a few items from that manuscript in the present work. I also wish to mention my indebted- [128] ness to Zachariah Cook, of Wetumka, Okla., also deceased, who acted as my interpreter during the greater part of my travels away from Eufaula, Mr. Grayson's home. Being interested in all of the matters under investigation, himself a former chief of Tukabahchee and hence presiding officer at the annual ceremonies, he proved of the greatest utility in many ways and was able to contribute largely from his own experience. Another leading informant was Jackson Lewis, a Hitchiti doctor who stood high in the estimation of both Indians and whites. Valuable material was obtained from Rev. William McCombs, a native Baptist missionary, who has ministered to Creek congregations for a great many years; from Legus Perryman of the old Okmulgee town, at one time head chief of the nation; from Judge James R. Gregory, also of Okmulgee; and from Ellis Childers, chief of Chiaha and formerly prominent in Creek national affairs. Many other Creeks and Seminoles contributed to the work directly or indirectly, among whom may be mentioned the following: Jim Star, Siah Gray, Jackson Knight, Alex Tecumseh, Barney McGillivray, John Goat, George Hill, Fulotkee, Billy Yahola, Koakotci, Yatihka Hadjo, George Hicks, Hannah Jones, Sanger Beaver, Wotkotci, Caley Proctor, Sawanok Hadjo, Nokosili, Pahoshobaiotci, Tal-mutcas Hadjo, Sam Laslie, Pin Hadjo, Sarty Deacon, Tob Hill, Dave Harry, Silas Jefferson, Dave Cummings, Tom Culler, George Holaby, William Sullivan, Washington Riley, Sarty Cowee, Kasihta Yahola, Goliah Jones, Big Jack, Woksi Hadjo, John Baker, William Fish, Caesar Buckle, Jim Sapulpa, Will Sapulpa, Joe Wotko, Winey Tiger, Sam Haynes, John Spott, John Buck, Billy Tiger, William Berryhill, John Davis, Philip Marshall, Tob Tiger, Yonasi, Katca Holahta, Tciban Hadjo, Billy Koker, George Colbert, Imała, Okusky Miller, Caesar Jones, and Naktcagotci. My data from the Alabama Indians living in Texas was obtained chiefly from two old people, George Henry and his wife Celissy Henry, and from my interpreter, Charlie Thompson. Some information on the Koasati Indians was secured from Jackson Langley, chief of the Koasati band in Louisiana, and from his mother, Salin Langley. The spelling of many of these names, particularly the native ones, is probably different from that which they themselves employed.

127 This material has been supplemented liberally by means of the older authorities on the tribes under discussion, particularly Adair, Bartram, Swan, Hawkins, Hitchcock, and certain anonymous French

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL USAGES OF THE INDIANS OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

By JOHN R. SWANTON

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127 writers, and this is particularly true of that part of the work dealing with customs like war which are now obsolete or obsolescent but could be made subjects of direct observation at the time in which they wrote. I have also made liberal use of the material published in recent years by Prof. Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, particularly his paper on "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town" (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, vol. II, pt. 2). His more extensive work on the Yuchi has been mentioned only incidentally, as the Yuchi are an alien tribe incorporated into the Creek Confederacy in comparatively modern times. Their culture, however, presents numerous features resembling that found among the Creeks, and Professor Speck's paper (Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1) should be read in conjunction with the material here presented. The valuable and hitherto unpublished Hitchcock material was placed at the disposal of the Bureau of Ethnology through the kindness of Mrs. W. A. Croffut, General Hitchcock's niece.

194 The following peculiar phonetic signs are used: ł, unvoiced l; ȧ, obscure a; tc, English ch; c, English sh; ⁿ, nasalization of the preceding vowel; x and ɣ (in Natchez), palatal and velar spirants; vowels generally have continental values.

NATIVE LEGENDS DEALING WITH CREEK HISTORY

Origin Legends

173 The origin myths of the Hitchiti and Alabama, minor components of the Creek Nation, have been given in Bulletin 73.[1] Here it is proposed to include the origin myths of the dominant tribe, that which constituted by far the largest portion numerically and from which came the crystallizing force which united them all into one political body. Who the Muskogee were and what towns they occupied has been explained in the bulletin above mentioned. The origin legend, or the origin legends, of these people differed to some extent in the several Muskogee towns, but there was a harmony between the various versions, perhaps brought on pari passu with the progressive unification of the confederacy. There are many references to this legend in very general terms, but several stories have survived, which, though usually fragmentary, shed most valuable light upon the nature of the original. The earliest of these legends is that given to Governor Oglethorpe by one Chekilli,[2] who is styled "emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks," and was probably a Kasihta. At any rate the legend seems to be from Kasihta sources. According
173 to the American Gazetteer, as quoted by Gatschet, "This speech
212 was curiously written in red and black characters, on the skin of a

[1] Swanton, Early Hist. Creek Inds., Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 173-174, 191-192.
[2] Perhaps from Tsalaki Iltci, "Cherokee killer."

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173 young buffalo, and translated into English, as soon as delivered.
212 . . . The said skin was set in a frame, and hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster."[3] Of course this means that pictures had been made on the blanket similar to those in the Delaware Walam Olum, to mark the various important events narrated by the speaker. It has unfortunately been lost, along with the accompanying English text, but a German translation of the English was preserved, and from this Doctor Gatschet had the legend rendered again into English and also into Creek for his "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians." This version, including one or two corrections made by Doctor Gatschet in one of his personal copies of the work, is as follows:

173 "WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER
539 CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO 1735, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS:

"[Speech, which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by][4] Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks; Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head-chief of the Cussitaws, Tomechaw, War King; Wali, War-captain of the Palachucolas, Poepiche, King; Tomehuichi, Dog-king of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War-chief of the Okonees, Tuwechiche, King; Whoyauni, Head War-chief of the Chehaws and of the Hokmulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Osoches; Opithli, King of the Jawocolos [Sawokli]; Ewenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War-captain of the Eufantees [misprint for Eufaulees ?]; and thirty other Warriors.[5]

"At a certain time the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The Earth opened and the Cussitaws came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the Earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so. Their children, nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

"They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river—came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years;

[3] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 298.

[4] This bracketing is copied from Gatschet.

[5] The following transliterations and translations of a part of these names were furnished by the late G. W. Grayson and A. S. Gatschet: Anstitci, to wound; Itici, to kill, or putting something down; Osta, four (?); Tometos, (a number of creatures) flying; Wali, from wabali, south (though Gatschet suggests the name of the coast province of Georgia, Guale, see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80 et seq.); Poepitos, to cause to win; Hoyabini, to pass by; Stimelakostci, somebody having caused something to come; Hopili, leg.

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but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain was a sound as of singing. They sent to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountaire. It thunders to this day; and men are very much afraid of it.

"They here met a people of three different Nations. They had taken and saved some of the fire from the mountain; and, at this place, they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and of other things.

"From the East, a white fire came to them; which, however, they would not use. From Wahalle [the South] came a fire which was blue; neither did they use it. From the West, came a fire which was black; nor would they use it. At last, came a fire from the North, which was red and yellow. This they mingled with the fire they had taken from the mountain; and this is the fire they use to-day; and this, too, sometimes sings. On the mountain was a pole which was very restless and made a noise, nor could any one say how it could be quieted. At length they took a motherless child, and struck it against the pole; and thus killed the child. They then took the pole, and carry it with them when they go to war. It was like a wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and of the same wood.

"Here they also found four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed their virtues: First, *Pasaw* [pasa], the rattlesnake root; second, *Micowsanochaw* [miko hoyanidja], red-root; third, *Sowatchko* [sowatcko], which grows like wild fennel; and fourth, *Eschalapootchke* [hitci laputcki], little tobacco. These herbs, especially the first and third, they use as the best medicine to purify themselves at their Busk. At this Busk, which is held yearly, they fast, and make offerings of the first fruits. Since they have learned the virtues of these herbs, their women, at certain times, have a separate fire, and remain apart from the men five, six, and seven days, for the sake of purification. If they neglected this, the power of the herbs would depart; and the women would not be healthy.

"About this time a dispute arose, as to which was the oldest, and which should rule; and they agreed, as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay which is yellow at first, but becomes red by burning. They would then go to war; and whichever Nation should first cover its pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of their enemies, should be the oldest.

"They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered their pole first, and so thickly that it was hidden from sight. Therefore, they were looked upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest. The Chickasaws covered

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their pole next; then the Atilamas [Alabamas]; but the Obikaws [Abihkas] did not cover their pole higher than to the knee.

"At that time there was a bird of large size, blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter than an eagle, which came every day and killed and ate their people. They made an image in the shape of a woman, and placed it in the way of this bird. The bird carried it off, and kept it a long time, and then brought it back. They left it alone, hoping it would bring something forth. After a long time, a red rat came forth from it, and they believed the bird was the father of the rat. They took council with the rat how to destroy its father. Now the bird had a bow and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bow-string, so that the bird could not defend itself, and the people killed it. They called this bird the King of Birds. They think the eagle is also a great King; and they carry its feathers when they go to War or make Peace; the red mean War; the white, Peace. If an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him.

"After this they left that place, and came to a white footpath. The grass and everything around were white; and they plainly perceived that people had been there. They crossed the path, and slept near there. Afterward they turned back to see what sort of path that was, and who the people were who had been there, in the belief that it might be better for them to follow that path. They went along it to a creek called *Coloose-hutche*, that is, Coloose-creek, because it was rocky there and smoked.

"They crossed it, going toward the sunrise, and came to a people and a town named Coosaw. Here they remained four years. The Coosaws complained that they were preyed upon by a wild beast, which they called man-eater or lion, which lived in a rock.

"The Cussitaws said they would try to kill the beast. They digged a pit and stretched over it a net made of hickory-bark. They then laid a number of branches, crosswise, so that the lion could not follow them, and, going to the place where he lay, they threw a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth in great anger, and pursued them through the branches. Then they thought it better that one should die rather than all; so they took a motherless child, and threw it before the lion as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw the net, and killed him with blazing pine-wood. His bones, however, they keep to this day; on one side, they are red, on the other, blue.

"The lion used to come every seventh day to kill the people; therefore, they remained there seven days after they had killed him. In remembrance of him, when they prepare for War, they fast six days and start on the seventh. If they take his bones with them, they have good fortune.[6]

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[6] This war medicine is also mentioned by Hawkins. See p. 429.

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"After four years they left the Coosaws, and came to a river which they called *Nowphawpe*,[7] now *Callasi-hutche*.[8] There they tarried two years; and, as they had no corn, they lived on roots and fishes, and made bows, pointing the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-stones, and for knives they used split canes.

"They left this place, and came to a creek, called *Wattoola-hawka-hutche*,[9] Whooping-creek, so called from the whooping of cranes, a great many being there; they slept there one night. They next came to a river, in which there was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatunka-river*.[10] The next day they reached another river, which they called the *Aphoosa pheeskaw*.[11]

"The following day they crossed it, and came to a high mountain, where were people who, they believed, were the same who made the white path. They, therefore, made white arrows and shot at them, to see if they were good people. But the people took their white arrows, painted them red, and shot them back. When they showed these to their chief, he said that it was not a good sign; if the arrows returned had been white, they could have gone there and brought food for their children, but as they were red they must not go. Nevertheless, some of them went to see what sort of people they were; and found their houses deserted. They also saw a trail which led into the river; and, as they could not see the trail on the opposite bank, they believed that the people had gone into the river, and would not again come forth.

"At that place is a mountain, called *Moterell*, which makes a noise like beating on a drum; and they think this people live there. They hear this noise on all sides when they go to war.

"They went along the river, till they came to a waterfall, where they saw great rocks, and on the rocks were bows lying; and they believed the people who made the white path had been there.

"They always have, on their journeys, two scouts who go before the main body. These scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a town. They shot white arrows into the town; but the people of the town shot back red arrows. Then the Cussitaws became angry, and determined to attack the town, and each one have a house when it was captured.

"They threw stones into the river until they could cross it, and took the town (the people had flattened heads), and killed all but two persons. In pursuing these they found a white dog, which they slew. They followed the two who escaped, until they came again to the white path, and saw the smoke of a town, and thought that this

[7] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 365.
[8] A misprint for Tallasi-hutche.
[9] *Watula*, sandhill crane; *haki*, sound, noise; *hatche*, creek, river.
[10] Owatánka River.
[11] Cf. *ofaswa*, thread; *fohsti*, to sprinkle, scatter out.

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173 must be the people they had so long been seeking. This is the place
539 where now the tribe of Palachucolas live, from whom Tomochichi is descended.[13]

"The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded; but the Palachucolas gave them black drink, as a sign of friendship, and said to them: 'Our hearts are white, and yours must be white, and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk, and show your bodies as a proof that they shall be white.' Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk; but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion, and buried it under their beds. The Palachucolas likewise gave them white feathers, and asked to have a chief in common. Since then they have always lived together.

"Some settled on one side of the river, some on the other. Those on one side are called Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; yet they are one people, and the principal towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Nevertheless, as the Cussetaws first saw the red smoke and the red fire, and make bloody towns, they cannot yet leave their red hearts, which are, however, white on one side and red on the other. They now know that the white path was the best for them: for, although Tomochichi was a stranger, they see he has done them good; because he went to see the great King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and hear his talk, and had related it to them, and they had listened to it, and believed it."[13]

173 Doctor Gatschet has already discussed the Kasihta line of migration as unfolded by Chekilli in the above narrative.[14] I will merely review it briefly. The muddy river spoken of early in the narrative might well have been the Mississippi, for "Muddy River" was a name given to it by the Creeks. If this is so, however, the red river which they afterwards reached could not have been the Red River of Louisiana. In later versions of the legend the origin of the Creeks is traced to the historical Red River, and perhaps this may be the result of an attempt to localize the red river of the Chekilli legend. The first place to which a name is given is "Coloose-hutche," but the interpretation contained in the text, "because it was rocky there and smoked," is not traceable to any known Muskhogean tongue. "Hutche" is of course the Creek hàtci, "river," but the balance of the word has a striking resemblance to a common abbreviation of the Choctaw Oka lusa, "Black Water." For this reason Brinton has suggested that the name referred to the Black Warrior River of western Alabama, though the Black Creek of Walker and Winston Counties, a tributary of the Black Warrior, would correspond more

[13] Tomochichi was chief of the Yamacraw tribe, settled where Savannah now stands when Oglethorpe established his colony. See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 108-109.

[13] Gatschet in Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 41-51. An earlier translation had appeared in Brinton's Lib. Aborig. Lit., vol. iv, pp. 244-251.

[14] Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 92-102.

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closely provided the former name has an Indian origin. With this name should probably be correlated that of the "Caluça" tribe mentioned by Ranjel. Biedma and Elvas speak of a Caluç or Caluça province, but this was west of the Mississippi and evidently had nothing to do with the one to which Ranjel refers, though the chroniclers themselves may have confused the two. The latter was in the neighborhood of the Chickasaw, and the Chickasaw chief gave the Spaniards guides to take them thither. It was said to be "a place of much repute among the Indians," and was described as "a province of more than 90 villages not subject to any one, with a savage population, very warlike and much dreaded, and the soil is fertile in that section." Unfortunately we have no intimation as to the direction in which it lay with reference to the Chickasaw. I believe that the tribe mentioned in these terms was identical with a comparatively insignificant body of Indians of the same name found by the French Louisiana colonists of 1699 and after, westward of the lower Mississippi and described by Du Pratz.[15] They were associated with the Houma Indians, who were a branch of the Chakchiuma, Ranjel's Sacchuma.[16] Both were in the same general region in De Soto's time.

The next point reached by the Kasihta was "Coosaw," evidently the old Coosa town on the river which still bears its name, between Talladega and Tallahassee Hatchee creeks. Afterwards they came to a river called "Nawphawpe, now called Callasi-hutchee." Gatschet rightly identifies this with a creek known as Naufawpi which runs into Uphapee Creek, an eastern affluent of the Tallapoosa, but he fails to notice that "Callasi-hutchee" is evidently a misreading of "Tallasi-hutchee" ("Tulsa Creek"), this region having been occupied by the Tulsa Indians. "Wattoola-hawka-hutche," "Whooping Creek," is a small northern affluent of Big Uchee; a larger one farther east is still called Wetumpka; and "Aphoosa pheeskaw" must have been a small creek between Wetumpka Creek and the Chattahoochee. The next river encountered, although unnamed, was evidently the Chattahoochee itself, and the Creeks followed this down to the falls at Columbus. Near the latter place they are supposed to have crossed and destroyed a town occupied by people who flattened their heads. Afterwards they went on down to the place below the falls where the Apalachicola were living in the year in which this speech was delivered, 1735, and they made peace and formed an alliance with the Apalachicola tribe.

The astonishing thing about this entire narrative is the closeness with which the movement can be followed. As we know positively that the Kasihta had then been in the country over 200 years we must either suppose that the line of migration had been relocalized by later

[15] See Swanton, Ind. Tribes of Lower Miss. Valley, Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 322 and 323.
[16] Ranjel in Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, p. 132.

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173 story tellers or that the Creeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation, but we know from several [211] sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta [101] represented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.[17] This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground," [18] and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

173 Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. 539 Milfort,[19] who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégy ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crëck."[20] We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own tástánágis and its head tástánági. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otciapofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for

[17] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 215-254.

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 268.

[19] Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes differens voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëck. Paris, 1802.

[20] On the title page of Milfort's work.

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what availed a bow and arrows against the artillery of an army, feeble in numbers indeed but warlike, intrepid, and led on by an insatiable thirst for gold, which this too trusting people had been unfortunate enough to display to their eyes.

"Montezuma reigned then in Mexico; seeing that it was impossible to arrest the progress of the Spaniards, he called to his assistance the peoples which were neighbors to his states. The nation of the Moskoquis, known now under the name of Creeks, who formed a separate republic in the northwestern part of Mexico, and who had numerous warriors, offered him assistance, formidable for any enemy other than a disciplined army, such as that of the Spaniards commanded by Fernan-Cortéz.

"The courage of this warlike people resulted, then, only in its more prompt destruction, and was not able to save Montezuma, who lost his life and his empire, which was almost entirely depopulated. After the death of Montezuma and many other chiefs, the Moskoquis, considerably weakened by this terrible war, which they were no longer in a condition to maintain, determined to abandon a country which offered them in exchange for their past happiness only the most terrible slavery, to search for one which would secure to them the abundance and peace of which the Spaniards had just deprived them.

"They directed their march toward the north, and ascended in fifteen days as far as the source of Red River, that is to say a distance of about a hundred leagues. This river throws its waters into the northern part of America, across immense prairies, a fact which fixed their determination to follow its course. They traveled therefore eight days in this direction through a plain brilliant with the most beautiful flowers, and covered with wild animals, which offered them all the resources necessary for their existence. This country would have attracted them to settle in it for all time on account of its richness in every respect; but, fearing still for their safety, in a country which did not offer them any natural defense, they continued their journey. In the different excursions which they made along this river, they did not discover any other, not even a stream joining it; but they often found lakes and ponds, many of which had salt water; these were generally covered with aquatic birds of all kinds, notably such as are met along the shore of the ocean. The prairies were alive with partridges, hares, rabbits, turkeys, and other animals. There are such great quantities of this sort of game in these countries, that, when it is pursued from different points at the same time, and is forced to flee, the air is obscured and the land covered with it.

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"After having traveled thus for many days they found some groves where they made a halt. The young warriors were sent in different directions by the old men to examine the face of the country. At the end of a month they returned announcing that they had discovered a forest, on the edges of which, and at the same time along Red River, were fine subterranean dwellings. The entire nation set out; and, when they arrived near these caves, they discovered that they had been dug by bison, or wild oxen, and other animals who inhabited them because the earth there was a little salty.

"The Moskoquis found in this country the peace and quiet which they needed in order to repair the considerable losses which they had suffered in the Mexican wars. The colony having brought along a little corn which was left to it, it was planted immediately in order to assure them a means of subsistence. As they lacked the necessary utensils with which to make a settlement they made use of sharp stones, instead of axes, to cut and sharpen sticks of wood which they afterward hardened in the fire and used in cultivating the ground.

"When the Moskoquis had thus performed the first labors connected with their new settlement, they marked out a field, as large as was necessary for the common needs of the colony, and they surrounded it with old pieces of wood and stakes planted in the earth, in order to guard against the incursions of bison and other wild animals, which are very fond of corn. They then allotted to the families the ground contained in this enclosure, and sowed it for their sustenance. The young people of both sexes worked the ground together while the old men smoked their pipes. In this manner they lived for many years, enjoying perfect tranquillity, living by hunting and fishing, and on the products of their land, and regretting little their separation from the country where they had suffered so much. They would no doubt have remained there permanently if the unhappy fortune which seemed to pursue them had not compelled them to undertake a second emigration.

"They were discovered by the Albamos or Alibamons, who killed many of their people. Then the old men, the natural chiefs of the nation, called together the young warriors, and sent them on the trail of the murderers, but without success, because there was no unity in their operations, and they lacked a common chief; they then felt the necessity of selecting one. The old men of the nation assembled and chose the one among them who had rendered the greatest services to the fatherland, and they named him their Tastanégy or grand war chief. . . .

"The Moskoquis are very warlike and are not cast down by defeat; the day after an unsuccessful battle, they march to meet the enemy as courageously as before. It was after this arrangement that they resolved to continue their course toward the northwest. After

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having marched in this direction for some time, and crossed immense plains, they stopped in a little forest on the banks of the Missouri. There they encountered the Alibamons, whom they had pursued for a long time. They made preparations for the combat. The Tastanégy, or great war chief, arranged the march in the following order: The family of the Wind, from which he had been chosen, crossed the river in the first line; it was followed by the family of the Bear, and then by that of the Tiger [Panther], and so on. When this river was crossed, as the entire nation was on the march, it was necessary to take measures to avoid a surprise on the part of the enemy; and, in case of an encounter with the enemy, to protect all those who were unable to fight. For this purpose, the young people, with their war chiefs, formed the van; the old men the rear guard; those of an age less advanced were on the flanks; the women and the children in the center. They marched in this order until the moment when they encountered the enemy. Then the young men advanced alone with their Tastanégy at their head, and left the main body of the nation in a place of safety, and under the protection of the old men. By a stealthy and well planned march they surprised their enemy, and reached the caves which the Alibamons inhabited, before the latter were warned; and, not allowing them time to rally, they made a great slaughter. The fright into which such a surprise threw the foe caused them to abandon their dwellings; they fled along the Missouri, and rallied on the banks of this river, while the Moskoquis were gone to rejoin their countrymen, in order to march again on the trail of the enemy. The Alibamons, fearing a new surprise, had made their old men, women, and children march in advance, the young warriors forming the rear-guard; then they continued for some time to descend this river on its right bank. The Moskoquis, following their trail, caught up with them, and defeated them many times. The Alibamons, seeing they were thus pursued, had made the body of their nation pass over to the left bank of the Missouri, and had given them time to get some distance in advance, by delaying the march of the enemy by various skirmishes. But, fearing that they would be unable to resist their attacks, they took advantage of the darkness one night to rejoin their fathers, the Moskoquis not observing them. The latter not finding any enemy when day came and suspecting the course they had taken, crossed the river in order to pursue them again. After a march of some days they again encountered them, and forced them to accept a general battle in which the Alibamons were defeated and fled to the banks of the Mississippi. The Moskoquis, pursuing them with fury, forced them to throw themselves into the river, where a very great number perished. The young Moskoqui warriors, having thus weakened their enemy considerably, ceased to pursue them until they had been rejoined by the body of the nation,

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which followed by short stages. They remained eight days on the bank of this river in order to rest.

"During all this time the Alibamons had marched rapidly and gotten far in advance. The Moskoquis, trying to catch them, buried themselves in an immense forest which is on the left bank of the Mississippi; they camped, but, as there appeared to be no advantage in establishing themselves there, the old men decided to continue the march, and, for this purpose, to send the young warriors in pursuit of the enemy. They marched many days without meeting them; but at length, having discovered their tracks, they returned to report to the council of old men who decided that they would go in pursuit. They advanced again; and, after a march of some days, they came to the river Ohio, which the French call Belle-Rivière. They went up along the banks near the Wabash; and, perceiving that the Alibamons had crossed the Ohio, they also crossed it. When they were on the other side, finding a region with a very beautiful climate, and very rich in all kinds of game, they determined to establish themselves there, and fixed their dwelling in what is known as the Yazau country. As the season was much advanced, they ceased their pursuit, and contented themselves with sending some young warriors to try to discover the route which the Alibamons had taken. The Moskoquis, profiting by some caves which they found and some which they made, took possession of the Yazau lands, where they passed many years, and where the caves which they excavated exist to this day.

"The Alibamons had advanced as far as the banks of the river Coussa; not seeing themselves pursued, and finding themselves in a fertile country, they stopped there; but as they were always in fear of some surprise they sent youths to find out what had become of the Moskoquis and whether they were still pursuing them. Although the war which the Moskoquis waged at this time on the Alibamons had originated in an aggression on the part of the latter, who had killed Moskoqui warriors, the youths who had been sent to discover the Moskoqui had the imprudence to kill the first whom they met. The old men, having been informed of this new aggression, had them march against the Alibamons. The Moskoqui warriors, having learned that the country which their enemy inhabited was toward the rising sun, in a region where the rigors of winter are little felt, and where a great quantity of game of all kinds is to be found, resolved to pursue them a third time, and to populate that country, which is between the two Floridas. With this object in view they crossed the river Cumberland and the Tennessee,[20a] and followed from the north the river Coussa, on the banks of which the remains of the Alibamons had established themselves. The latter, having learned of the march

[20a] It is, of course, nonsense to speak of crossing the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in going from the Yazoo country to the Coosa.

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of the Moskoquis, did not think it well to await them; they abandoned their position and scattered. Some went to seek an asylum among the Tchactas, and the rest repaired to Mobile, under the protection of the French, who had then just taken possession.

"The Moskoquis, no longer finding enemies to fight, took peaceful possession of the country which they had just conquered. They established themselves on the rivers *Coosa*, *Tallapoosa*, *Chattahoochee*, *Flint*, *Ocmulgee*, little and great *Oconee* and *Ogechee*, and pushed their settlements as far as the river Savannah in Georgia, where the city of Augusta is now built.

"After having taken possession of this immense territory in this manner and having established their settlements, the youths were sent as far as Mobile in pursuit of the Alibamons; but, as they had placed themselves under the protection of the French, the French commandant endeavored to obtain peace for the Alibamons from the chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors. The chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors, not wishing to take it upon themselves to make a treaty without the consent of their nation, referred the matter to the decision of the council of old men; and, while awaiting this decision, they consented to a suspension of hostilities, promising not to kill any Alibamon before they had received the reply of their council, to which they even promised to recommend their enemies, on the express condition that the Alibamons, on their side, would equally respect the Moskoquis, and would avoid as much as possible frequenting the hunting grounds where they must pass the winter, marking out for both separate territories. This truce lasted six months, at the end of which time the old Moskoqui men went down to Mobile with their warriors; and, not only was peace made between the two nations, in presence of the French commandant, but the Moskoquis also agreed to unite the Alibamons with themselves; and, to induce them to do this, they gave them a piece of land on the river of Mobile, which is still called river of the Alibamons. The latter accepted the proposition, under the condition that they might preserve their customs and their usages. Then all of the separated portions were reunited and came to establish themselves on the river which has received their name, and form one little town which bears the name *Coussehaté*;[20b] and, since this time, they have formed an integral part of the Moskoqui nation, which took at this period the name of Creek nation. This name signifies source river, and is derived from the situation of the country which they inhabit, which, as has been shown above, is surrounded or cut by a great number of good sized rivers.[21]

[20b] The Coussehaté (Koasati) really constitute an independent tribe, though related, it is true, to the Alabama.

[21] For the real origin of this term see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 215.

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173 539 "About the same time an Indian tribe which had been almost destroyed by the Iroquois and the Hurons came to ask for the protection of the Moskoquis, whom I will now call Creeks. The latter received them among themselves and assigned to them a territory in the center of the nation. They built a town which is now very considerable, which is named Tuket-Batchet from the name of the Indian tribe. The great assemblies of the Creek nation, of which it is an integral part, are sometimes held within its walls. The warlike reputation of the Creeks, and knowledge of the good reception which they had given the Alibamons and the Indian tribe of which I have just spoken, rapidly spread among the other savage people of North America; and those among them who were too weak to resist the attacks of an enemy, came at once to beg for their help. The Tasquiguy and the Oxiailles [Okchai], who had experienced from their neighbors the same fate as the Tuket-Batchet, having learned of the good treatment which the latter had experienced from the Creeks, came to ask of them an asylum and protection. They were both received into the nation; lands were given them to cultivate, and they [the Tasquiguy] established themselves at the junction of the rivers *Coosa* and Tallapoosa, where they made a village which still bears the name Tasquiguy. The Oxiailles went ten leagues to the north and established their dwelling in a beautiful plain on the banks of a little river; they formed a town there to which they also gave their name.

"A short time afterward the remains of the little Udgi [Yuchi] nation, which had been partially destroyed by the English, also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who assigned them lands on the banks of the river Chattahoochee. A part of the Chickasaw nation also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Yazau, at the head of the river of the Wolves [the Neshoba]. They built their settlements there, extending them as far as the mountains of the Cherokee, behind which runs the Tennessee River, which takes its rise in these mountains, near Tougoulou, back of South Carolina, at a short distance from the source of the Savannah in Georgia.

"The immense extent of territory of which the Moskoquis, now Creeks, had taken possession after the flight of the Alibamons, provided them with means of receiving in this manner all of the peoples who asked the favor of them, and giving them lands to clear. They thus augmented their reputation and their means of sustaining it.

"Although the nations received by the Creeks became integral parts of them encounters took place in which they alone were concerned; but, in case of defeat, they were allowed to claim the protection of the Creeks who aided them either by their arms, or their mediations . . ."

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[Here follows an account of the Natchez and their incorporation into the Creek confederacy; it contains little new information. Milfort also speaks of the admission into the confederacy of the Seminole, whom he treats as having been originally Florida Indians and Apalachee.] 173 539

"A short time after the American revolution, a part of the Savanhaugay nation, which inhabits the upper part of the river Savanha, which has taken the name of this nation, retired to the north to the banks of the Ohio, near Quintockey [Kentucky]; the other part retired among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Tallapoosa, near the Alibamons. This nation established itself there and has built a little town, and follows its own peculiar usages and habits, which differ much from those of the Creeks, a fact which does not prevent perfect agreement between them. Their interests are common; they go hunting together, and on the same territory; in case of war their warriors march together, and obey the same grand chief. However, when a Savanhaugay marries a Creek woman, he is obliged to follow the laws, customs, and usages of the Creek nation; which does not happen when a Creek marries a Savanhaugay woman.

"The Creek nation, being thus augmented by a great number of emigrations from neighboring nations, has acquired a unity which makes it now very powerful and capable of putting on foot a very strong and very warlike army. Finding itself the most powerful on the continent, it is that fact which regulates every year, in the grand council of the old men, the conduct which shall be pursued during the year, not only by the different nations of which I have spoken which compose it, but also that of the savage nations of almost all North America." [22]

The narrative given by Swan is very much disordered and is worth little, the origin of the Seminole, for instance, being set down as antedating that of the Creeks. Perhaps this part of the story contains a reminiscence of an original occupancy of southern Georgia by the Creeks and their subsequent retirement to the Chattahoochee and even to the Tallapoosa. His account runs thus:

"Men of the best information and longest acquaintance with these Indians give the following account of the rise and progress of the nation.

"Tradition, handed down from one generation to another, has established a general belief among them (which may be true), that a long time ago some strange, wandering clans of Indians from the northwest found their way down to the present country of the Seminoles; there meeting with plenty of game, they settled themselves in the vicinity of the then powerful tribes of the Florida and Appa-

[22] Milfort, Voy., pp. 229-234. The true circumstances involved in the incorporation in the Creek Confederacy of the several tribes mentioned, so far as these are known, have been given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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lachian Indians: that for some time they remained on a friendly footing with each other. The new-comers were styled Seminolies (signifying wanderers, or lost men).[33a]

"These wanderers from the north increased, and at length became so powerful a body as to excite the jealousy of their Appalachian neighbors. Wars ensued, and finally the Seminolies became masters of the country. 'The remnants of the Appalachians were totally destroyed by the Creeks in 1719.'[33]

"In the process of time, the game of the country was found insufficient to support their increasing numbers. Some clans and families emigrated northward, and took possession of the present district of the Cowetas; having established themselves there, other emigrations followed, and in time spread themselves eastward as far as the Oakmulgee river, and other waters of Georgia and South Carolina, and westward as far as the Tallapoosee and Coosa rivers, which are the main branches of the Alabama. Here they were encountered by the Alabama nation, whom they afterwards conquered; and by restoring to them their lands and river, gained their attachment, and they were incorporated with the Creek nation. The Creeks became famous for their abilities and warlike powers; and being possessed of a well watered country, were distinguished from their ancestors (the Seminolies of the low barren country) by the name of Creeks or Muscogies.

"The kind soil, pure water, and air of their country being favorable to their constitutions as warriors, has perhaps contributed to give them a character superior to most of the nations that surround them.

"Their numbers have increased faster by the acquisition of foreign subjects than by the increase of the original stock. It appears long to have been a maxim of their policy, to give equal liberty and protection to tribes conquered by themselves, as well as to those vanquished by others—although many individuals, taken in war, are slaves among them; and their children are called, of the slave race, and can not arrive to much honorary distinction in the country on that account.[34]

"The Alabamas and Coosades are said to be the first who adopted the ceremonies and customs of the Creeks, and became part of the nation. The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out of Louisiana, and added considerably to their confederate body. And now the Shawanese, called by them Sawanes, are joining them in large numbers every year, having already four towns on the Tallapoosee river, that contain near 300 war men, and more are soon expected."[35]

[33a] Properly people who camp at a distance from the large settled towns.

[33] Probably Swan's informants had in mind the dispersion of the Apalaches by Moore in 1704. By referring to Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 109-120, it will be seen that the destruction was by no means complete.

[34] There appears to have been little truth in this statement.

[35] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 259-260.

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In his paper in volume 3 of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society William Bartram states that the Creek nation in his time consisted of about 60 towns, "thirty of which speak the *Muscogulge tongue*, and are the progeny or descendants of a powerful band of a nation bearing that name, who, many years since (on their nation becoming very numerous, and filling their native country with inhabitants, by which the game and other necessary produce of their country became scarce and difficult to procure) were induced to separate themselves from, and go in search of, new and plentiful regions. They directed their migrations eastward, leaving with great regret and difficulty their native land, containing their relations and friends, which was on the banks of a large and beautiful river, called the Red River, from great quantities of red stone, of which they formed their tobacco-pipes.[25a] Their migrations continued a long time, and under great hardships and embarrassments, they being continually attacked by hostile Indian nations, till at length they arrived at the banks of the *Great River*, i. e., that which they crossed, when they began to think of establishing a permanent residence; but, being yet assaulted and disturbed by surrounding nations, they pushed eastward as far as the *Ockamulge*."[26] In the narrative of his travels Bartram covers the same ground in fewer words, and adds that "they were obliged to make a stand, and fortify themselves in this place [Ocmulgee], as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes. Having formed for themselves this retreat, and driven off the inhabitants by degrees, they recovered their spirits, and again faced their enemies, when they came off victorious in a memorable and decisive battle. They afterward gradually subdued their surrounding enemies, strengthening themselves by taking into the confederacy the vanquished tribes."[27]

Nearer to the original is Hawkins's narrative obtained from Tussekiah Mic-co, evidently of the town of Kasihta:

"There are in the forks of Red river, (We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fus-kee,)[28] west of Mississippi, (We-o-coof-ke, muddy water,) two

[25a] The Red Pipestone Quarry was in Minnesota and of course had nothing to do with the Red River of Louisiana.

[26] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 12.

[27] Bartram, Travels, p. 23.

[28] The Muskogee words used by Hawkins in this story and requiring explanation are the following: We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fus-kee (Wi tsati hitci ahfaki, "water red river forks"). We-o-coof-ke (Wi ogufki, "water muddy"). Hi-yus-yul-gee (Hayuya + ilgi, see footnote 30). Tuto-kit-ees (Istka ikha "fire place," "where the fire burns," the hearth fire). E-mu-ga-tah E-mis-see (Imagita tamaki "hearth its holder or keeper"). Mis-co-ho-yus-ulgee (mika hayinkitis "chief purgative"). Ancho-nee (atcina "cedar"). Tus-tah (Istu "sweet bay"). E-mun-li-ga-tah (Imunkigita "clan"). Nee-ocus-ul-gee (Nokusi + ilgi "Bear" or "Bear people"—i. e., "Bear clan"). Mis-ul-gee (Mikko + ilgi "Chiefs"). Is-tus-ul-gee (Istusi + ilgi "Island (Spanish?) clan"). E-se-hass-thlus-ul-gee (Hesiha + ikko + ilgi "Big Heaths"). Tchut-is-ul-gee (Ichi + ilgi "Fishes," "Fish clan"). Au-tus-ees (Atisi "war-club"). To-po-hus-e (Topohiyu). E-mus-hajee (Ita hajyi "head skin"). Ile chate (Ita tsati "red stick," "red wood," "red tree"). Chu-cha-ees (Isatsusi "my younger brother or brothers"). Chut-is-hass (Isitkhi "my elder brother or brothers"). Um-mus-mus-yah (probably Ama' mayi "my tall, high, or grown people"; the ceremonial name of Cowetas was Cowetas ma' mayi, "tall Cowetas"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 223). Tust-ees-hat-chee (Tuskahatci). Au-lis-chul-gee (alikisa + ilgi "doctors"). O-chees-hat-che (Ocsi hitci "Ocsi River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 218). Chis-ho-tul-is-hus-hat-che (Tcikka ikitis hitci "Chisha-town River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 209). Ifus-ve-no-gee (Ifa-inikki). Tuto-kit-ees hungees (istka + ikha + hinkusi "square-ground fire one only").

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mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh, and Chickasaws found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the Hi-you-yul-gee,[29] four men who came from the four corners of the world. One of these people asked the Indians, where they would have their fire, (tote-kit-cau). They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down around it. The Hi-you-yul-gee directed, that they should pay particular attention to the fire, that it would preserve them and let E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, (master of breath,) know their wants. One of these visitors took them and showed them the Pas-sau; another showed them Mic-co-ho-yon-ejau, then the Auche-nau, (cedar,) and Too-loh, (sweet bay.) (There are one or two other plants, not recollected. Each of these seven plants was to belong to a particular tribe (E-mau-li-ge-tuh).) After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came.

"The three towns then appointed their rulers. The Cussetuhs chose the Noo-coose-ul-gee, (bear tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (mic-cos,) and the Is-tau-nul-gee, to be the E-ne-hau-thluc ul-gee, (people second in command.) The Cowetuhs chose the Thlot-lo-ul-gee, (fish tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (miccos.)

"After these arrangements, some other Indians came from the west, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club, (Autus-sau.) They fell out, fought and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the Au-be-cuh at Coosau river. Here they agreed to go to war for four years, against their first enemy; they made shields (te-po-lux-o) of Buffalo hides, and it was agreed that the warriors of each town, should dry and bring forward the scalps (E-cau halpe) of the enemy and pile them; the Aubecuh had a small pile, the Chickasaws were above them, the Cowetuhs above them, and the Cussetuhs above all. The two last towns raised the scalp pole, (Itlo chate, red wood,) and do not suffer any other town to raise it. Cussetuh is first in rank.

"After this, they settled the rank of the four towns among themselves. Cussetuh, called Au-be-cuh and Chickasaw cha-chu-see (younger brothers). The Chickasaw and Aubecuhs, called Cussetuh and Cowetuh, chat-la-hau (oldest brothers). Au-be-cuh, called the Chickasaw Um-mau-mau-yuh (elders, or people ahead of them). Chickasaws sometime use the same expression to Aubecuh.

"This being done, they commenced their settlements on Coo-sau and Tal-la-poo-sau, and crossing the falls of Tallapoosa above Tool-can-bat-che, they visited the Chat-to-hoche, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the Cussetuh

[29] I have been told that Yahah and Hayuya were "very poor spirits" who presided over the annual ceremony or busk. Hi-you-yul-gee would be the plural of Hayuya. See p. 462.

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fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic makers (Au-lic-chul-gee) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats.[20] They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this they spread out eastwardly to O-cheese-hat-che (Ocmulgee), Oconee, O-ge-chee (How-ge-chuh), Chie-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che (Savannah), called sometimes Sau-va-no-gee, the name for Shaw-a-nee. They met the white people on the seacoast, who drove them back to their present situation.

"Cussetuh and Chickasaw consider themselves as people of one fire (tote-kit-cau humgoce) from the earliest account of their origin. Cussetuh appointed the first Micco for them [the Chicaksaw], directed him to sit down in the big Savanna, where they are now, and govern them. Some of the Chickasaws straggled off and settled near Augusta, from whence they returned and sat down near Cussetuh, and thence back to their nation. Cussetuh and Chickasaw have remained friends ever since their first acquaintance.

"During the late war between the Creeks and Chickasaws, Cussetuh refused her aid, and retained her long established friendship for the Chickasaws; and when the Creeks offered to make peace, their offers were rejected, till Cussetuh interposed their good offices. These had the desired effect, and produced peace."[21]

We now know that those versions of the legend which represent the Muskogee as having come as far east as the Georgia coast from which they were pressed back by the whites have better foundation in fact than was formerly supposed.[22] Bolton[23 a] has shown that the location of the great body of Creeks on Ocmulgee River prior to 1715 was ephemeral, but there can be no doubt that some Creek tribes were elements in the population of Guale on the Georgia coast.[23 b] As we have seen, Swan brings the Creeks into Florida and Gallatin had obtained a similar legend, perhaps through Swan himself.

"Their traditions say that they emigrated from the Northwest until they reached Florida, when they fell back to the country between the headwaters of the Alabama and Savannah Rivers . . . Those

[20] Most Muskogee traditions recognize that the country into which they came was already occupied. Besides references in several of the myths here given, a contributor to Schoolcraft's first volume states that the "Creeks believed the land they occupied was held before their coming by another people of whom they had no definite knowledge, but not by other people than Indians and not by a more civilized people." They conquered these earlier occupants and the latter "wended their way south." This authority differs from many others in affirming that "the circular breastworks in their country they believed were built by themselves for protection." (Schoolcraft, Am. Inds., I, pp. 268-267.) Pope mentions a war waged by the Creeks with "a numerous Tribe of Seminoles, whom the Creeks after a long and bloody contest of 20 years exterminated, and re-peopled the deserted villages by slow emigrations from their own victorious tribes." He modestly places this event 10,000 years before his own time (Pope, Tour, p. 32).

[21] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pt. I, pp. 81-82.

[22] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 80-169.

[23] a H. E. Bolton, Spain's Title to Georgia, Univ. of Calif. Pres, Berkeley, 1925, pp. 55-56.

[23] b Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., loc. cit.

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remaining in Florida were called the Seminoles, or Isti-semole (wild men). The nation became a confederacy of tribes, speaking other languages, modifying somewhat the original Muskogee, but who, nevertheless, numbered seven-eighths of their whole number."[33]

A few references to this legend appear in the American State Papers and in other publications, but, with one exception, they add little or nothing to it, their value being purely confirmatory. The one exception is the statement attributed by Gallatin, to "the chiefs of the delegation, who attended at Washington in the year 1826," and who "agreed that the prevailing traditon amongst them was, that the nation had issued out of a cave near Alabama River."[34] Unless this was in reality the Alabama story[35] instead of that of the true Muskogee, it stands entirely by itself.

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Practically all of the older Creeks retain some belief in a western origin.[36] The place from which they came they call "the navel of the world," and it is now supposed to have been at Ikána la'foni, "the backbone of the earth," a name they give to the Rocky Mountains. There is always mention of their having crossed waters, and of the course of their migration having been supernaturally guided by means of a stick which they set up in the ground and which bent of itself in the direction they were to take. This stick is said to have been a ball stick, and it is often spoken of as red.[37] One informant explained the color by saying that the pole was made of cedar. Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, told a somewhat different story. According to him, when the Muskogee came out of the navel of the earth near the Rocky Mountains they had a red arrow which they shot a long distance in advance, marching in the direction of its flight until they had reached it. They repeated this action every day until they found the arrow lying pointing backward. At that spot they halted and established their nation.

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Legus Perryman, formerly interpreter for the Creek chief Pleasant Porter, and at one time chief of the Creeks himself, gave me the following versions of the migration legend, as told by the Tulsa and Coweta Indians, respectively:

"The people who were afterward known as Coosa or Tulsa Indians traveled eastward toward the rising sun until they came to a big water too wide to cross. They went back from this to a certain place and lived there a long time. By and by they came to the same water again but here it was narrow. The other shore was well wooded

[33] Gallatin, quoted in Ann. Rept. Smithson. Inst., 1885, part II, p. 211.

[34] Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., II, p. 95.

[35] For the Alabama origin myths see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 191–192.

[36] Early in the nineteenth century, according to the American State Papers (Ind. Aff., II, p. 871), four Creek chiefs denied that their people had come from the West and obtained their lands by conquest, but a misunderstanding is quite possible, and, besides, this testimony concerned their title to the lands of the old Creek Nation in Alabama and Georgia, a fact which they very well knew.

[37] In the oldest legend, as we have seen, it is represented as a war club (see p. 36).

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and pleased them, and they wanted to get over to it. Their leader, however, said: 'We ought to cross, but I am going to try an arrow.' If it landed on the other side he knew they could get over. He shot, therefore, and his arrow went into the woods. The people remained there until they had gotten together some boats and rafts on which they crossed in safety. Then they established themselves where they found quantities of game. After a while they began moving east again, and they did this at intervals, always in the same direction. At last they settled permanently, became very numerous, and established square grounds.

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"One night, a long time afterward, a dance was held at which all persons were present except a newly married couple who were in some manner delayed. When these arrived at the square, late at night, they found nothing there but a lake. They remained on the shores of the lake watching and noticed that the birds which tried to fly across fell in and were drowned. One big crane, however, flew all the way over. It said 'koos, koos, koos,' and they thought that that was its name. As time went on this couple had children and their descendants formed another big town; and because the bird did fly over the submerged village in safety they named the town after it, saying 'We shall be called Coosas.' And in the town orations to-day their descendants, the people of Tulsa, begin by saying 'We are the Coosa people.'

"The Coweta say that they came out from under the earth and found the surface soft and muddy, difficult to travel upon. By and by it became dry and hard. They were on the top of a mountain from which they could see the setting and the rising of the sun. Then they debated whether to go toward the sunset or the sunrise but finally they agreed to go toward the sunrise. So they traveled eastward slowly, stopping a long time where the hunting was good and then going on again, until they came at last to a river. This river was very muddy and so wide that they stayed on its banks longer than anywhere else, and there they inaugurated the ball play. At last they made boats and crossed. Then they traveled on again eastward until they came to the ocean ('big water'). They found that the water of the ocean would come up and go out again, enabling them to collect oysters and other things good to eat, and they stopped there and lived on those products, being unable to pass beyond. They claim that they traveled side by side with the Kasihta, and some add the Abihka, which some deny. The place from which they started they call Ilafoni, 'the backbone,' and they identify this with the Rocky Mountains."

The following version of the migration legend was told by Ispahihtca, of the Kasihta town, a former chief of the Creek Nation,[27a]

[27a] See p. 221.

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173 539 to James R. Gregory, by whom it was repeated to the writer in May, 1912:

"Some people anciently lived together in the west. In course of time they became so evil that they could find nothing pure in the world except the sun, and they determined to travel eastward to find the place from whence it came. On the way they became separated into three bodies. The first of these were called Chickasaw because on the morning when they were to set out they were the first to see the sun rise and said Tcika ha'sà [hitcika hasà], 'See the sun!' The second body said to the first Kohasita,[37b] 'Where is the sun?' from which circumstance they received the name Kasihta. The Chickasaw moved first, the Kasihta following them, but the third body of people had some difficulty in passing around a brier thicket and were left a long distance behind, so that the parties in advance began to call them Ko-aoita, 'Those that are following us,' whence the name Coweta.

"During their travels these tribes came to a great river which they crossed, and presently the Chickasaw entered upon a beautiful country where were small prairies abundantly supplied with strawberries and other wild fruits and having deep pools of water. Then the Chickasaw did not want to go any farther and said that they did not care where the sun came from. So they settled in that country, while the remaining bands held on their course. By and by the Kasihta, who were still in advance, crossed a river smaller than the first. On the other side they raised a mound, leaving a great chamber in the center in which to fast and purify their bodies. They left their women, children, and other noncombatants there and went on toward the east. Afterward, the Coweta arrived on the opposite side of the river and sent word over that they intended to cross and kill everyone in the place because the Kasihta warriors had not waited to have them join in the expedition. But among the Kasihta women was one who had a magic white stone or pebble, the mate to which was in the keeping of her husband among the warriors. By means of this stone she informed him of the serious state of affairs, and the Kasihta warriors immediately retraced their steps, cut switches, and, passing over to the Coweta warriors, whipped them severely. But they did not strike them with a weapon of war. They then told the Coweta to take charge of the mound, and, gathering together their own noncombatants, they went eastward once more.

"After the Kasihta had left, the Coweta made medicine and went inside of the great mound in order to purify themselves, but while they were there a Cherokee war party attacked the camp. Great was their surprise, however, when the Coweta warriors poured up

[37b] Kō is not the usual word meaning "where?" but is probably an exclamatory particle.

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from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws. 173 539

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white." [526 631 829]

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breathholder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

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earth being created, the second thing is water, the third the trees and grass, and the fourth the things having life.' Even down to the smallest things they were created.

"And, continuing, he said: 'A last day will come.' That is what he said to him. Continuing, he said: 'Fire will destroy this world, and when it comes the dead people will arise out of the earth and fearful things that were existing within it will arise out of it. Everything will gather together in the interior of the earth. At that time there will be no more death.

"'When that occurs I too will come.' he said. 'I shall come to seek those who have not killed anyone, and those who have not told a lie, people who are really humble, those who love people much, and persons who are unselfish, and persons who abase themselves. And when I take them up, "Take me up, too," the others will say, holding their hands up. Then those left on that day which is bright and hanging will be lost together.'[28]

"And when he departed they stood still looking about, and when they saw the rising sun, they wanted to see the place from which it came, and they started thither. And while they were on the way, they considered, supposing the sun to be hot, how they should light a fire with it. Then they took a stick of wood dried in the sun's heat and bored into it with another dry stick until it caught fire. Then they named the wood with which they had made the fire 'the slimy wood' (afo's'lipa'kfa—the slippery elm).

"Afterward they remained there four years, fasting for eight days [each year?]. When the four years were completed, providing themselves with the fire, they again set out toward [the sun]. And while they were still traveling east the Chickasaw stopped saying, 'My moccasins are worn out, and I will stop to mend them; even if you go on I will catch you.' 'All right,' he [Kasihta] said. He made a spring for him, by sticking his elbow down into the ground and turning it around four times. Having made a big spring for him, he said 'Stay here drinking this until you can go.' Then [the Kasihta] went away. But [the Chickasaw] settled there for good.

"When they came to the end of the dark grass they continued to obtain things for themselves.

"Whenever they stopped they remained there for four years; they marched with an advance guard moving about in front. When they saw the ocean and found that they could not go farther they stopped there. They rested by a large river. Then they learned that some people were living on the other side. They wanted to know what sort of people were living there and went near, when a fog covered them so that they were moving about in it and so stopped

[28] The material in the latter half of the first paragraph and in paragraphs 2 and 3 is, of course, from Christian sources.

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not able to see anything. They discovered that the strangers had something which smelt very good and they wanted it, and they considered how they could get it.

"While they were considering over it they made a long mound and another round mound. They said that this action would give them help. When they were ready they caused a wind to blow on the people covered with fog living there, and the fog was cleared away. Then they killed [part of the stranger people] and took many captive and exterminated that town.[20] They built a town there of their own. While doing this they were in the habit of sending out guards. They made the guards go out for one year, and when those returned [who had been away during the war] and found that [stranger] people had been killed, they said 'You did not save any for us,' and they wept in anger at having been deprived of the opportunity to kill. The two men were projected across the river, hanging to the ends of arrows, and going along the stream they trailed [their enemies]. Presently they found two persons lying asleep who had been throwing up the earth into mounds. They killed them there and by so doing wiped away their tears. Then the locality was named 'Shoveling place.' After four years [the Kasihta] left their women and children together in that place and set out to get scalps. Not anticipating any danger the men all started out. The women continued to live there alone. Afterwards the Coweta people, following their trail, came to the big river and camped on the nearer side. Then they sent out scouts who reported that people were staying near by. Then they said 'We had better kill them,' and they said 'Watch them closely.' Watching them closely they discovered that only women were in that place. Then they went near and spoke to them. And they said to them 'What has become of the males?' They answered 'They went away to war a long time ago. It is now nearly four years since they left.' And [the new comers] answered 'They can not be alive.' But an old woman said 'The men are still alive.' Then they (the Coweta) said: 'Being an old woman she tells lies.' When it got dark that old woman put a stone into the fire, and when it was red all over she took it out and laid it down pointing in the direction in which the Kasihta had gone, and she stood upon it; and after she had stood there for a while she came back and said 'The men are alive.' Although she said so they did not believe her. And when they said 'She is lying' some of the women thought 'It is probably so,' and finally some married these men. The little old woman tried to dissuade them, and many obeyed her. After a time she said 'Now the warriors are near,' but they did not believe her. 'Now they are close by,' she said, 'Fix your-

[20] From a note these people would appear to have been considered Yuchi.

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selves. Comb yourselves.' She kept on encouraging the whole town. When the warriors had gotten near to the town she went out to their camp and said 'Things have been thus and so while we have been settled here,' and she informed them about all that had happened. But when people had been to war it was their custom not to enter the town on their return too hurriedly. Therefore they waited some time to attend to [i. e., purify] themselves and then passed into the town. Then they held a council and said 'What shall we do with these men? If we kill them it will be of no benefit and they may be of use to us.' And while they were sitting in council they gathered the male Coweta together. Then they built a large fire and made them dance, pushing them down into the fire so that they jumped over it to escape. They did this for some time. They also took sticks and beat them on the front parts of their calves, and they cut off theirs ears, and they made a law of this.[208]

"Then they continued to play tricks on the Coweta by putting strings of dog excrement around their necks. They said 'It shall be our law that if a man cohabits with a married woman his ears shall be cut off and also his nose. And if a person is whipped inordinately and he dies the leader of the whipping party shall be killed. And if a man cohabits with a married woman in the middle of the summer at the time of the big harvest when the busk is over, and the aggrieved party finds it out, if the man runs away and lives by himself for a whole year, in midsummer after the busks of all the towns are over, the man and the woman can not receive the penalty of the law.' Then they continued 'We have constructed a long mound and a round mound in order to protect ourselves. You must sit down and watch them.' So the tall Coweta were told. They also made a chief for [the Coweta]. And they used for this purpose the Fish clan. 'If you lose him by death you must consider for yourselves [how to replace him],' they were told. And there they made a tribe of the Coweta. Then they were told to live inside of the two mounds. And on top of these hollow mounds they drank âsi every morning. And when the âsi was cooked a great pan of it was set out before them at daybreak every morning. Every morning when it was taken they set it away for them. They established themselves there permanently as a tribe. They told each other what they had been doing. Then the Kasihta put a question to the Coweta, and they answered: 'We came along the trail on which others had gone. We came because we wanted to see what they were doing.' And the people said 'since it came (awit) afterward the tribe shall be named Awita,' and it was so named.

[208] Having reference to the Creek laws against adultery; see pp. 349-354.

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"And, continuing, the Kasihta said 'We came out of the center of the earth.' The Coweta answered 'We came out at the same place but, the root of a tree extending in front of us, we emerged only after a delay.' Then they learned that they had been created one people. And they said 'We shall have to return again the way we came, and when we reach the place of our creation we shall be annihilated.' The names of the two rivers near that town were Big River (Hàtci Łàko) and Confluent River (Hàtc Afa'ski). 173 539

"There was a place for killing fish at that point; it was found out that it was a place to which fish would come. The Kasihta having found it broke off a pine limb and laid it upon a rock. And the Coweta found it afterward and broke off a black weed called ata'k łà-lasti[38a] and laid it down in the same place. Then the Coweta said 'I have found a fish-killing place.' The Kasihta said 'I found it first. I broke off a pine limb to mark it and laid it upon a rock.' And the Coweta said 'I, too, broke off a black weed and laid it there.' They wrangled with each other about it. Then they said to each other 'Let us examine the place.' And when they went to see the marks they found two lying there. When they had examined the matter they found two fish-killing places close together and one was abandoned to the Coweta. Near by was their own fish-killing place where they lived catching and eating fish. They continued there, beginning and carrying on things for their amusement. There they built their big house.[38b] They erected four structures which they called houses (tcuko). They placed one to the west, another across from this,[40] another toward the south, another toward the east,[40] and another toward the north. They made the length [of each?] eighty times the length of a person's foot and the breadth thirty times. And they made the measure of the arena between them eighty foot-measures each way. The round big-house stood toward the west.[40a] They constructed it with a pointed roof, and they covered it with pine bark stripped from the trees. They made only one door, looking toward the east. And they built a fire exactly in the middle so that when it was raining or snowing they could dance there. And in the one of the four houses which stood toward the west the miko of the tribe sat with his vice-chief (apokta). It was called the house of the mikos (mi'kàlgi i'ntchuka). And those who sat in the house to the south were known as 'the owners of the white (hà'tki ipu'tcasi).' If the miko and vice-miko both died they appointed new ones. The one lying across toward the east was called the house of the women (hu'ktagi i'ntcuka). And that on the north side was called 'the house of the warriors' (tàstànàgàlgi i'ntcuka). They 173 539 361

[38a] This has yellow flowers which appear at the time of the fall hunt.
[38b] The ceremonial square.
[40] Probably by inadvertence the eastern structure is mentioned twice
[40a] The tcukuh or town "hot house."

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were their war talkers (inhułupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tâdjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[49b]

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"And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obânga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[49c] (its obânga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obâ'nga tcâ'ṇko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obânga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[49d]

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"[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

[49b] See pp. 174-190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.
[49c] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 609.
[49d] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 548-614.

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time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. The distance between them in either direction was two hundred yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.[40a] 173 539 796 526

"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,[41] was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved. 173 539

"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.[42] The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

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[40a] See pp. 455-456 for a description of the ball game.

[41] "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

[42] The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee yamasi is the word meaning "gentle."

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top of the bluff scolding at a dog in his own language. He became interested and went out. Presently he saw a Muskogee family sitting [by their dwelling] talking. When he got to the place he saw a great camp extending to the creek. The person to whom he went said 'Sit down' and he sat down. Then the Cherokee surrounded him and he sat still unable to do anything. They said to him 'What do you want?' and he answered 'I am here because I was directed to go and see the Cherokee chief. They said to me "When you reach Ikan tăpiksi (Level land), anywhere in that country you can obtain an interpreter."' Then the Cherokee said 'The chief is living at a distance, but he will arrive four days after having been sent for.' Then he remained there as a prisoner.

"It was a custom of the Cherokee to send out scouts and as soon as they had come home ask each of them what he had learned concerning their enemies. They did so at this time, and he sat listening to them. And when the returning scouts had all gotten through they thought that nothing was the matter. While he was sitting there the returning scouts were all examined as to whether they had seen anything that might give concern to the town, and they finished. Then they examined them again saying 'Did you hear a shot fired?' and one said 'I heard one.' And each of the Cherokee said in turn 'I have not fired a gun.' Then they said to Good-child Chief who was sitting near 'Did you shoot?'

"He answered 'I did.' 'At what did you shoot?' they asked him. 'I shot at a deer' said he. 'Did you shoot near by?' they asked. 'I shot at him very near' he said, 'and I thought I hit him but I came here instead of going to see.' Then they said 'Let us go and see where you did this,' and they took him along. Presently he said 'I shot it here and it went on and died without going very far away.' Then they tried to find it and did so, and they brought it back. 'He has spoken the truth' they thought, and they watched him closely during the four days. At intervals the young men of the Cherokee came in whooping saying that the chief of the Cherokee was coming. On the fourth day he came and they prepared very large round sticks of wood. When all were in the house Good-child Chief and his interpreter were called in. Then his interpreter said to him 'Where the Cherokee are assembled to observe their customs sit still without paying any attention to them.' Then they said 'It (the council) is ready.' So the two went up and sat down. What the interpreter had said about the way they exercised their law was going to be carried out. One man danced the whooping dance holding the ax with which people were killed. He struck the ax into the ground between [the prisoner's] feet. After he had done this for a considerable time he twisted his breechclout to one side and pushed his buttocks toward the stranger's face. Although

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Good-child Chief did not like this he could not resent it and remained seated. After the man had danced around for a while he stopped and sat down.

"Then they gave Good-child Chief permission to speak. 'Let him make known what he wants' they said. Then he said: 'Brothers, we have caused each other suffering for a long time. I was told to come and see the Cherokee chief.' [My people] said 'While our mother is the same and our father is the same we punish each other, and it has come to such a pass that even our children are inspired with terror. Hereafter it shall not be so. The white path shall extend from our doors,' my people said. 'Even if red is on that path we shall not think it is human blood,' they said, 'and even if we find blood near streams we shall not think it is human blood. We shall think thus. We shall think it is the blood of the many things that are to be found in the water,' they said. 'And afterward, if we find on the white paths that converge to our doors the blood of anything sticking, we shall suppose it is the blood of the many four-footed game animals that have it,' they said. 'And after this, if he (a former enemy) shakes hands with me he must smoke of my tobacco. If I shall see a cloud arising and hanging in the air, we will think, 'He is shaking hands with me,' they said. Then he handed to them white beads strung together which he had with him and said 'They said "This is the image of the earth island."'

"When this speech was ended the Cherokee chief agreed. And the Cherokee chief said to his men 'Take him to the place from which he came and leave him there.' And they conducted him thither and left him. Then he returned to his tribe. And he said: 'I have spoken to the Cherokee chief,' and he informed them what he had done. Then peace making spread and became general."

The old chief from whom the last two stories came informed Mr. Gregory that such traditions must be repeated in a certain manner word for word, for a mistake would cost blood. Yet, such a mistake has been committed either by the chief himself or by one of his interpreters, since we find some striking differences in detail. For instance, the item regarding the attack by Cherokee on the Coweta when they were living inside of the mound does not appear in Gatschet's version.

A curious modern note is introduced by one of my own informants who said that the Muskogee came from the west, out of "the navel of the earth," and moved eastward after the sun until they reached the ocean. Then it was said: "As long as you can't go all of the way around the earth you can not see the sun."

It is noticeable that all stories emanating from the Lower Creeks speak of their ancestors as having come up out of the ground at "the navel of the earth," the connection of the navel with birth

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173 evidently having been responsible for this designation.[43] An old woman told one of my informants of the Okchai town that for a long time after mankind had come out of the ground great caves remained there. Once some Indians bearing torches entered these in search of bee martins. They found trails of human beings and could make out the marks of moccasins, but the cave people threw stones at them, they were afraid that their torches would be put out, and so they turned back. Another informant remembered a belief that men had come out of the water, but still others quoted "the old people" to the effect that mankind had come from above, and when we examine the matter we seem able to trace this type of origin myth to Tukabahchee. Alindja, an old and well-informed Tukabahchee Indian, told me the following legend:

173 "The Indians were sent down from the world above to some place
539 in the west. They had with them the two principal busk medicines, the pasa and miko hoyanīdja, and among them were seven mikos. They also had fire. Originally there were two camps of them, but after a while one camp decided that they would return. They kept their intentions to themselves, however, until toward night. Then they said 'We are ready. We are going,' and up they went into the sky. By that time it was so late that the people in the other camp, among whom were the seven mikos, said 'We will go tomorrow.' But before morning one of their number died, and, as they could not leave the body in this world or take it with them, thay had to remain.

"After they had stayed in that place for a while they said 'Let us travel,' and they got up and started off. First they went toward the north, but after they had proceeded some distance they set a walking stick up in the ground. Forthwith it leaned toward the south and they said 'That must be the way we should go.' They set off toward the south, and presently they set up the walking stick again. This time it leaned toward the east, so they went east. They went on eastward for a time and set the stick up again. It remained exactly perpendicular and they said 'Here is the place,' and they settled there, having traveled across the whole world to reach it. The word is that our companions, our blood relatives, are in the world above. The chiefs who remained were to be the kings of this continent and they were the seven mikos of Tukabahchee town."[44]

173 This story was paralleled in its main outlines by another informant. As I have stated elsewhere,[45] the origin of Tukabahchee seems to have been distinct from that of the Muskogee proper. According to

[43] In his communication to Schoolcraft regarding the Chickasaw Indians the agent of that tribe says that they did not know the origin of the artificial mounds in their old country and called them "navels." "They thought that the Mississippi was the center of the earth, and those mounds were as the navel of a man in the center of his body." (Indian Tribes, i, p. 311.)

[44] See p. 283.

[45] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 278. As also indicated in that work, the Tukabahchee had several special names. One of these was Isti ispokogi isti fitcelko toyayat, "Spokogi who deviate from the strict order or way of doing things." I have mentioned this in the place above indicated but unfortunately omitted the negative after fitca. Another name applied to them, according to Mr. Grayson's notes, was Ilakáfiki Tastánagi, Isti Ispokoki toyayat.

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a migration story collected by Tuggle and given in Bulletin 73 they marched south instead of east and claim to have been in Georgia when the white people entered the country. The latter part of this tradition is confirmed by Nuttall,[46] and if it is correct, as seems to be indicated in the case of some constituent elements of the nation, it would account for a tradition remembered by Zachariah Cook to the effect that they had migrated from the east and had crossed a ditch on a footlog which they placed across it with the greatest difficulty. After they were once over they could not get back. 173

Following is the Tuckabahchee origin myth as related to me by Cook who had it from a Creek Indian, now dead, known as Judge Nokosi. Judge Nokosi told him that it was fragmentary, and that the last person to know it in its completeness was an old man named Napoleon Yahola, who died before the Civil War. 173 539

"In the beginning the Indians came pouring out of the earth like ants. Those who got out first looked back, saw in what crowds the others were coming on, and said 'It will not be good. It must be stopped.' And it stopped. In those days they laid down the towaka (logs) about the stomp ground. After they had arranged these and were seated upon them—they were then in the country where later they built their towns—up came the tall Coweta and found them. The Coweta said 'Who are you?' 'I am the little Tukabahchee.' 'What have you?' 'I have only the miko hoyanīdja and my whoop.' The Tukabahchee miko held the miko hoyanīdja in his right hand. 'Let us hear you whoop,' said the Coweta. 'No.' 'Yes, let us hear you whoop.' The Tukabahchee behaved very humbly and refused to whoop for some time but finally they agreed in order to please the strangers. Then their leader arose, stamped upon the ground, and whooped, and the earth quivered as if there were an earthquake. After the second whoop the Coweta leader said, 'My friend, that will do,' but, having started, the Tukabahchee was obliged to complete the four cries. When he was through the Coweta chief said 'We will be friends. Here is my medicine; let us combine the two.' So they united the pasa (button-snakeroot) of the Coweta with the miko hoyanīdja of the Tukabahchee, and the combined medicine is the sawatcka.[47] Thereafter each used both.

"About this time two Ispokogis came down from above, approached the ball ground and saw that there were people there and that it was

[46] "The Creeks entertain a tradition of coming from the west side of the Mississippi, and that, too, at so recent a date, as to have heard of the landing of white people on the Atlantic coast soon after their arrival."—Nuttall in Early Western Travels, vol. XIII, p. 365.

[47] Alindja, one of the best informed Tukabahchee, also stated that the pasa and the miko hoyanīdja were the two standard medicines, although he said that the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska or spicewood. See below. Nevertheless, by others the sawatcka is given as a third medicine, and this is the statement of Hawkins. (Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 79.)

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good, so they remained with the people. One of these Ispokogis made a dugout canoe, and, when it was completed, he got in and began floating up into the air. But, when it was some distance off, he looked back and saw all of the people standing still gazing after him. Then he said 'I can not leave them.' So he came back and, when he landed, the other Ispokogi lay down and died. The surviving Ispokogi remained with the people after that, and with reference to this event the word was 'There shall be a link of brothers, life without ending.' This meant that when one Ispokogi died there should always be another to take his place. Old Tukabahchee miko, who is known to have visited Washington, and who died on Red River about the year 1864, was the last Muskogee to preserve a knowledge of the identity of the Ispokogi. Theoretically there always is such a chief, but since the death of Tukabahchee miko the knowledge of him has become lost. This knowledge was anciently preserved by means of a certain council formed about the sacred fire in the busk ground."

Benjamin Hawkins had heard of this chief, for he says "They have, in this town, a Mic-co of another family, the Is-po-co-gee Mic-co, the ancient name of the town."

It is interesting to be able to add that we have some notes regarding the Ispokogi from that Tukabahchee miko above mentioned, recorded February 1, 1842, by Gen. E. A. Hitchcock. According to the story, as obtained from this source, seven persons of both sexes were sent down from heaven in very old times; later they attempted to return, but one of them, thought to have been a man, died, whereupon the others came back. They then sat down in a square and performed some ceremony which the Indians wished to learn. At first they were unsuccessful, but at last they discovered something about it, and the strangers then taught them how to make a fire and how to worship the Great Spirit. They also brought certain plates from heaven which they gave to the Creek chiefs. Colonel Hawkins, their former agent, said that these had come from the King of England, or at least from the British, but the Indians believed that they were from heaven and were to be worshipped.[47a] The new comers told them to make a new fire once a year by friction, after having extinguished the existing fire, and to thank the Great Spirit for his blessing; at that season they were to exhibit the plates. When this happened the Indians were using bows and arrows and lived entirely by hunting, but after a time they found some white people and from them obtained knives and other useful articles. At a similar early period the Tukabahchee met the Coweta. They smoked the pipe of peace together and agreed to an eternal friendship which they have ever since maintained, and all of the other Indians are obliged to look up to them.

[47a] Elsewhere Hitchcock says that some Indians had a tradition that they had been presented by a Spanish King, and this was probably not far from the truth.

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This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanīdja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanīdja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [67b]

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Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[67b] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

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173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atâsâ). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

"'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. [609] And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilâlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 619 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[a]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[a] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 518.

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story is not, however, ancient, since it is a well-known historical fact that on the outbreak of the Creek-American war the Tukabahchee were hard pressed by other Upper Creek towns until the Coweta came to their assistance.

Undoubtedly there were once myths similar to those told about the Tukabahchee and Coweta, to account for the friendships and differences of all the principal groups of towns in the confederacy, but not many have come down to us. The following fragment tells of the relations between the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali, the latter probably the most ancient Red Town among the Upper Creeks. It was related by an old Indian named Kasihta Yahola, since deceased, who belonged to Łapłáko, a branch of Łiwahali.

"The ancestors of the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali were once in a fog or vapor which prevented them from seeing each other. The Łiwahali wanted to see the Tukabahchee very much, and finally the fog was blown away so that they could do so. For some time the Łspokogis (Tukabahchee Indians) would not speak to them. At last they said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the Holiwahalis ("those who cut the war in two")'. Then the Łiwahali asked in their turn who the strangers might be and they answered, 'We are the Łspokogis and Tukabahchee.' Then said the Tukabahchee, 'All right, you shall be our younger brothers.'"

The following is told regarding the Tukabahchee, Atasi, and Łiwahali:

"Once, in ancient times, the Łiwahali became angry with the Atasi and determined to destroy them. But the Tukabahchee said to the Łiwahali, 'Don't do that. They might be of use to you in picking up spoons or something of that sort.' The Łiwahali persisted in their determination, however, until the Tukabahchee said, 'If you destroy them, you will have me on your back,' when they gave it up."

This story was perhaps evolved to express or explain the friendship which grew up between Tukabahchee and Atasi. In later times the former called the Atasi, "the carers of our medicine."

Another set of myths deals with the ancient town of Coosa and its offspring, although the latter are mentioned but seldom, the myth usually confining itself to a mere account of the origin of the mother town and an explanation of its name. One of these stories has been given already in the Tulsa migration legend.[480] Another informant said that Coosa was called Talokŭ'mgi ("Town-lost-in-the water") by the Creeks, and that it had sunk into the water until nothing could be seen of it except the ball post. According to still another, the town was swallowed up by an earthquake. Two persons escaped by jumping into Coosa River and swimming to land. When they were found by people from other towns they were making little bows.

[480] See p. 58.

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173 539 619 The place where this happened is said to be called "the rocky sunken place in the Coosa River." Owing to "some powerful attraction" no birds could cross at that point except one called the koskosa, and from this fact both river and town obtained their name. The last circumstance was also known to Jackson Lewis. A story related to the above was told by a Nuyaka Indian and is to the effect that the Coosa were a people found in the river of that name in vessels—which must have been canoes—carrying white flags at either end. They were taken out and made into a town by the Hickory Ground (Otciapofa) people who protected them. Therefore they came to be considered as the offspring of Hickory Ground.

173 539 The longest and best version which I myself obtained was related by an old man of Hilibi named Woksi miko and runs thus:

"An unmarried woman in the town of Coosa (Kosa or Koza) went to draw water from the spring and was afterward found to be pregnant. When her child was born it was spotted. Then her brothers and some of her relatives thought this was the offspring of a water tiger (wi katca), which the Muskogee now identify with the leopard, became angry with her, and wanted to kill it. But she had some old relatives who opposed them and finally prevailed. The busk ground and 'hot house' where they councilled about this stood near the river, and the girl ran to the water tiger and said 'There is an effort being made to kill my child, but they have not killed it yet.' Then the water tiger said 'Let those who are disposed to defend the child move away from the rest.' The woman told these what the water tiger had said, so they moved away from the town, and that night the water tiger brought on a great inundation which covered Coosa, with its square ground and all, but for years after people could see there the main timbers that braced the old tcokofa. The water tiger took the woman home to live with him. Then the few persons who were left alive came together and said 'We were once a great town but now there are very, very few of us and we are ashamed of having fallen off so in numbers (istá'kosi). Nevertheless let us get together and make another town for ourselves,' and they did so, establishing the town we now know as Tulsa (istalsosi).[489] Those who were engulfed in the river did not all die, and afterward people could hear a drum beaten there when they were dancing and having their good times. There is now a whirlpool on the site of the old town and close to the river. Sometimes people used to see beams whirling round in this eddy, and occasionally men sitting upon them. No bird could fly over the whirlpool, and those which tried always fell into the center of it and were drowned. But there is a small bird with a yellow breast which seems to say 'koskoza' and this could fly across

[489] The first word seems to be a contraction of isti ilsakosi, "many people ashamed," while the second is isti alosi, "one (or a few) ashamed." The first is a pun on Kosa; the second on Tulsa.

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with perfect ease. Some maintained that the people beneath the water favored these birds and let them fly across. We name them from the noise which they make."

A version, differing from all of the above in certain particulars, was recorded by the late G. W. Grayson from Caley Proctor, one of the leading "reactionaries" among the Creeks at the present time, and I insert it here through the courtesy of the Grayson family:

"Cosa, according to this legend, was the original name of the Muscogees, two of whom, at a very early day, went away from home on a hunting expedition in the wild woods as was the habit of the people in those times. Having gone as far as they cared to travel the first day, they encamped near a stream of water. Near their camp stood a large tree, from a certain part of which the men noticed that drops of water occasionally fell. Regarding this as a rather strange phenomenon, one of the men determined to investigate it, and he climbed the tree to ascertain the cause, while his companion awaited the result below. He found the tree to be hollow at a certain point, containing a considerable quantity of water collected therein from rainfall, from which descended the drops of water they had observed. In this water were a number of fishes. With his hands he caught some of these which he brought down, cooked and ate against the protests of his companion, who said, 'We have always been counseled not to undertake to do anything unusual without the advice or consent of persons older than we and of greater experience, and I think you should not eat the fishes taken in so strange a manner lest something terrible befall you.' But the young man could not undo his rash act, and soon its effects began to show clearly; in a little while, that same evening, his human head and face changed into the head of an immense snake, while his arms and legs also changed, completing his metamorphosis into a large serpent of horrible appearance.

"Next morning he bewailed his plight to his companion, saying: 'You in all friendliness advised me not to eat of the fishes lest evil befall me, but, not regarding your friendly caution, I ate them and am now suffering the consequences of my obstinacy. Go now and inform my parents of my plight, tell them how it came about, and say to them, if they desire to see me, to come here. I will be in the creek near by. When they come let them discharge a gun as a signal of their arrival and I shall come out of the water to meet them.'

"So saying he entered the waters of the creek and disappeared, leaving his friend alone in camp. The latter thereupon returned to the town of Cosa, and to the parents and relatives of the now metamorphosed man he related all that had occurred and told how he had been deputed by his unfortunate friend to relate the story of his mishap and how they might once more see him if they desired.

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"The parents and relatives and all others who had heard the story were greatly concerned and, assembling in full force, repaired at once to the place indicated where they discharged the gun as their friend had directed. On hearing this signal the snake man came forth from the creek and stretched himself affectionately across the laps of his parents as they sat in the midst of the assemblage. Upon this they gave way to their grief and set up a great *wahketa*,[48c] expressive of sorrow for the loss of their son. The monster said sadly: 'You see me in this pitiable condition, the circumstances of which have, I presume, been explained to you so that you understand how it came about. I now suggest that my relatives and friends return to their homes and on the fourth day from the present gather at the Tcook-u'-thlocco ("Big House"—i. e., the Square Ground) where I will meet them later.' Saying this, the snake-man returned to the water and his relatives and friends went back to their homes.

"On the fourth day the relatives and friends of the snake-man gathered at the Tcook-u'-thlocco, as had been requested, and many others came near but remained on the outside. Presently the snake-man made his appearance, coming from the stream in which he had taken refuge, and he was followed by a stream of water. When he entered the grounds occupied by the public buildings they all sank, along with the people gathered there, and this was the origin of Coosa River.

"Those who did not enter the Square Grounds with the friends and relatives of the snake-man were not destroyed, but gathered themselves together and became what was subsequently known as Cosa town, the members calling themselves Cos-is-tuggees, 'people of the Cosa town,' though the name is more properly Cos-ulgee. The residue of the Cosa people, having thus formed a town, bitterly lamented on account of the calamity that had thus robbed them of so many of their valuable citizens. In grievous distress they cried out, 'Woe is our nation! We were the greatest of all the nations; our *tus-e-ki-yas* were numerous, reaching out and known and dreaded the world over. But it is not so now. We have lost even our *Tcook-u' thlocco*, and a great number of our common people and great is the humiliation that has fallen on us. Shame and humiliation is now our portion. We can occupy only the place of the *e-yas-ke* (the humble, lowly, weak, unpretending).' The Cosas indulged in other similar jeremiads and changed their name to Tulsee, *ulsee* signifying in the Muscogee language 'to be ashamed,' 'bashful,' while from it may be derived *ul is ke ta*, 'shame,' 'disgrace,' but how the letter *t* could have become prefixed to *ulsee* is neither explained nor conjectured."

[48c] Wahketa, a lamentation for the dead.

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The supposed derivation of the name Tulsa[1] is, of course, fanciful. The story of the man turned into a serpent is well known among the southeastern Indians and I have several versions of it, but this is the only one in which it appears as explanatory of an historical event or social custom.

Legus Perryman and other informants told me that Kos istâgi is the old name of the Tulsa people; that it was used frequently in speeches on the busk ground; and that names beginning with Kos were common among them. One informant stated that the term was applied, not to the entire people, but to one of the two moieties, perhaps the Whites. The same terms were used by the Okfuskee, and, although some informants knew nothing of a connection between these towns, it is practically certain.

There is a story, the origin of which I do not know, to the effect that the Tulsa were once captured by the Tukabahchee.

Of course the native explanations of the names Coosa, Tulsa, and so on are the results of later reasoning. I met with two interesting cases of this linguistic phenomenon in which the English language was haled in to give point to the story. One affirms that there was once a great feast at which the Coweta Indians consumed so much more than any body else that they came to be called "Cow eaters." The other amounts to a myth built up to explain the name Eufaula and was related by as competent an authority as Jackson Lewis.

"In very early times the Eaufaula lived on one side of a certain stream and some Choctaw, with whom they were at war, lived on the opposite side which had a high bank. Every now and then a party from each would creep over to the other side, take a scalp, and, after their return, celebrate the event in the usual manner. Finally the Eufaula formed two bands of warriors which crept around back of the Choctaw town, one on each side, made an attack upon it and drove its occupants over the bluff, compelling them to jump into the water. From this circumstance that place came to be called "Where the people jumped down in" (isti aktaski) or "Where the people fell down in" (isti aklatki), and the Eufaula are said to have gotten their name from that circumstance. These names do not resemble the term Eufaula, but it is thought that that term is an English translation of them."

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The French memoir which I have assigned conjecturally to about the year 1755 contains the following curious story purporting to be the origin myth of the Creek Indians, or at least of that part of them living on Tallapoosa River. As it seems to emanate from Fort Toulouse, perhaps it should be still further restricted to the Alabama-speaking Indians about that place. The apparent European elements which it contains—for instance, the production of human beings from

1 [Cf. cat. 11b, p. 72--Analyst]

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173 539 stones reminiscent of the Greek story of Deucalion and Pyhrra and the objective illustration of the "in union there is strength" aphorism—render it doubtful how much we should credit to a purely Indian origin. At any rate it stands apart from all the stories above reported.

"They pretend that their first father having escaped with two male children from a universal deluge, for they all declare that there was one, went to consult the oracle. This told him to ascend a designated mountain covered with stones, some white and others black, collect as many of both kinds as he could before sunset, he and his two children, and carry them over their lands, and the next day they would find as many men and women as they had carried stones; and that one of his little sons would become chief of a great nation made up of the fragments of many others, rendered fugitives by wars. The truth of the prediction of the oracle was demonstrated next day by the number of men and women they saw around their cabins, of whom they formed many villages. The good father finding himself on his deathbed, exhorted his children to live in a firm union; he had a bundle of canes brought which, having fastened together, he told them to break, which they could not do. But having detached these canes and given them out one after the other they broke them easily. Upon this he told them that so long as they were united, their enemies would not be able to destroy them, but they must take care not to separate, or they would infallibly fall into slavery. While these things were taking place there arrived a beautiful Indian woman, almost white, who by her fine face and noble bearing showed that she was not of the lowest rank. She told them that she had come from a distance, that she had left her village when it was on the point of falling into the hands of enemies, and asked of them an asylum. This they generously granted, so much the more willingly as she began to move the affections of the eldest son very deeply. The father on his side encouraged his son to take her as his wife and had the pleasure of seeing her become his daughter-in-law before he died. But scarcely had he closed his eyes when the other brother, jealous of the possession of such a beautiful wife by his brother, disputed with him over the leadership, and raised a part of the people who were in his interest. A war followed in which the elder brother was killed. Immediately after his death a white bear made its appearance. As there were only black bears in that country, this appeared astonishing. This bear was followed by a number of black bears, which waged a cruel combat against the white bear in the presence of the people, but it remained victor after causing a general carnage among the black bears, and disappeared immediately. When everyone had recovered from his astonishment, the victorious brother went to find his sister-in-law but he could not discover her

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anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.[1] 173 539

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death." [778

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Łapłáko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis- 173 177 609 648

[1] [Cf. cat 11b, p. 74 -- Analyst]

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possessed by these newcomers. Another informant said that the Indians were believed to have come out of the earth, and therefore they own it and are to go back into it. The white people, on the other hand, were created later out of the foam of the sea. They first begged to put one foot on shore to rest themselves a little, and the Indians consented, but afterward the newcomers complained that it was tiresome to stand on but one foot and they asked to be allowed to set the other ashore. This also was granted. Next, the whites wanted to buy from the Indians as much land as could be covered with a hide, and when the Indians agreed they cut the hide into strips and made it surround a large area. In this way the Indians were gradually dispossessed. The Indians were also given a prophecy at that time to the effect that the whites would come and preach to them and the preaching would move westward.

Here we have the famous "cowhide purchase" myth, which dates back as far at least as Virgil, reinjected into Indian thought, apparently from a modern schoolbook. The most remarkable interweaving of schoolbook and other latter-day elements into a kind of Indian neo-philosophy is, however, the following from a decidedly reactionary Creek of Hilibi town:

"When Columbus reached America the first thing he saw was an eagle with a bunch of arrows in one claw and some leaves in the other. The arrows had been shot by the Indians and the eagle had caught them. Then Columbus and his people landed, but, being at first unable to open communication with the natives on account of their shyness, they resorted to a stratagem. They set a barrel of whisky ashore, laid a cane by it, and then withdrew. Afterward the Indians found the barrel and got drunk so that the white people were enabled to capture one of them. The rest managed to get away. They took the man they had captured and taught him "English" and through him they gradually became acquainted with the rest. Then they began to make treaties. To illustrate the gradual encroachments of the newcomers and how they dispossessed the Indians the following parable is told. Seventy Indian chiefs sat on a log which had fallen toward the west, and every time the whites came to make a treaty with them they would move up on it a little. They kept hitching up until at last the end man was shoved off. Then he said: 'There it is. I told you that is what you would do with me.' The white people induced them to make a treaty granting them as much ground as could be covered with a cowhide, and afterward they cut the hide into strips and treated them in the way already related. More white people kept coming and trouble arose, so that part had to go back. The remainder, however, promised that they would treat the Indians right as long as the streams ran and the water lasted."

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This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say: 173 177 609 648

"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.' "

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

Prophecies Regarding the Fate of the Indians

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse 773

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773 to obey orders, and the whole ceremony came to an end." According to yet another story the destruction was to be brought upon the Creek people by the loss of their women, who were to be taken away to an island, though by what agency is not stated. An old man of Tukabahchee, now long dead, is quoted by Zachariah Cook as having said that at the end of all things the world would shrivel up to "the mother of trees," which was at or identical with "the navel of the world," and then all of the people would be destroyed except four, who would be carried up to Ibofánga (The-one-above) on a block of wood.[48d]

Again it was said that by and by the Creeks would come to sing the Kilisto (Christ) song, and that would be an indication that as a distinct tribe they were to come to an end. Or according to another version, when the Kilisto song came to be adopted by the Creeks the old tradition would be driven away, the busk would fall into disuse, and then the Indians would decline in numbers. When the last of the Indians had disappeared their land would disappear also, presumably under the waters of the ocean.

The Indian agent who supplied Schoolcraft with information regarding the Chickasaw was told that at the end of all things the world would be destroyed by fire, and that then or shortly before it would "rain down blood and oil." This notion would appear to be in part at least from Christian sources.[49] In another place Schoolcraft gives the following information regarding the Muskogee, furnished by Mr. D. W. Eakins:

"They have no cycle, or fixed or stated period, at the end of which they believe the world will come to a close. But they say it will be destroyed by fire; and when this period arrives, the earth will be filled with war; and a body of people will appear among the Indians, and they will be destroyed; and then the Great Spirit will destroy the earth, to keep others from getting possession of it. They do not believe that the Indian priests cause its renewal." [50]

The rain of blood was also known to Hitchcock's informants:

"Before the world comes to an end there is to be a general peace of all peoples, white and red (the blacks they seem to take no account of). After the peace, for a time it will rain blood and when trees are cut the sap will be blood. After that it will be seen that the world will be coming to an end and all people will go to one place to die.

"The old people used to say that those who are to be saved will go up, that the others will have towns under the earth. (Here he [the Indian informant] explained, as if anxious to impress it upon me, that this was what the old people had told him.)

"There will be but a few that will go up, the good people; the bad people will go below." [51]

In this last, Christian influence is very evident.

[48d] Tuggle heard that at the end of the world all things would be swept to one place from the four corners of the earth. See next paper, p. 487.

[49] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, p. 310. [50] Ibid., p. 272. [51] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Household

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety. 592

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (hûti) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the tcokofa. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives. [562] [591] [888]

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses. [597] [567] [595]

The Family

GENERAL REMARKS

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative 601

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applications are frequently indicated by means of the diminutive suffix or some qualifying word, though we find that this may sometimes be omitted. In the tables which follow I have given merely the stems of the terms of relationship, but it must be understood that in actual use they never occur without the appropriate pronominal prefixes. For each of them there is an English term the use of which approaches so closely to that of the Indian that it may be employed—as I have in fact employed it—as typical of the relationship in question.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

Terms of Relationship Used by a Man

I. TERMS DETERMINED BY BIRTH

1. potca (grandfather). Applied: (1) to the father's father and the mother's father; (2) to the brothers of these, their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and their brothers; in short, to all of the male ancients of the groups from which the speaker traces his origin; (3) to the father's sister's husband and to the husbands of all her female descendants in both the male and the female lines; (4) to husbands of the more remote posi mentioned below. It was bestowed on anyone whose wife was called posi and given as an honorary term to any old man. A man called the clan (or exogamous group?) of his father's father tcapotca łako, "my great-grandfather."

2. posi (grandmother). Applied: (1) to the father's mother and the mother's mother, sometimes distinguished as "the real posi"; (2) to the sisters and female ancestors of these individuals in the same extensive manner as was the case with the preceding term; (3) to the father's sister and all of her female descendants in both the female and the male lines; (4) to more remote female descendants of all posi on the father's side. The husbands of all women called by this term were known as potca.

3. łki (father). Applied: (1) to the father; (2) to the father's brother; (3) to the father's sister's male descendants in both male and female lines; (4) to all other male descendants of the women on the father's side who are called posi; (5) to the husband of the mother's sister; (6) to the stepfather; it carries the idea of "second father." All of these individuals except the true father are usually distinguished by having applied to them the diminutive form of this term, łkutci.

4. tcki (mother). Applied: (1) to the mother; (2) to the mother's sister; (3) to the father's brother's wife; (4) to the wives of the male descendants of the father's sister and the more remote relations upon the father's side who are known by the preceding term; (5) to the stepmother. And, as in the case of the preceding term, it usually takes the diminutive suffix in all usages except the first.

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5. pawa (uncle). Applied: (1) to the mother's brother; (2) to the older men of the mother's exogamous group and at times to the younger ones also since it is said that an old man would sometimes call a small baby thus. Each exogamous group had an "uncle" par excellence who was its leader and instructor.[51a]

According to Morgan[52] this term was also applied to the mother's mother's brother's son and to the mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son, the children and grandchildren of these individuals receiving the same terms as the children and grandchildren of the mother's own brother. It is evident that the first of these can not belong to the same exogamous group as the mother's brother, because his father belongs to that exogamous group, while the second may or may not belong to it according as his father had married into that exogamous group or into another. If Morgan's informants were correct and he made no mistake himself, this would remove almost the last term from the number of those which might have had an application coterminous with an exogamous group.

6. łaha (elder brother). Applied: (1) to the elder brother; (2) to the older male child of the father's brother; (3) to the older male child of the mother's sister; (4) to a number of men of corresponding age in the exogamous group of the speaker.

7. tcusi (younger brother). Applied like the preceding but to younger brothers and younger males of the same groups.

8. wànwa (sister). The feminine term parallel to the last two. Loughridge and Hodge[53] give wànwa for elder sister and tcuste for younger sister, but I am inclined to think that this distinction was not commonly made. According to Morgan[54] the stepsister was known by the same term.

9. kputci (son). Applied: (1) to the son; (2) to the son of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the sons of all of those called łaha or tcusi; (4) to the male children of those called pawa (uncle). The stepson was called tcàkputci haki, "like my son."

10. tchusti (daughter) (see 22). Applied: (1) to the daughter; (2) to the daughter of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the daughters of all those called łaha or tcusi; (4) to the female children of those spoken of as pawa (uncle). The stepdaughter was called tcàtchusti haki, "like my daughter."

11. hopwiwa (nephew). Applied: (1) to the sister's son; (2) to all sons of those called wànwa; (3) to the younger men of the same exogamous group more remotely related. The plural form of this term, hopwitàlgi, is used for the persons constituting this category and the next taken collectively.

[51a] See pp. 122-123.
[52] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 155, 303.
[53] Loughridge and Hodge, Dictionary, entry "sister."
[54] Morgan, op. cit., p. 376.

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12. hàkpati (niece). Applied: (1) to the sister's daughter; (2) to all daughters of those called wànwa; (3) to the younger women of the same exogamous group more remotely related, and extended, it is said, not merely to all of the young women of the group but to its entire female membership.

13. osuswa (grandchild). Applied: (1) to the grandchild of either sex by persons of either sex; (2) to the grandchildren of the brothers and sisters; (3) to the grandchildren of the uncles (mother's brothers); (4) to the grandchildren of all called by the same terms as the brothers, sisters, and uncles; (5) to the descendants of all of these. In other words it seems to take in all of the coming generations generally except for the descendants of the women of the father's exogamous group and those related through it, who are all known as "little fathers," and grandmothers (posi).

II. MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS

14. hewa (wife). This term was never employed by the man himself "because it was thought that husband and wife are too closely related." Instead he usually called his wife hoktàli (old woman). Hewa, or a term very closely resembling it, was given to me as a synonym for hàtcawa (see No. 18). Morgan,[55] however, who gives it in the form ehiwā, enters it as one applied by a woman to her brother's wife and, as might have been expected, to her mother's sister's son's wife. It is perhaps significant that it then takes the possessive pronominal prefix, indicating less direct connection, while the word for wife takes the direct pronominal prefix.

15. mahe (father-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's father; (2) to his brothers and his and their male antecedents generally, as also probably to the older men of the father-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says two fathers-in-law applied the term reciprocally.

16. hoktàlwa (mother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's mother; (2) to the sisters and female antecedents of all these women, and probably to the older women of the mother-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says that two mothers-in-law applied the term to each other. This word carries the meaning that the person so designated has become "the old woman of the house."

17. kaputci (brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's brother; (2) to the wife's sister's husband; (3) to all of the younger males related through the wife.

18. hàtcawa (sister-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's sister; (2) to the wife's brother's wife; (3) to all of the younger females related through the wife; (4) to the wife of the uncle (pawa) and all of those women married to the persons called uncle. According to Morgan[56] it is also used for the brother's wife instead of tcukowàki

[55] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 341, 361. [56] Ibid., p. 360.

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(kawa) and this would seem to be more natural, since in that case hàtcawa would prove to be the term for all of the women married into a man's family in his own generation, while tcukowàki would be the corresponding term for all of the males. Still all my own informants disagree with Morgan on this point. As was to have been expected in any case, Morgan also applies it to the father's brother's son's wife and the mother's sister's son's wife.

19. tcukowàki (called by Morgan kawa) (sister-in-law, brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the sister's husband; (2) according to my own informants to the brother's wife (see 18); (3) to the husbands and wives (?) of those called elder brother, younger brother, and sister; (4) to the sister's daughter's husband. It is possible that the term hàtisi may sometimes have been used instead of this. In accordance with the expected we find Morgan[87] applying it to the father's brother's daughter's husband and the mother's sister's daughter's husband. The word means "he who lies down at (my) house" and thus becomes a member of my family.

20. hàtisi (son-in-law, daughter-in-law). Applied: (1) to the son's wife; (2) to the daughter's husband; (3) to the wives and husbands of all of those called "sons" and "daughters."

Terms of Relationship Used by a Woman

These are the same as the terms used by a man except as below indicated:

The terms laha and tcusi are applied to the elder sister and younger sister respectively instead of to the elder and younger brother, and they are extended to corresponding female groups. Morgan states that the former term was bestowed upon the stepsister.

21. tcilwa (brother). Applied: (1) to the brother; (2) to male children of the father's brothers and those classed with him, and to the male children of the mother's sisters and those classed with her; (3) to the stepbrother. It is the reciprocal of the purely male term wànwa.

22. tchuswa (child).[88] Applied: (1) to own children of both sexes in place of the male terms kputci and tchusti; (2) to the children of the elder sisters and younger sisters; (3) to the children of all called by the same names as the elder and younger sisters. Sometimes the sister's children and more remote relations were distinguished by the use of the diminutive suffix (tchuswutci). The stepchild was called tcàtchuswa haki, "like my child."

Instead of employing separate terms for the nephew and niece, as did males, the women called them indiscriminately osuswa (grandchildren), and also gave this term to the children of the uncles (pawa).

[87] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 317, 343. [88] The word is said to be related to tcustaki, "eggs."

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601 Instead of applying the terms tchuswa or tchuswutci to the children of her father's brother's daughter and her mother's sister's daughter, Morgan states that a woman used the term osuswa. This is all the more remarkable as the mothers of these individuals are at the same time said to have been called by the same terms as the speaker's own sisters (łaha and tcusi). This is also given as the term for the mother's sister's daughter's children, and hence it presumably took in all of the children of those called łaha and tcusi except own sisters.

23. he (husband). A wife did not use this term herself; she called her husband "my old man."

A woman uses the same terms for her husband's father and mother that a man uses for his wife's father and mother.

24. hàtcawa (brother-in-law, sister-in-law). According to my own informants, this is applied to all brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law—sister's husband, brother's wife, husband's brother, husband's sister, husband's brother's wife, and husband's sister's husband. As stated above (under 14), Morgan calls the brother's wife ehiwá, while I was told that the latter term, or one nearly like it, was synonymous with hàtcawa in all of its uses. The ordinary word for wife is hewá (or haiwa).

Where sex distinctions were not connoted by the terms themselves they could be indicated by adding to any term honanwa, "male," or hokti, "female."

Supplementary Terms

25. itetcayeta, "the one next to whom I come" (or "the other brother"—Morgan[59]) may sometimes be applied to the elder brother, but it is not necessarily bestowed on blood relations. Morgan gives this as a term for the father's brother's son and also for the stepbrother.[60]

26. saitca, used to designate the men of the father's clan.

27. pitahaiàlgi (-àlgi plural suffix) is believed to have been applied to the female offspring of the father's brothers. This is from information furnished by the late G. W. Grayson.

28. hisitagi, a term applied to friendly clans not otherwise related.

29. hupuitagi, "children," a general term; the singular is obsolete.

30. hunapsi, "offspring."

31. istutci ("little person"), my child, referring to any single child; hokosi is a term for children in general.

32. tcipànàgi, or tcibànàgi, the younger men of the clan or exogamous group.

Many of these terms, especially as respects their more general applications, are now used only in jest, but anciently their use was a serious and sacred matter. The following tables present diagrammatically all of the essentials of the Creek scheme of relationship.

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[59] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, p. 314. [60] Ibid., pp. 314, 375.

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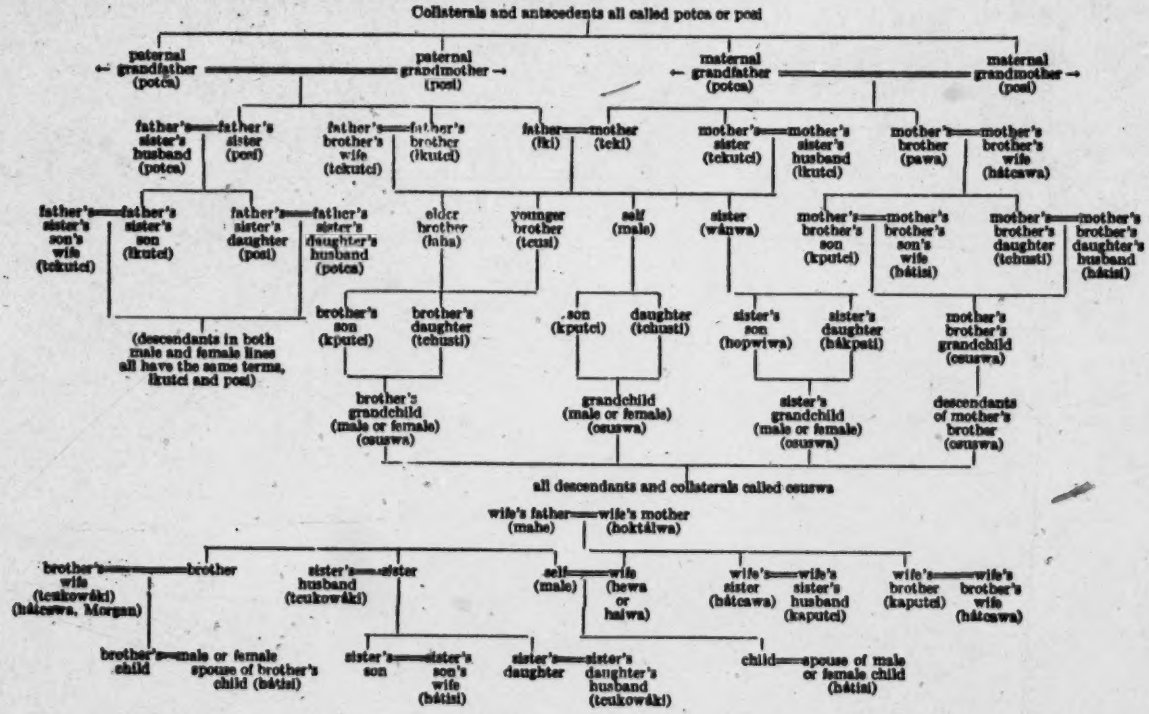
Muskogee—Self Male



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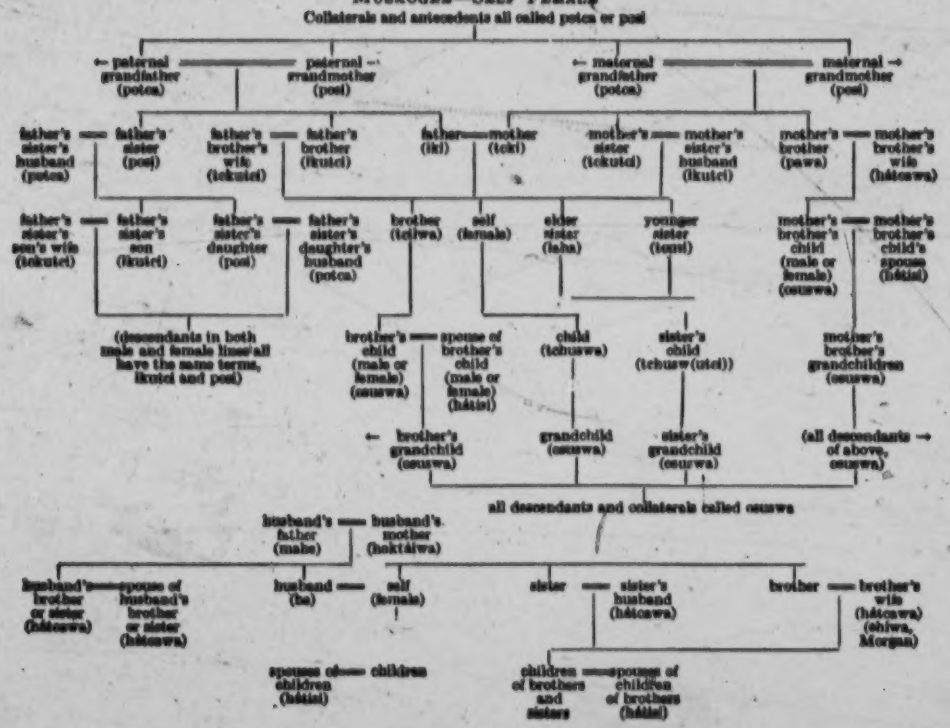
Muskogee—Self Female

Collaterals and antecedents all called potca or posi



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Almost the only attempt by an early writer to give an idea of the nature of the Muskogee terms of relationship is by Stiggins, who says: 601

"All the men of the father's clan or family are called their father, the women are generally called their grandmother, all the men of the mother's family older than themselves are their uncles, being their mother's brothers. All of their own age and under are called their brothers, and all of the old women of their mother's clan are called grandmother or aunt." [a]

This information agrees entirely with what has been presented above.

The ceremonial extension of terms of relationship to clans as a whole is also mentioned by Stiggins. We shall refer to this again when we come to speak of the clan system. 601 614

In spite of the emphasis which Stiggins places on clans in determining the application of terms of relationship, an examination of the usages assigned to them shows that all of the terms not individual (such as the ones used to designate husband and wife) cut across, or at least may cut across, the lines of the exogamous groups. This is, of course, patently true of those applied to grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild, and it is at once evident in the case of that applied to the father since it is used for all of the male descendants of the father's sister through both males and females. The term for "mother" may be bestowed upon a woman not of the mother's clan because it is given to the wives of the father's sister's male descendants, apparently without any clan limitations. Again, if we may trust Morgan, the term "uncle," the mother's brother, is used for the mother's mother's brother's son who can not be of the same exogamous group as the mother's brother. "Brother" and "sister" are used, not only for the children of all of those called "mothers," who are of the same exogamous group, but for the children of those called "fathers," who may be of several distinct groups. The terms for the sister's children are not determined by clan lines because they may be used for the children of the father's brother's daughter. Still less is there an absolute association of the terms resulting from marriage and the exogamous divisions.

It is evident, in other words, that the determining factor in the use of these terms is the relation which the several persons to whom they are applied bears to self, not the relation which they bear to his clan or exogamous group. It is evident, also, that terms are applied to a class for the most part because the individuals composing it are connected with some individual, or small group of individuals, having special significance for the speaker. That this extension of the term is secondary is shown clearly in many cases by the employment of the diminutive suffix which evidently indicates greater remoteness in 601 602

[a] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Nat., p. 32.

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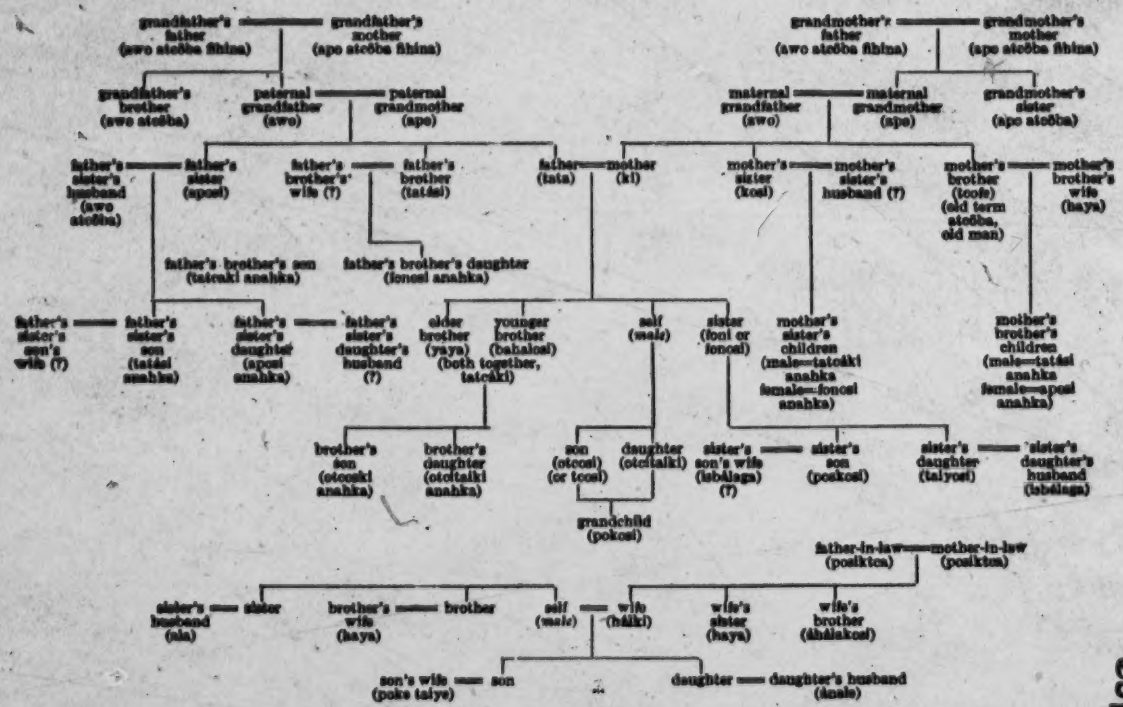
601 the connection. The ĺki or ĺkutci are connected with self through the
602 primary ĺki or father; or because, through marriage, they have been brought in line with other ĺki. Much the same is true of the other relationships, and it becomes particularly obvious when we examine the associations due to marriage. The "typical" relations for a man appear to be: potca, grandfather; posi, grandmother; ĺki, father; tcki, mother; pawa, maternal uncle; ĺaha, elder brother; tcusi, younger brother; wánwa, sister; kputci, son; tchusti, daughter; hopwiwa, sister's son (or daughter); hákpati, sister's daughter; osuswa, grandchild; mahe, father-in-law; hoktálwa, mother-in-law; hátcawa, sister-in-law; kaputci, wife's brother; tcukowaki, sister's husband; hátisi, spouse of child. The typical relations for a woman are the same except that the terms used by a man for elder brother and younger brother she applies to her elder and younger sisters, while she has a term, tcilwa, not employed by a man, for all of her brothers, and one term, tchuswa, for a child of either sex. Hátcawa has a wider extension, and, according to Morgan, a new term, ehiwa, is used for the brother's wife, perhaps a mere modification of the word "wife" itself; kaputci is not employed. The tie between an individual and his mother's people is certainly far closer than that between him and his father's people, but the fact is not reflected in the terms of relationship to the extent one would anticipate.

601 Although no doubt the terms of relationship employed by the various tribes incorporated into the Creek confederacy differed some-
184 what not only in the forms of the words but in application it is to be suspected that, as we have them to-day, they have been brought into conformity with Muskogee usage. This should be found particularly the case with Hitchiti and to a somewhat less degree with Koasati and Alabama.

601 My list of Hitchiti terms is incomplete. It is as follows: grandfather, fosi; father, ĺki (in direct address by children, tati); mother, hki or ki (in direct address by children, watci); mother's sister, hkosi ("little mother"); elder brother, tcavi; younger brother, yakpitci (or yakposi); elder sister (man sp.), funki; younger sister (man sp.), otcabaka; brother (woman sp.), ĺákfi; elder and younger sisters of woman, same terms as for elder and younger brothers of man; son, hopui; daughter, ostaiki; nephew (and niece?), ohosotci; wife, hálki (called by husband in direct address hamuhtci); husband, nákáni ("male"); mother-in-law, katamoh. The oldest sister was known as hamuhtaka.

The following diagram illustrates the Koasati terms of relationship, as they were obtained by me at the Koasati village in Louisiana:

Koasati—Self Male



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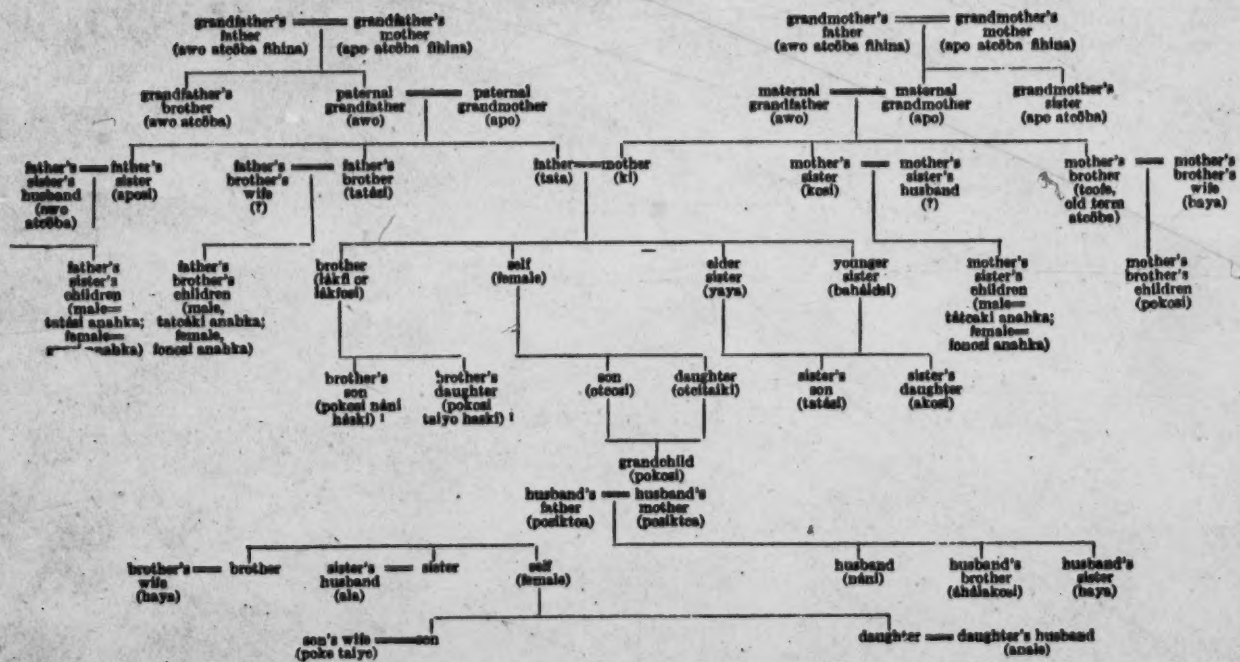
KOASATI—SELF FEMALE



[1] Called sometimes anlakfosi otcosi to indicate to a stranger that they are not own grandchildren.

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Most of the apparent differences between the Muskogee and Koasati systems disappear on closer examination, but a few divergencies are left which are rather striking. Thus Muskogee males call the children of the mother's brother by the same terms as the children of the own brother, while the Koasati give to them the terms employed for the father's sister's children. Again, the Muskogee have but one term for son-in-law and daughter-in-law, while the Koasati have a term for each. C. 184 601

So far as I have been able to determine, the Alabama system closely resembles that of the Koasati, but the words employed differ somewhat. These differences are as follows: Grandfather, fosi; maternal uncle, mosi; father's sister, tcipo; elder brother of man and elder sister of woman, tcatci; younger brother of man and younger sister of woman, bâhlo; daughter, ostaiki. Also, ânale (or onali) is used for both the son-in-law and the daughter-in-law, so that Alabama resembles Muskogee in this respect more than it does Koasati. In direct address an Alabama child calls its mother pitci. C. 601

A few Natchez terms of relationship were recorded by Albert Pike, Mrs. Robertson, and Dr. A. S. Gatschet from individuals belonging to those Natchez living among the Muskogee, but the more complete list obtained by the writer was secured from an Indian of the Cherokee branch of the tribe. No differences in usage have been observed between the two sections. N. 601

From the narratives of Du Pratz and other early writers we know that the ancient Natchez organization was highly complex and a considerable development of the relationship terminology was to have been expected. What has come down to us resembles in essentials the systems of the surrounding tribes, but there are a few peculiar features and some supplementary terms which suggest greater complexity in the past. The explanations which I obtained for some of these Natchez terms are contradictory, due no doubt in part to the fact that they were transmitted through a Cherokee interpreter, but most of them may be straightened out by reference to the other Muskhogean systems. In the following list I have numbered them so as to conform as nearly as possible to the numbers in the lists already given.

Terms of Relationship Used by a Man

1. dedex (grandfather). Applied to the grandfather on either side.

2. icdu, yecdu, yecta, necte (grandmother). Applied to the grandmother on either side, and to the father's sister. From the variant forms it is possible that the one used for the father's sister may have been slightly different from that used for the grandmother, but I think not. The secondary applications were probably like those in the other southeastern languages, though whether of the Muskogee or the Chickasaw type it would be impossible to say.

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3. ibic (father). Applied to the father and the father's brother. The latter was also called ibicī'nu, little father. The stepfather was called ibic hànicū'ya, which seems to mean "the made father." There is, however, another term said to have been applied to the father's brother, hàbox. In one place it is spoken of as if limited to the father's elder brother, in another it is given as a term for the father's sister, and in still another as a term for the mother's brother. In direct address the father was called tatà.

4. ixgwàl (mother). Applied to the mother and the mother's sister. The stepmother was known as ixgwàl hànicū'ya (see above). But just as there appears to have been a second term for the father's brother we seem to find a second term for the father's sister, hapetse. This was recorded by Pike in 1861 and may be assumed to belong to the older system. In direct address the mother is called dzudzuha.

5. awex (maternal uncle). I have no evidence of any secondary applications.

6. gaga (elder brother). Applied by a man to his elder brother. I have one statement to the effect that it was also applied by a woman to her elder brother, but this may be considered doubtful (see 21). It was not used by a woman for her elder sister. In a single place I find the term uwana dzàxp' dàdànī'ya used for "my elder brother," the first part of this resembling the following term.

7. wàna (younger brother (m. sp.), younger sister (f. sp.)). Besides the applications indicated it is said to have been used for the younger children of clan brothers and sisters respectively.

8. alowàts (sister). Applied by a man to his sister older or younger.

9 and 10. haxgwàl (child). Applied by a man to his son or daughter; perhaps also by a woman, although this seems doubtful (see 22). The stepson or stepdaughter was called haxgwàl hànicū'ya. A man sometimes called his male child tàmanū'nux.

11 and 12. hedzina (nephew or niece). Applied by a man to his sister's child.

13. hàmàhàlic (grandchild). Applied to the children of one's own sons and daughters, and probably with the same extensions as are found in other Muskhogean languages. There is also a categorical statement to the effect that it was bestowed by a woman upon her brother's children.

14. alu (wife) (see 16). The term employed by a man for his own wife was simply tamàl, "woman."

15. wàgàt (father-in-law).

16. hàctibi (mother-in-law). This is also given by Gallatin in the oldest of all Natchez vocabularies as a term applied to the wife, but it is probably because, as in other southeastern languages, the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek
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wife was often called by her husband "old woman" (hâctip), a word from which the term for mother-in-law is also probably derived. 60

17. edudziya (brother-in-law). Said to have been applied to the sister's husband and to have been used by both men and women; whether it was also bestowed by a man upon the wife's brother and the wife's sister's husband and by a woman upon her husband's brother and her husband's sister's husband is uncertain.

18 and 19. hetala (sister-in-law). Said to have been applied by persons of both sexes to the brother's wife. The wife's sister was called hecga, and according to one statement the brother's wife was so called, but this is probably an error.

20. âcowâl, or icowâl (son-in-law, daughter-in-law). This was used, apparently by persons of both sexes, for the son's wife and the daughter's husband. Gatschet has necegup for daughter-in-law, but I find no confirmation of this and no explanation of the form he gives.

Terms of Relationship Used by a Woman

These were the same as those employed by a man with the exceptions already noted and the following:

As we have seen, a woman called her younger sister by the term which a man applied to his younger brother; her elder sister, however, she called atâx.

21. gabina, "male," is given as the term which a woman bestowed upon her brother, and she is said to have called her elder brother gabina cila, "big brother" (or "big male"). The identical word is also said to have been used for "husband."

22. As stated above (see 9 and 10) a woman is sometimes said to have called her children haxgwâl, but the more usual term seems to have been abixgwâl, also extended by her to her sister's children. A statement that she so denominated her brother's children is at variance with better testimony (see 13).

The term for husband corresponding to ahu is unknown. The colloquial expression was simply dom', "person."

Supplementary Terms

Children of the father's brothers and sisters and the mother's brothers and sisters are all said to have been called icin gaha'wâx. Kitax, later the general term for "friend," probably had at one time a special clan application. An orphan, or one who had lost a single parent, was known as icin dzuyâ'kdzup.

Our knowledge of this system is admittedly fragmentary, and I give tabulations of it merely because they are easier to follow than a description.

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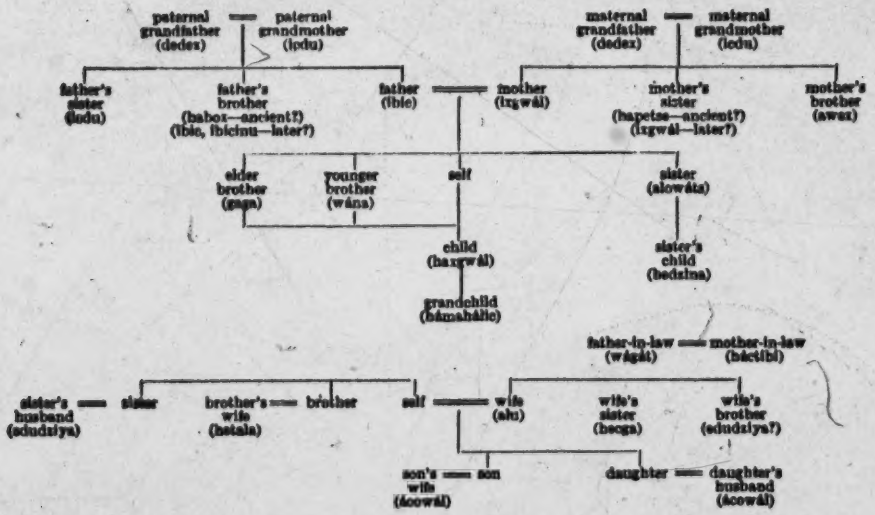
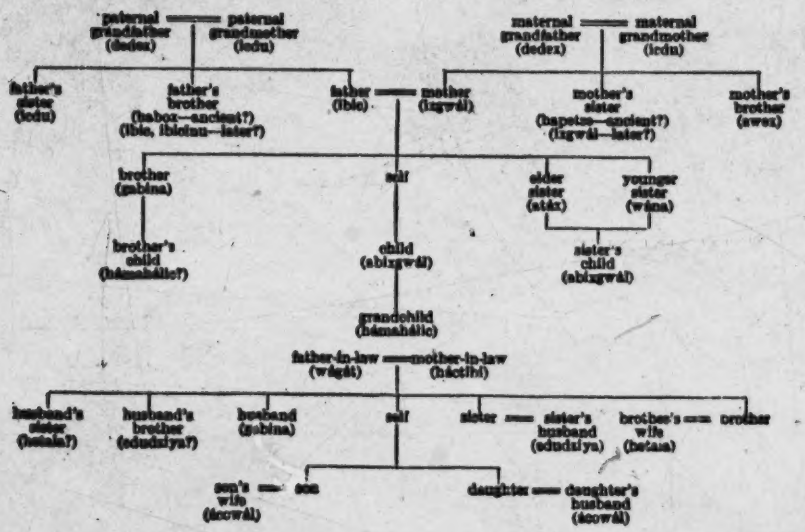
NATCHEZ TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP—SELF MALE



NATCHEZ TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP—SELF FEMALE



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N. 601 171 C. 601 171

In its main outlines this is like the better known systems already described.* There are, however, two or three divergencies which would perhaps be of importance if we could be assured of the reliability of our data. One of these was the use of terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister having no etymological connection with the words for own father and own mother; another the employment by a woman of a term for elder sister distinct from the term used by a man for his elder brother. There is not a trace of the first of these anomalies in Cherokee any more than in the common Muskhogean tongues. Cherokee and ordinary Muskhogean usage do indeed diverge in applying terms to the brothers and sisters, but Natchez agrees with neither. Among the Cherokee there is one reciprocal term applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. A man has distinct terms for elder brother and younger brother, neither of which is, indeed, used by the woman, but, unlike Natchez, she has only one term for all of her sisters.

C. 601 619

When we come to the discussion of clans we shall find that terms of relationship, particularly the terms "uncle" and "nephew," were sometimes applied to clans taken as a whole (see pp. 145–149). They were also extended to towns and foreign tribes. Thus Tukabahchee has frequently been called "the mother town" (tálwa itcki), an appellation shared also by Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, and Otciapofa. Malatchi, head chief of the Creeks about the middle of the eighteenth century and probably a Kasihta Indian, speaks of the Chickasaw as his "younger brothers" and himself as their "elder brother."[62] McGillivray informed Barton that the Cherokee had been longer in the east than the Creeks and therefore called the latter their "younger brothers."[63] Like so many other tribes, the Creeks called the Delaware Indians their "grandfathers" and they were called "grandchildren" by both Delaware and Shawnee.[64] Schoolcraft, who gives this information, also adds: "Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known; but by some it is."[64] The French were formerly said to be the "fathers" of the southern Indians, and at the present day the same term is applied to the Americans.

C. 601

The examination of these systems of relationship, particularly that of the Muskogee, makes it evident that they are based upon essentially the same factors as our own—blood, marriage, sex, relative age, social contact—although the fourth item has much greater prominence. To these the influence of the artificial exogamous group must be added, but it can not be too strongly emphasized that this factor merely gives a certain twist to a system by no means de-

[62] Bossewarth's Mt. Journal, p. 89. [64] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, 1, p. 288.
[63] Barton, New Views, p. xiv.

*[See pp. 79-95, category 116.--Analyst]

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pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

Cr. 601
Cr. [611]

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

Cr. 171 551
Ch. 171 551

The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Choola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'[46] The father and mother of the former are called *Choollingge*, and *Choollishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahlishke;* for *Ingge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . ."[47]

Ch. 551

"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

Ch. 551 727

[46] The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 28.

[47] Adair, op. cit., p. 191.

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Ch. 551 727

several circumstances—as of the time and place, where the battle was fought, of the number and rank of their captives, and the slain. The following is a specimen: one initiating in war-titles, is called *Tannip-Abe*, 'a killer of the enemy'; he who kills a person carrying a kettle, is crowned *Soonak-Abe-Tuska;* the first word signifies a kettle,[68] and the last a warrior. *Minggáshtàbe* signifies 'one who killed a very great chieftain,' compounded of *Mingo*, *Ash*,[69] and *Abe*. Pae-Máshtàbe, is, one in the way of war-gradation, or below the highest in rank, *Pae* signifying 'far off.'[70] *Tisshu Mashtabe* is the name of a warrior who kills the war-chieftain's waiter carrying the beloved ark."[71]

Adair adds a wrong analysis of the name *Shulashummastabe*,[72] "Red shoe killer," known to the whites as Red Shoes. He gives also the names *Chetehkabe* or *Chetehkabeshto*, "You are weary killer"; or "You are very weary killer";[73] Noabe, "one who kills a rambling enemy";[74] *Pas'pharáàbe* (Pa^{n}s falaya abi), "killer of a long haired person"; i. e., of a Choctaw; and Yanasabe, "the buffalo-killer," given to one who has killed a distinguished enemy.[75]

Cr. 551

Speaking of the Creek Indians of Tuskegee, Speck says:

"A male child was given no name until he had been initiated, but was known by the name of his totem, *Fúswa* 'bird,' *Tcitto* 'snake,' or perhaps some other epithet derived from a personal peculiarity. Girls were not called by the totem name, however, but were generally addressed by the kinship term or named after some natural occurrence or object connected with their birth. This name they retained without change through life. Examples of female names are very rare."[76]

Mr. McCombs says that every male child was first called tcibā'ni, "little boy," which is natural enough. Later men and women both received names derived either from those previously used by the family connection or such as were made up on the spot. Generally the latter commemorated some war exploit which the child's father, uncle, or other male relative had performed, and it is to be presumed that the same was true of the former, although many of them can no longer be interpreted. Their use was not strictly limited to one clan. Following is a list of common names applied to men furnished me by Zachariah Cook:

Adjū'li ("Old"?).
Áno'gitca, "Beloved."
Iyágo'pkī, "To squat," "to hide."
Koabai'gī, "To raise or rise."
Litī'fká, "Shedding hair."
Lū'ká.
Mahobá'ngī, "Spoiled" (meaning "the battle is spoiled since it is now begun").
Máne'djī, "To help someone."

[68] Byington has *ssonak* for "kettle."
[69] Or rather *swáka*, "to sit."
[70] Perhaps a Chickasaw word, wanting in Choctaw unless it is contracted from *bopaki*.
[71] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 193.
[72] Actually from *shulusk*, "a shoe"; *hummas*, "red"; *ima-aka*, "to have or keep something"; and *abi* "to kill."
[73] From *tcitikabi*, or *tcitikabi ishto*; Adair, op. cit., p. 192.
[74] From *noase*, "to walk," "to ramble," and *abi*, "to kill."
[75] Adair, op. cit., p. 192.
[76] Speck, Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

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Maowâ'ĥ, "Near by something."
Mate'tca, "Missed" (when one plans to meet another and fails).
Mĕll'ndĭ (?).
Midiwe'gĭ, "He throws him down for someone" (assisting in a fight).
Mîle'ĭ, "Pointer."
Motalĕ'stcĭ.
O'djudĭ.
Otci'sĭ.
Pahl'tcà, "To whoop and run upon the enemy."
Sáfuĕ'akĭ, "Tumbling someone into a ditch."
Sîma''gĭ, "To say."
Tahoknĕ'stcĭ, "To make anything light."
Tcinganĕ'hĭ, "A trap (for you?)."
Tco'tkĭ, "Small."
Tiwe'gĭ, "He throws someone down by himself."
Wàsa'sĭ, "Osage."

From other sources I have obtained the following:

Hitelfa'pa,[76] "Tobacco-eater."
Hobo'yĭ hi'ĥ łáko, "Big handsome child."
Hobo'yĭ łáko, "Big offspring."
Holibo'i, "He might kill (finish) all his enemies."
Homata'igà, "He crossed first."
Hoya'hanĭ or Huya'hni "Passing by." A former head war-chief of the Chiaha and Okmulgee bore this name.
Łatci'mahidjaigĭ, "Peeping at something (around a tree)." This was originally given because on a certain war expedition the father peeped around a tree at his own people by the camp fire, and warned them that it was dangerous to stand where they were.
Seletcĭ (?) (applied to a person of either sex).
Takusa (?) (a common name but given to persons of importance).
Te-wahatkĭ, "White hair with pieces of scalp."
Tokulkĭ, "They two run."
Tomali (?).

The following are from the notes of Dr. A. S. Gatschet:

Kotca'mi, (?).
Ko'we, (?) (name for a man or woman).
Ma'kale, probably meaning "to throw water on."
Saga'hgi, "Two behind something," probably engaged in a fight; given to a man or woman.
Sapinga'hli, "Taking away, abstracting, robbing."
Sawase'gi, "Left alone in it," probably a fight; given to a man or a woman.
Simahitca'gi, "Taking aim," or "Getting sight of an object which is to be shot."
Tci'ho, "A man of Chiaha town."
Tcuwatala'go, (?).

The following names applied to women were given me by Rev. William McCombs of Eufaula, Okla.:

Anä'hki, "Getting very near (the enemy) by stratagem."
Anáthō'yi, "Two returning wounded."
Folûthō'gi. It is implied in this word that it perpetuates the memory of two men who entered a country beset with dangers in order to locate the situation, numbers, and so on of the enemy, who performed this service by strategem or otherwise and returned safely to their own people.
Homawlä'hki, "Two advancing in front" as scouts.
Isyolai'gi, "Two fell together" after having grappled with each other, depending only upon their physical strength.
Łäsahō'yi, "We saw them at a distance chasing (the enemy)."
Saho'hyi, "Two kept on after" the enemy, while the rest halted. This is given as the name of General Weatherford's mother.
Wōlai'gi, indicates two special men have been sent out from an encampment to locate the enemy.[77]

[76] Perhaps this should be Hitelpepa.

[77] The daughters of Hobo-Hłayahola, the great Creek orator, are said to have been called Khila and Aslhi (Smith. Misc. Colls., No. 58, p. 14).

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551 Another feminine name, said to be very ancient, was recovered by Mr. Grayson and bestowed upon one of his own children. This name, Tsianīna, can not now be interpreted. Two other names, Tsinī'a, "peeping," and Mitiwō'hli, which probably means "turning around," were given me by Mrs. Grayson.

The following feminine names were collected by Doctor Gatschet:

Fik'-huya'hni, "Heart passing by, about, or around."
Isa-usāi'ki (?) or Sahusāi'ki, "One left (in war) with it."
Mihi'li, "One who likes somebody."
Setakha'hgi, "(Fighting) in a line."
Simihi'li, "One getting attached to someone" (this may, perhaps, be used for a man).

Among the Alabama of Texas the war names have long since passed out of use, and most of the young people do not have Indian names of any sort, while the meanings of those still preserved are not known. Following is a partial list of Alabama names:

MEN

Atcuwai'tcī.
Cī'mālokai'tcī'.
Cīmatātāhge'.
Ciyupī'ti.
Conafti'tci.
Cowai'yi.
Ē'lawēhtcī.
Holētke'.
Homalē'htcī.
Kalāne'.
Kocpō'.
Kone'.
Lone'.
Pā'djo.
Pahe'tcā.
Patābi'.
Sī'late.
Sīnīāhe'.
Tāfolo'hkē.
Takohtcī.
Tcai'iki.
Tcāke'.
Tcāmba'.
Tcawē'hkī.
Tīkbābe'.
Tolā'na.
Wai'hke.
Yāga'hpi.
Yāhe'tcī.
Yaiyī'.

WOMEN

Apīlho'yē.
Awāgahe'.
Cāmbo'.
Cīma'goiho'djī.
Cokyūhki.
Fāla'iki.
Mocai'tcī'.
Nocai'hki.
Okō'sī.
Pa'lusī.
Sa'hāwe'.
Sihoma'hki.
So'ñki.
Tcūkla'hte.
Yūlho'hki.

551 554 614 Busk names should rather be called titles. In former days they were ordinarily given only on account of warlike exploits, especially the taking of scalps, but, as I have noted elsewhere, they could sometimes be secured by obtaining eagle feathers or killing many deer. In a few cases such titles were conferred upon women.[77] Each clan

[77] See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42; however, in an unpublished Hitchiti story collected by Doctor Gatschet, in recognition for a deed of heroism which one woman performed, a busk title was conferred, not on her but on her son.

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had its own set of titles which were given to new aspirants after the death of the former holders. If at any time the titles belonging to a clan were entirely exhausted a name could be borrowed from the clan of the aspirant's father, but after the death of the holder it would revert to the clan from which it had been taken. 551 554 614

These titles usually contained two words, of which the second was commonly hadjo, fiksiko, yahola, imała, tàstànàgi, or miko. The last three belonged properly to certain classes of functionaries to be described elsewhere, but in some towns they seem to have become hereditary in the clans; at least this is definitely affirmed for the term tàstànàgi. It has frequently been reported that these titles were bestowed in a certain order. Thus one of my own informants said that a man would probably be given first a name containing hadjo, next one with imała, and finally one with tàstànàgi. Another gave the order as hadjo, tàstànàgi, and miko. Most of this is explained, however, by the fact that the names imała, tàstànàgi, and miko were applied to officials. Nevertheless there seems to have been some tendency to use a name containing hadjo first and one with yahola later on. These two, together with fiksiko, are called "common names," which here mean merely that they did not carry official positions with them. Hadjo means "mad," "crazy," but more particularly "furious in battle." Fiksiko means "no heart," "heartless." Yahola refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it. Originally it may have been restricted to a class of criers but later it became "common." The tendency of these names to become "common" in course of time explains why Speck was told that hadjo, fiksiko, imała, and yahola were all of equal rank.[78] 551 554 622

The first word in the title was derived from various sources, but there were two principal kinds. The most important set was based on the name of the totem animal, and in most cases it was the simple name of the animal itself, not a mere reference to it. Names of this kind were usually bestowed only upon persons belonging to clans having the same name, but sometimes they were allowed to those whose fathers belonged to that clan. Another considerable set was taken from names of tribes or towns, particularly those which composed the Creek confederacy. Sometimes they preserved the names of tribes or towns that otherwise would have been forgotten On the other hand the names of Kàn hàtki, Okchai, Pakan tallahassee, Otciapofa, and Alabama seem not to have been used, or if so only rarely. Only a few cases of the use of the name of Muklasa can be recalled. It may be added that the name of the Toad clan, Sàbàktàlgi, also seems not to have been used. Jackson Lewis said that the non- 551 554 614

[78] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

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551 554 614 totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

551 554 622 Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okcnai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tástánągi and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imala łákálgi was always called Imala yahola, the leader of the tástánągągi Tástánąk tcąpko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tástánągi, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Ahá'łąk tástánągi, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti átca'gągi (abbreviated into I'sti tcągągi)[796] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

553 614 796 The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson [571] Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

[796] See pp. 333-336.

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Adair tells us that an unsuccessful Chickasaw leader might be stripped of all his war titles.[79] I was told that the Creeks did not do this, but in earlier times it may very well have happened.

The following list of war names was obtained from Zachariah Cook:

Aa hadjo.
Abali hadjo.
Abayáli hadjo.
Abi'ka fiksiko, "Abíhka fiksiko."
Abi'ka hadjo.
Abi'ka yahola.
Abi'kutci, "Little Abíhka."
Abuyak fiksiko, "Putting-down fiksiko" (?)
Abuyak hadjo.
Abuyak yahola.
Adji yahola, "Corn yahola."
Adji hátci fiksiko.
Adji hátci hadjo.
Adji hátci yahola (?).
Ahalak fiksiko, "Potato fiksiko."
Ahalak hadjo.
Ahalak yahola.
Ahalakutci, "Little Potato."
Ahotáligo, "Clear minded."
Akálpoisa hadjo, "Dipping-something-in-under hadjo."
Akálopisa yahola.
Akfáski fiksiko, "Okfuskee fiksiko."
Akfáski hadjo.
Aktayatci fiksiko, "Aktayatci-clan fiksiko."
Aktayatci hadjo.
Aktayatci yahola.
Aktayatcutci.
Atcifahali hadjo, "Broken- (or rough-) country hadjo."
Báskáp hadjo, (Báskáp is perhaps the same as Paskofa, see below).
Fus fiksiko, "Bird fiksiko."
Fus hadjo.
Fus yahola.
Fus hátci fiksiko, "Bird-creek (?) fiksiko."
Fus hátci hadjo.
Fus hátci yahola.
Halipoca hadjo, "Victor (?) hadjo."
Halpata fiksiko, "Alligator fiksiko."
Halpata hadjo.
Heniha tástánagi.
Heniha teápko, "Long heniha."
Henihutci, "Little heniha."
Hilibi fiksiko.
Hilibi hadjo.
Hilis fiksiko, "Medicine fiksiko."
Hilis hadjo.
Hobayi fiksiko(?), "Far away fiksiko."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi yahola.
Hobayutci.
Hoboihili fiksiko, "Good child fiksiko."
Hoboihili hadjo.
Hoboihili yahola.
Hobuis hadjo, (Hobuis from hobuiwa, "child," or hobili, "fog").
Hola'ta fiksiko.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta yahola.
Hola'tutci.
Hotálgi fiksiko, "Wind fiksiko."
Hotálgi hadjo.
Hotálgi imala(?)
Hotálgi yahola.
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Imedjiska hadjo, "Butt-of-tree hadjo."
Ina tástánagi, "An ina warrior." (As a man went into battle he repeated a formula or song called "ina" which was supposed to preserve him from harm during the action.)
Inianis hadjo.[80]
Ispani fiksiko, "Spanish fiksiko."
Ispani yahola.
Itchas fiksiko, "Beaver fiksiko."
Itchas hadjo.
Itchas yahola.
Itchasutci.
Iteo fiksiko, "Deer fiksiko."
Iteo hadjo.
Iteo tástánagi.
Iteo yahola.
Iteo-ili hadjo, "Deer-foot hadjo."
Iteo kutcúgani, "Short deer."
Iteo-yábi hadjo, "Deer-horn hadjo."
Itcutci, "Little deer."
Kaiamúlk hadjo, "Kaiamulgi hadjo."
Kán tcat hadjo.
Kapitca fiksiko, "Lye-drip fiksiko."
Kapitca hadjo.

[79] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 88.

[80] See p. 116.

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Kapitca yahola.
Kapitcutci.
Kasi'ta fiksiko.
Kasi'ta hadjo.
Kasi'ta yahola.
Katca fiksiko, "Panther fiksiko."
Katca hadjo.
Katca hola'ta.
Katca yahola.
Katcili, "Panther foot."
Katcilutci, "Little panther foot."
Kawita tástánągi, "Coweta tástánągi."
Kinas hadjo, ("Dodging(?) hadjo").[51]
Koakodji hadjo, "Wildcat hadjo."
Koakódji yahola.
Koasat fiksiko, "Koasati fiksiko."
Koasat hadjo.
Koha łáko, "Big cane."
Koha łáko hadjo, "Big cane hadjo."
Kolomi hadjo.[52]
Kosa fiksiko, "Coosa fiksiko."
Kosa fiksikutci, "Little Coosa fiksiko."[53]
Kosa hadjo.
Kosa yahola.
Kotcugáni, "Short."
Kûnip fiksiko, "Skunk fiksiko."
Kûnip hadjo.
Kûnip yahola.
Kûnutci, "Little skunk."
Łata fiksiko (Distinct from Hola'ta fiksiko).
Łata hadjo.
Łata mátaha.
Łata tcápko.
Łata yahola.
Łitif hadjo, (łitifka, (any creature) "shedding hair").
Łodja fiksiko (Łodja is supposed to mean "turtle," though the word is not pronounced exactly like that applied to the reptile).
Łodja hadjo.
Łodja yahola.
Łálo fiksiko, "Fish fiksiko."
Łálo hadjo.
Łálo yahola.
Łidjámi fiksiko.
Łidjámi hadjo.
Łiwahali fiksiko.
Łiwahali hadjo.
Míkoa hadjo, (An Alabama war name).
Muklasa.[54]
Nabotci hadjo.[55]
Nokos fiksiko, "Bear fiksiko."
Nokos hadjo.
Nokos yahola.
Nokosádji, "Bear's tail."
Nokosili, "Bear's foot."
Oikás henihá, "Water (or Oil) henihá."
Okoski (?)
Oktahasas hadjo, "Sand-town hadjo."
Oktcán fiksiko, "Salt fiksiko."
Oktcán hadjo.
Oktcán hola'ta.
Osána fiksiko, "Otter fiksiko."
Osána hadjo.
Osotci fiksiko, "Osochi fiksiko."
Osotci hadjo.
Osotci yahola.
Otci hadjo, "Hickory nut hadjo."
Otcis hadjo, "Otcesee hadjo."
Otcisi tcápko, "Long (or tall) Ochesee."
Otcisutci, "Little Ochesee."
Pahos fiksiko, "Pahosa fiksiko."
Pahos hadjo.
Pahos hobai.
Pahos yahola.
Pahosutci.
Paskofa, "Ceremonial ground."
Pin fiksiko, "Turkey fiksiko."
Pin hadjo.
Sawanok fiksiko, "Shawnee fiksiko."
Sawanok hadjo.
Sawanok yahola.
Tákosa fiksiko(?), "Mole fiksiko."
Tákosa hadjo.
Tákosa yahola.
Tál mutcás fiksiko.
Tál mutcás hadjo.
Tál mutcás yahola.
Tálimás fiksiko, "Public (or common) fiksiko."
Tálimás hadjo.
Tálimás yahola.
Tálip[56] hadjo.
Tálof hadjo, "Town hadjo."
Tálsa fiksiko.
Tálsa hadjo.

[51] Tukasiła means "to dodge."
[52] This was the name of a great fire maker of the Tukabahchee.
[53] This was the name of Caley Proctor, a leader of the conservative element in the Creek nation.
[54] Mr. Grayson remembered an Alabama or Koasati Indian so called.
[55] Apparently referring to an extinct tribe called Napochies by the Spaniards; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 269.
[56] Probably from the name of a plant, tálawa; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 288

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Tàlsa yahola.
Tàlwa hadjo, "Town hadjo."
Tàmi fiksíko.
Tàmi hadjo.
Tàmi yahola.
Tàpésola hadjo (abbr. Tapàs hadjo), "Daddy-long-legs hadjo."
Tàskik hadjo, "Tuskegee hadjo."
Tàski heníha (abbr. Tàskiníha).[55b]
Tàskona.
Tciaha hadjo, "Chiaha hadjo."
Tciloki fiksíko (?)[56c]
Tciloki hadjo.
Tciloki yahola (?).
Tcito hadjo, "Snake hadjo."
Tcugati fiksíko (Tcugati perhaps means "imprisoned.")
Tcoska fiksíko, "Post oak fiksíko."
Tcoska hadjo.
Tcoska heníha.
Tcoska yahola.
Tcugati hadjo.
Tcugati yahola.
Tcugatutci.
Tcula fiksíko, "Fox fiksíko."
Tcula hadjo.
Tcula yahola.
Tcúwastai hadjo.
Totka bahi, "To apply fire" (or "To add fire to fire").
Totka bahi hadjo.[56d]
Totka hasi, "Old fire."
Totkis hadjo, "Fire hadjo."[56e]
Tukaba'tci fiksíko, "Tukabahchee fiksíko."
Tukaba'tci hadjo.
Tukaba'tci yahola.
Tukolisi, "Spotted."
Tukolis hadjo, "Spotted hadjo."
Wàtula tcàpko, "Tall crane."
Wòksi hadjo.
Wòksi míko (?).
Wòksi yahola.
Wotko fiksíko, "Raccoon fiksíko."
Wotko hadjo.
Wotko yahola.
Wotkotci, "Little raccoon."
Yaha fiksíko, "Wolf fiksíko."
Yaha hadjo
Yaha tàstànàgi.
Yahola fiksíko.
Yahola hadjo.
Yàholutci.
Yatàwa hadjo.
Yufala fiksíko, "Eufaula fiksíko."
Yufala hadjo.[56f]

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Stiggins says that in the first attack on Fort Mimms a party of Creeks rushed into the very center of the fort, and all were killed except one man who afterwards had the name bestowed upon him by his town of "*Na ho mah tee o thle ho bo yer*, which is the foremost man in danger in time of battle."[56g]

Great numbers of Creek personal names appear in early documents and historical narratives dealing with the Southeast, but in many cases they are so badly misspelled or so unusual that they can not be translated. Sometimes it is impossible to say whether we have to deal with the boy's name or the war title. Among those that may be made out are the following:

Abi'ka míko(?)
Akfàski tàski heníha.
Àlbama tàstànàgi, "Alabama tàstànàgi."
Asin yahola, "Black drink yahola."
Atàs míko, "Atasi míko."
Faki hàsti hadjo, "Black earth hadjo," a Seminole chief.
Fàlotki(?)

[55b] Tàski probably has reference to war.
[56c] See p. 188 et seq.
[56d] This was the name of G. W. Grayson's father.
[56e] The Creek name of Sam Moniac who figures in early Creek history and signed the treaty of 1790.
[56f] The Indian name of Lewis Proctor, head of the "Snake" or conservative faction among the Creeks.
[56g] Stiggins, Ms.: *Na* *mah tee* is probably hence'ts, "a chief or leader;" *o thle* or *hell*, "war;" and *ho bo yer* *hobayi*, "far away." Mr. McCombs gives Hilthlya, "War Conqueror," as a very great title.

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Fus hátci miko, probably "Bird creek miko," referring to the old town of Fus-hatchee, though the name is often translated "Bird Tail King," the words for "creek" or "river" and tail being much alike. An Indian of this name appears in the treaty of 1790 and another was a chief of Kasihta.
Fus hátci tástánągi.
Heníha łáko, "Big heníha," a war title which goes back to 1733.
Heníha miko.
Hilibi hadjo.
Hobayi, "Far away."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi imala.
Hobayi miko, "Far away miko," a signer of the treaty of 1790.
Hobayi tástánągi.
Hoboihili, "Good child."
Hoboihili hobayi.
Hoboihil miko, "Good child chief."
Hoboihili yahola.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta imala.
Hola'ta miko.
Holiboyi hadjo.
Holiboyi miko, "War killing (i. e. 'finishing') miko."
Holihopoi, "War measurer."
Holihopoi tástánągi.
Hotálgi imala, "Wind imala."
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Ifa táski heníha.
Ifa tástánągi.
Imala hátki, "White imala.
Imala łáko, "Big imala."
Ina tástánągi (see preceding list).
Ispahihtca.
Ispani hadjo.
Ispokok hadjo.
Kapitca miko.
Kasi'ta miko.
Kasi'ta tástánągi.
Kawita miko.
Kosa miko(?)
Kosa tástánągi.
Łidjámi tástánągi.
Łiwahali táski heníha.
Miko hobayi, "Far away miko."
Okillisa.
Opiłło (= Opiłłáko) tástánągi.[86]
Pahos miko.
Simomitci, "Doing-it-for-them."
Tálahási imala, "Old town imala."
Tálahási miko.
Tálwa łáko tástánągi.
Tamali hadjo.
Támali miko.
Tásikaia hadjo.
Tásikaia miko.
Táski heníha.
Táski heníha hátki (hátki, "white").
Táskigi tástánągi, "Tuskegee tástánągi."
Tástánągi hadjo.
Tástánągi hobayi.
Tástánągi miko.
Tástánągi tcápko, "Long tástánągi."
Tcalaki ilitci, "Cherokee killer."
Tciaha miko, "Chiaha miko."
Tokulgi, described as "emperor of the nation"—i. e., head chief of the Coweta at one period. (Cf. the common name Tokulki, p. 99).
Totka tástánągi, "Fire tástánągi."
Tupa hátki, "White bed."
Waika tcumpa, "Sweet spring."
Wakokai miko.
Wiwo'ka miko.
Wóksi miko.
Yahola.
Yahola imala.
Yahola miko.
Yakinha miko, second chief under Moty Kennard and his successor. Yakinha is perhaps from ya'kita, "to shout," "to whoop."
Yufala hobayi.
Yufala tástánągi.
Yufala tástánągi miko.
Yutci tástánągi (himself a Yuchi Indian).

While a few of these are different from any given in my list above, the greater number will be found there.

The following names are also extracted from early documents and it is probable that some of them are war names but it is impossible to say. The interpretations are from Doctor Gatschet's notes.

[86] Opiłłáko, "Big swamp," was a former Creek town; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 282.

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Figiya, probably meaning "to shake or tremble," a Chiaha war-chief living in 1733.

Hammitci, called "Old Hammitci of Sutchapoka," probably Old Hammitci of Lutcapoga.

Hopalitci, "One going to a distance" from houses, etc.

Imistisigo, "Man who has no men" following him, a chief who fought against the Americans after the time of the Revolution.

Lamhi tcati, "Red Eagle," said to have been the name of William Weatherford, leader of the hostile Creeks in the Creek-American war.

Lifagi, "One who punches (or stamps)" with his feet alternately, the name of a Creek chief who went to Texas at an early period.

Mikonopi, or Miko unapa, "Chief on top of all" chiefs, the head-chief of the Seminole during the Seminole war.

Mitikayi, "Pushing down," a war-chief of the Oconee.

Opototache (or Long Side), an Indian of Big Tulsa who signed the Treaty of 1790.

Stimafatcki, from afâtiki, "glad"; a signer of the Treaty of 1790.

Stimala'tci (shortened into Mala'tci or "Malachee"), "One coming into something of his own" (?), a famous head chief of the Lower Creeks.

Suta-milla, "Pointing toward the sky," a Chiaha war captain in 1733.

Tamodjâidji, "Who makes one (bird) fly(?)," the famous Tomochichi.

Timpuitci, "Coming near," Creek name of the Yuchi chief Timpuchee Barnard.

Tuwidjedji, a chief of the Oconee Indians.

Parents sometimes took their names from their children, but in that case they did not give up their earlier names. Mr. McCombs told me of a case in which a woman adopted the names of three of her children in succession. The oldest, whose name she had taken, having died, she assumed the name of the next younger, and, that one dying some time later, she adopted the name of the third.

Clans, Phratries, and Moieties

NATIVE EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN

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The clan origin stories of the Creeks were of two kinds—stories attempting to account for the origin of the clan system as a whole and stories dealing with the creation of new clans.

Sometimes these last merely profess to explain how the exogamous prohibition between two linked clans came to be broken down and hence are not origin stories in the true sense of the term, but there is no clear line of demarcation between these and stories accounting for the existence of entirely new clans. If we could place any reliance upon these myths it would be easy to account for this confusion by considering that in all probability in many of them the name subsequently applied to the new clan would be assumed as having been already in existence.

In connection with the cutting apart of an exogamous group the expression is applied, "their fire (or light) was put out." Either this refers to a common myth told to account for these separations

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614 or the myth itself has originated from the expression. I have heard it in several different places and in much the same form, which is as follows:

"A man and a woman belonging to different clans or groups happened to meet at some place away from the villages and decided that their proper relations towards each other should be those of brother and sister, of course in the Indian sense. Late one night, however, after they had been camping together for some time, the woman took a torch and went after water. The man followed her, extinguished her torch, and had intercourse with her. As they could no longer be brother and sister their clans or groups thereafter came to be considered distinct."

In Hilibi there was a story like this about a man and a woman of the Alligator and Turkey clans. When it was discovered what had taken place the people held a council and decided that henceforth these two clans should be one up to midnight but that at that time "their light should be put out" and they should be separate. The same thing happened in the case of some men and women of the Potato and Raccoon clans while they were watching the cornfields and their light was "put out" in consequence. Claim is made that these events were of recent occurrence in Hilibi but evidently the myth above related has merely been given a local application.

Formerly it is claimed that the Łidjámi were one people with the Fox, Potato, and Raccoon, but an event of the same sort as that narrated above having occurred, a council was summoned which debated whether the penalties usual in such cases should be inflicted. They decided, however, that there was perhaps some occult reason for this particular infringement of the law and ruled that in future the Łidjámi should be considered akin to the other clans only until noon.

Okusky Miller, head man of the square ground of Chiaha Seminole, claimed that the Raccoon and Fox "put out their fire" as in the preceding cases. The offense was overlooked on the ground that the Fox is "a roustabout who can not be prevented from rambling around at night at will." It was determined that the two clans should be considered one in the daytime but distinct at night.

According to Kasihta yahola, an old man of Łaplàko, the Turkey, Bird, Beaver, and Alligator were anciently one clan but became incestuous and separated. He had the same story to tell of the separation of the Raccoon and Potato people in Tukabahchee as that given by the Hilibi Indians.

Of an intermediate type is the following story related by a Hilibi Indian on the authority of an old man "now (1912) long dead."

"The people of a certain Creek town came out of a mountain cave. At the mouth of this cave was a root extending across it in such a manner that egress was to be had on either side, and half of the

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people emerged on one side, half on the other side. Those who came out on one side were the Aktayatci; those who came out on the other the Woksi. A part of the Aktayatci, who were behind the others, had horns, and for this reason those who had first emerged closed the hole in the mountain, shutting them in permanently.

"After the Aktayatci had gotten out they said 'We are the Potato people (Ahalaki),' presumably because of their origin. One of their women met a man in the outside world who said to her 'I belong to the Mud-potato people (Aha akliwahi),' and she gave him in return the new name which her people had adopted. 'Why,' they said, 'our names are nearly the same; we must be kindred.' When it was dark the woman lighted a fagot, and went to the creek after water. Then the same thing happened as in the cases already mentioned, and they said to each other: 'Our relationship is entirely ruined. Hereafter we must be enemies.' In consequence the Ahalaki and Aktayatci are said to be akin until noon and after that time no kin at all."

The actual origin of a new clan, not merely the further separation of already existing clans, is claimed as having resulted from the actions of two persons of opposite sex belonging to the Toad clan. It happened that the male offender was very much beloved, and the council summoned to determine what was to be done agreed that the thing was probably fated, and they erected a new clan for the woman which they called the Mole clan. It is true that the Mole and Toad usually formed an exogamous group, but this was not always the case, and if we were to allow ourselves to speculate we might suppose that a tradition of relationship, even though of a relationship which had been broken down, might give rise to a feeling of repugnance toward marriage between the two clans which would result in practically reestablishing the former exogamy.[88]

In this last story an important feature to be noted is the influence exercised by the personal popularity of one of the offenders on the collective decision. It is, of course, no new experience in human affairs that the esteem in which a lawbreaker or reformer is held has a pronounced bearing on his subsequent treatment and the success of his action. Indeed, it was presented to me as a thing known to have taken place on several occasions that a man had had sexual relations with a woman belonging to a part of his clan marked off in some way from the rest, or which he claimed to be so marked off, gave her a separate clan designation, and—especially if he were a person of standing—succeeded in having his arrangements accepted by the community. It was claimed that many of the smaller clans—among which were also mentioned the Eagle and Fish—had had just such an origin.

[88] See also p. 142.

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Of an entirely different type is the following trivial tale which pretends to account for the separation between the Bear and the Wolf:

"There were two old women who were sisters, each having a great number of children and grandchildren. One time one sister said to the other: 'We have been together a long time and have many children; I will go this way.' The other said, 'And I will go this way.' All the children of the first were Wolves; the children of the second were Bears."

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Regarding the origin of clanship itself, which is practically bound up with the origin of several of the larger clans, such as the Wind, Bear, Panther, Raccoon, Alligator, and Deer, there are several stories, some simple, some more complex, but all we have left is evidently only a fragment of the original mass of lore on the subject. While I was told, as a matter of common report, by certain very good informants that the people of each clan were descended from the totem animal,[87] such a suggestion is almost always lacking in the myths dealing with the subject, as, for instance, the Wolf-Bear myth just related. According to Legus Perryman, each clan, or, rather, each exogamous division, was descended from an eponymous female ancestor called Bird-woman, Panther-woman, etc. The female ancestor of the Bear clan was not, however, named from the common black bear, but from one called the Howling or Whooping Bear. The people now identify it either with the grizzly bear or the polar bear.

Doctor Speck's Tuskegee informant said that clans were "created in the beginning by the Master of Breath, deriving their animal characteristics from certain traits displayed by beings as they passed in review before him. He enjoined them not to marry their own kind lest they die out, and since that time they have observed the exogamous principle."[88]

A Coweta Indian stated that in the beginning human beings and animals were coming across the ocean in a gar-skin boat. On the way the human beings named themselves after the different animals. One said "I belong to the Panther family," another, "I belong to the Bird family," and so on. They kept on this way until they were about to land, when all of the animals were used up. One man remained, however, and they said to him, "To what clan will you belong?" He answered, "To the clan of that which you hear making a noise above my head." He referred to the wind humming overhead, and therefore his family came to be called the Wind clan. According to another informant the people formerly came to a body of water,

[87] The descent of the Wind clan was explained by saying that it came from the Skunk, the Skunk clan being a branch of the Wind. Also see Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. ii, p. 115.

[88] Speck, in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. ii, p. 115.

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and they jumped into it one after the other As they did so one said, "I'll be a Bird;" another, "I'll be a Bear;" and so on. In accordance with still another legend, people came out from a cavern in the earth, and as they emerged a man standing at the entrance bestowed their various clan designations. In fact, they seem to have been in animal forms or to have been accompanied by animals, for it is related that when the Beaver appeared he plunged into a near-by pond, and on a tree by the bank the Bird was sitting. Then the Bear came out so fast that he slid on into the water where was the Beaver. That is how the clans so named came to be together as Whites.[86a]

The association of the White clans in this manner brings us to a series of stories which seem to be versions of some common myth detailing the origin of at least a part of the major clans. A man belonging to Eufaula Hobayi said that, according to the story he had heard, in the ancient times people were sitting about in groups enveloped in darkness. When light began to break in upon them they caught sight of animals, first one, then another. As the various groups saw these they called out successively, "I will be a Bear," "I will be a Deer," and so on, according to the animal which first met their gaze. Finally a wind arose "which swept the remainder of the darkness away"; therefore the last group called itself the Wind clan.

The following was told by Big Jack, a Hilibi Indian:

"The Bird, Beaver, Panther, and Wind people were enveloped in a fog. The Panther was chief (mĭko) among them; the Beaver was his heniha. The Panther undertook to parch some àsi (*Ilex vomitoria*), stirring the mixture with his tail. His tail was scorched, however, and turned yellow, so he gave it up. The Beaver then used his tail, but it got too hot and he dived into the water. The Bear then took his turn, rooting about in the àsi with his nose. In this way the ring was formed which is about the nose of the bear. Afterward Wind was sent to blow away the fog, and as it was sent to them part of the people adopted it."

This rather gives an account of the doings of the eponymous animals than the origin of the clans, but the intention is to show that the later association between these clans was founded on events which took place at that supposedly early date.

The following myth from the Tuggle collection is in part another version of the preceding, but it has additional interest as showing the relation of the Fish clan to the Panther and Wind. Tuggle entitles it "The origin of the Tiger clan."

"In the beginning a great fog covered the earth. In a certain valley there was a large fountain. Close to this fountain a tiger (Cooch-ar [really the panther, Katca]) lived.

[86a] See pp. 186-188.

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"The Wind came to Coochah and said: 'What are you doing? It is dark and gloomy.'

"Coochah said: 'I am making my tea, my black drink,' and he stirred the tea, which he was parching, with his tail.

"The Tiger said, pointing to the fountain, 'There are my friends, my mates, the fishes. When I make my black drink they drink with me.'

"The Wind said: 'If you will make peace with me, I will blow the fog away and all will be bright.'

"Coochah consented to make peace with the Wind.

"The Wind blew the fog away and all was clear and beautiful.

"Coochah made his tea, and his mates, the fishes in the fountain, drank with him.

"They sang a song of joy and friendship, and since that time the Tiger clan has been at peace with the Wind clan, and Fish clan, and when trouble comes to one the others always give aid."[30]

The ever present element of the fog driven away by the wind appears again in a myth related by William McCombs to the late G. W. Grayson and by him kindly placed at my disposal. It is as follows:

"When the Creek Indians came to know anything of themselves, it was to find that they had been for a long series of generations completely buried and covered as it were in a dense fog impenetrable to their powers of vision. Being unable to see, they were dependent on their other senses, especially that of touch, in their efforts to obtain subsistence.

"In their quest for food the people very naturally became separated, straying away from each other in groups, and each group was aware of the existence and locality of its neighbors only by calling to them through the obscuring fog, each adopting the precaution not to stray out of calling distance of some other of the scattered groups.

"After a great while there arose a wind from the east that gradually drove the fog from the land. The group of people who first saw clearly the land and the various objects of nature now rendered visible by the dissipating fog, were given the name of the Wind clan. It is related that, among the many things they were now able to see, the first animate objects observed by the people of the Wind clan were a skunk and a rabbit which appear to have accompanied them during their existence in the obscuring fog. While the people did not adopt either of these as their patronymic, they did declare them their nearest and dearest friends. So well is this understood by the full blood Creek Indian, that it is universally understood to be the duty of the sons of the Wind clansmen always to extend to these animals protection and defense from physical injury or ridicule, saying 'They are my fathers.'

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[30] Tuggle Coll. of myths, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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"As the fog continued to recede and disappear before the driving east wind, other groups of people came to light; and, as each looked about, it adopted as the patronymic of the clan by which it would thereafter be known, the first live animal which had emerged from the fog along with it.

"In this manner three other clans—the Beaver, the Bear, and the Bird—were established, who, together with the Wind, have always been known as Hut-hak-ul-kee [Hathagàlgi] (the Whites) and recognized as leaders in the establishment and maintenance of peace in the nation. The Wolf clan is kindred to the Bear clan, but without the political prestige of the latter. All the other clans, which are very numerous, were formed in the same manner, and are known as Tsi-loak-hok-ul-kee [Tcilokogàlgi] (speakers of a different language) as distinguished from the Hut-hak-ulkee, or Whites."[90]

There is a story in the Tuggle collection intended to explain the origin of the Bear clan specifically. It is as follows:

"At first the Indians had no horses and when they hunted they traveled in canoes, carrying their wives and children.

"One day they went up a stream and landed in a wide bottom or valley. They cut a trail through the woods with their knives. Then they sent the women and children to drive the bears towards this trail, and they took their stand near it so that they could see the bears when they ran across.

"One of the little girls while driving the bears was lost in the woods. The people hunted everywhere, but could not find her. An old she-bear met her and said 'Come and live with me.' She took the little girl home with her and kept her four years, treating her as her child.

"One day the old bear said to the little girl: 'The hunters are coming again with fire. They will kill me, but you must run to Cho [Deer] mountain. After the hunters have passed us a little shaggy dog will run to the place where we are standing and bark at us. Then all the other dogs will come. I will run away, but they will pursue me and kill me. You must escape and, when the hunters have gone, you must return. You will find a coal of fire which the hunters have left. Take this fire and return to your people. They will receive you and you will become the mother of the Bear clan. Name your first son "Bear."'

"It happened as she had said. The hunters came and the old bear was killed. The little girl did as she was directed and escaped. She

[90] In 1924 Mr. McCombs himself told me this story and in much the same words. He expressed his belief that when these events took place the Muskogee were coming from the south, perhaps from South America, and that the fogs arose from the low, marshy countries near the sea. The first group of people to see the sunshine said: "We were the first to see the sunshine; therefore we shall be the first of the clans and shall own the wind, rabbit, and skunk." Another group saw a plot of wild potatoes and near by a raccoon and a fox, and therefore they had these things, and hence the Potato, Raccoon and Fox clans are one people.

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found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan."[21]

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Tciloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Tciloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

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This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

"The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families.— By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns."[22]

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The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

[21] Truggle Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[22] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Deer	Nokosáigi	Nokosáli	Nita ayeksa	Tuŋgo owáta	Seg'ᴡ	Ara hacomi (of the Bird phratry).	
Wind	Hotáigáigi	Fabiltcáli	Mahale ayeksa	Nábi ówáta	Godá		
Bird	Fuswáigi	Foáli	Fose ayeksa	Cóŋgoi ówáta		Chulufichi hacomi	Foni.
Beaver	Itchówáigi	Fosáli	Oltin ayeksa (Noko ayeksa in Koasati).	Emot ówáta	Cagã'		
Fox	Tcoláigi	Tcoláli			Catlosó	Hane nayo hacomi (White Fox clan) (Buzzard phratry).	
Raccoon	Wotkáigi	Sawáli		Enogoi ówáta	Djã'tle		Cawi.
Water Moccasin (?)	Aktayatcáigi	Aktayatcáli					
Potato	Ahalagáigi	Ahalakáli					
	Tcowastáigi						
Alligator	Halpatáigi	Hálpatáli	Tcintcube ayeksa				Hatchúntchúba (Morgan).
Turkey	Pinwáigi	Faltáli	Fite ayeksa		Wótc'á		
	Tamáigi	Támáli					
	Pahosáigi	Pahosáli					
Wolf	Yahóigi	Obahoszáli	Waso ayeksa		Dalá		Nacoba (Morgan).
Bison	Yanosáigi						
Medicine	Hilisáigi						
	Tcokotáigi	Tcokotáli					
Lye drip (?)	Kapitcáigi	Kapitcáli					
Deer	Itcoáigi	Itcáli	Itco ayeksa	Dza ówáta	We'yA'	Honcso nayo (White Deer), Great Deer (Fresh Water and Potano districts).	Isi.
Toad	Sopaktáigi	Sánáktcáli					
Mole	Takosáigi	Tákosáli					
Skunk	Konipáigi	Konipáli			Yũa'		Koni, or Hoekoni.
Fish	Łáloáigi				Cũ	Cuyu [kuyu] hacomi	Náni.
Snake	Tcitáigi	Tcintáli		Ulax ówáta	Ca (?)		
Rabbit	Teuláigi				Cadjwanó	Apichi(ara) (?) (Fish phratry).	
Hickorynut	Otcáigi						

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English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Cane	Kobanakálgi (or Kobonálgi).	Kohaskli					
Salt	Okicánálgi		Hape ayeksa				
Daddy-longlegs	Tápoinálálgi		Tápasola ayeksa				
Panther	Katcálgi	Kowáli	Koo ayeksa	Iciwada owáta	Wŏtc^{a}a$^{n'}$	Yarsha hasomi (Acheha phratry).	Kô ioiô.
Wildcat	Kenkotcálgi		Kosteuso ayeksa		Cadᵊané		Kô iotcu.
Eagle	Lámbálgi				Cá'na (?)		
Otter	Osánálgi	Osanáli			Côlané		
	Łidjánálgi						
	Wokálgi						
Mink	Oktcoŭtkálgi						
Corn	Atcálgi						
Fresh Land	Kantálálgi					Uti hasomi (Earth phratry).	
Spanish moss (?)	Asunálgi						
	Nokfahálgi (or Nokfilálgi).						
Spanish (?)	Isfanálgi						Siani (or Spani).
Turtle	Lutcálgi				Tähᵊ'ä' (Tortoise)		
Weevil (?) (or English?).	Okilicálgi						
Arrow	Łiálgi						
Pubes Hair	Inlanicálgi						
Long Dew	Sitcotcápkálgi						
	Walakálgi						
Raven	(Kakkálgi?)						
Red Paint							
Buzzard	Sulálgi				Yaᵃ tl'	Apohola hasomi	
Owl							
Muskrat	Mukiasálgi						
Opossum					Wŏisagowaᵃ'		
Squirrel					Cáya		Fani (Morgan).
Dog						Elaca hasomi (Acheha phrat.)	

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Porcupine							
Otter							
Blackbird							
							Oaya [Ekaya] hummi (Achaka phee-).
							Minko (Shaif?).
							Okla or Okahila (Mergan).
							Habbo (Ofobo).

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To complete our survey of the clans of the southeastern area we may add those of the Cherokee. Within historic times they numbered seven, thus named according to Mooney: Ani'-Wa''ya (Wolf), Ani'-Kawī' (Deer), Ani'-Tsiskwa (Bird), Ani'-Wâ'dĭ (Paint), Ani'-Sahâ'nĭ (possibly an archaic name meaning "Blue People"), Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ (frequently incorrectly interpreted "Blind Savanna"), Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ (Long-haired People).[93] Mooney believed that at an earlier time there were 14 clans, each of the seven of the later period having been formed by the fusion of two. He mentions as an instance the fusion of the Turtle Dove and Raven to form the Bird. In a very early document in the Library of Congress I find the following clans listed: Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Blind Savanna, Long Hair, Thorn Bush, and Acorn. All of these are identifiable in Mooney's list except the two last, one of which may have corresponded to his Ani'-Sahânĭ.

The Wolf, Deer, and Bird were undoubtedly equated with the Wolf, Deer, and Bird clans of the Creeks, and it is quite possible that correspondences were found for the other Cherokee divisions among the remaining Creek clans. The only hint as to the manner in which this may have been worked out is contained in information which I received from a Natchez informant living among the Cherokee. He stated that the Ani'-Wâdi corresponded to the Natchez Snake clan, the Ani'-Sahânĭ to the Panther clan, the Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ to the Raccoon clan, and the Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ to the Wind clan.

There is fragmentary information regarding clans from the Siouan tribes of the east,[93a] the Biloxi,[93b] and the Chitimacha.[93c] There were, of course, clans among the Tuscarora, Quapaw, Caddo, and some others who occupied a marginal position with reference to the Gulf area, but they need not be considered.

The Opossum appears only among the Yuchi,[94] and the Squirrel only among the Yuchi and Chickasaw, with the latter on the sole authority of Morgan.[95] A "Root clan" is referred to by Eakins, whose informants probably had in mind the Potato.[96] The Muklasâlgi are recorded only by Gatschet.[97] As Muklasa was a former Alabama town among the Upper Creeks it is probable that the designation referred properly to the people living there, irrespective of clanship. North of Florida the existence of a Buzzard clan rests upon only one or two doubtful statements. Speck enters it as one of those clans among the Yuchi the existence of which was "not generally

[93] Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 212-213, 508-509.

[93a] Lederer in Alvord and Bidgood, The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674, p. 144.

[93b] J. O. Dorsey in 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 243-244.

[93c] Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 349.

[94] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

[95] Ibid.; Morgan, Ancient Society, vol. 1, p. 163.

[96] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 275.

[97] Gatschet, Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 150.

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agreed upon" by his informants.[28] So far as the Muskogee are concerned the idea that there was such a clan may have arisen from the similarity between "Sulâlgi" (Buzzard people) and "Tculâlgi" (Fox people), although in his list of Tuskegee clans Speck includes both. However, its undoubted existence and important position in Florida render a northward extension among the Creeks not impossible. Hitchcock is our sole authority for an Owl clan and the intimate association of this bird with witchcraft renders its adoption as an emblem by a social group in the highest degree improbable. Stiggins states that the Red Paint was one of the nine principal clans of the Muskogee.[29] Since he himself had Muskogee, or rather Natchez, blood and grew up in the Creek Nation his authority ought to be good, but I am inclined to believe that he had borrowed this name from that of the corresponding Cherokee clan. Possibly the Cherokee division was identified with some particular clan among the Creeks which in consequence sometimes received its name. In that case it was probably identified with a different clan from that equated with it by the Natchez.[1] Adair is our only authority for a Raven clan,[2] and Gatschet our only authority for the Wałakâlgi.[3] For each of the names Sitcotcâpkâlgi, Łiâlgi, Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, Kantâlâlgi, and Hilisâlgi, I have the authority of but one informant. The Sitcotcâpkâlgi was mentioned by an old Tukabahchee Indian, the Inłanisâlgi, and Łiâlgi, by a Seminole; the Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, and Kantâlâlgi by an informant who, although a Seminole by birth, had lived most of his life with the people of Lutcapoga; and the Hilisâlgi by an old Łapłâko Indian now dead. The Lutcâlgi (Turtle, or rather, Tortoise) was remembered by one or two of my informants, besides being mentioned by Adair,[4] and, as may be seen in the table, it also occurs among the Yuchi.[5] Several informants remembered Yanasâlgi as the name of an ancient clan, and it is given by Adair and MacCauley.[6] The Fish clan is referred to by Adair,[7] was remembered by an old woman of the Texas Alabama and several Creeks of Oklahoma in 1912, and is given by Doctor Speck in his list of Yuchi clans.[8] The writer also heard of it as a Yuchi clan, and formerly it seems to have been strong among the Lower Creeks.

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[28] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

[29] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

[1] See p. 113.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 131. His remarks at this point are so general that it is uncertain who the people were among whom this clan existed. The same is true of his references to the Turtle and Bison clans. In the case of the Raven clan, he may have had in mind the former Raven clan of the Cherokee or the Blackbird clan of the Chickasaw, though the existence of this last is somewhat in doubt.

[3] Gatschet, op. cit., p. 36. In his Ms. vocabulary he suggests an origin from the term ewałła, to share out or divide, the word which also appears in Hołiwahali.

[4] Adair, op. cit., p. 15.

[5] Speck, loc. cit.

[6] Adair, loc. cit.; 8th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 507.

[7] Adair, loc. cit.

[8] Speck, loc. cit.

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614 171 One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tápàsàná', with that for daddy-longlegs, tápohàlà. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

615 It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogàlgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcàlgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogàlgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

[609 789] The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanàlgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanàlgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 36.
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. i, p. 186.
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Coll., vol. iii, p. 18[illegible]; vol. ix, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 51.

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thought the proper designation of the clan was Nokfilâlgi, a name originally applied to a mythic animal but later given to the white people. We must be a little cautious about this, however, because some of Gatschet's aged informants told him that properly the Nokfilâlgi were a native tribe which disappeared long ago.[13] If the interpretation is correct we should naturally suppose that the clan originated in early intermarriages between Indians and Spaniards, but the purely conventional use of Sawanogâlgi warns us against placing too much reliance upon such an hypothesis. 615

Clans were linked together into phratries in various ways. Many were small and were considered merely as minor branches of some large clan; others were coordinate in size and importance, though not necessarily of equal importance in every town. Some appear to have been almost entirely confined to certain villages, while others were represented nearly everywhere. Still more remarkable is the fact, hardly paralleled elsewhere, that the very same clans were often linked into a phratry in some towns and separated in others, sometimes even linked with different clans. The relationship of certain clans was recognized practically throughout the nation, but in the case of many others there was no such uniformity. We may divide the associations which we find into three classes: (1) The affiliations of obscure clans for which we have perhaps the authority of but one or two persons; (2) associations recognized almost universally; and (3) associations which varied from one town to another. 615 184

Of the first class were the Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, and Kantâlâlgi, said to be Lower Eufaula clans affiliated with the Bear. A Seminole informant stated that the name Asunâlgi referred to the âsi or black drink; another maintained that it was from Spanish moss, asunwa. Both of these informants, however, agreed that this clan belonged with the Bear, and the former added that it was because the female bear, when she is going to bring forth her cubs, pulls down âsi bushes for a bed; hence the âsi was said to be the bear's grandparent. The Inlanisâlgi were connected with the Bird clan. One of my informants knew an old man who claimed that he belonged to the Hilislâgi or Medicine clan. He classed himself with the Bird people and this was natural since the Bird was a White or Peace clan with which we should expect medicine to be associated. The Turtle clan (Lutcâlgi) is said to have been connected with the Wind. On one occasion, when a man belonging to the Wildcat clan was being tried in an Indian court, a prospective juryman presented himself who said that he belonged to the Lâlgi or "Arrow people." As he claimed that this clan was connected with the Wildcat and Panther he was excused from service. 615

According to an old man, people were on one occasion about to kill the mink but he escaped into the cane, therefore the Mink clan

[13] See p. 61.

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615 claimed to be connected with the Cane. According to another old man, however, the Mink was akin to the Beaver. Jackson Lewis, one of the best of my informants, affirmed that the Cane clan was "kindred to and nearly the same as the Raccoon clan," while an old Seminole connected it with the Beaver and Potato. When we remember that the Raccoon and Potato were often classed together we see a reason for the association of this set of clans—Mink, Cane, Beaver, Raccoon, and Potato. According to another informant, the Cane clan in Kealedji was associated with the Mole, Raccoon, Potato, Fox, and Łidjámálgi clans, which agrees with the statement of Jackson Lewis; but I learned that in the Hitchiti town among the Seminole it was placed in one group with the Deer, Panther, and Pahosálgi. This would be an altogether different classification from that given by the others. According to Jackson Lewis, the Hickorynut clan was kindred to the Eagle. The Tcowastálgi were either identical with the Potato clan or, what is more probable, closely associated with it. At some period in the not remote past the Fox and Daddy-longlegs clans are said to have united into one which afterwards received the name Raccoon. This did not involve the Texas Alabama, and in any case can only have meant that the Fox and Daddy-longlegs combined with an already existing Raccoon clan.[14] The Yanasálgi are thought, for what reason I know not, to have belonged among the Tciloki clans to be discussed presently. Nothing more has been preserved regarding the connection of this clan, or the affiliations of the Atciálgi, Okilisálgi, Sidjotcápkálgi, or Walakálgi, while, as we have seen, those of the Sulálgi and Muklasálgi are in doubt. The name Okilisálgi is, uncertainly, said to refer to the weevil (átci-suklaitcá), but this seems rather far-fetched and Gatschet's suggestion that it was an attempt at "English" is attractive in view of the seeming identification of a Spanish clan.[15]

615 614 621 Before giving an account of the other clan associations—(2) and (3)—it will be necessary to explain a Creek institution which has an important bearing on this question. At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (pawa), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the

[14] See p. 134. [15] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 155; Ms. vocab.

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rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them already noted.

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In the subjoined list I give the clan councils in all of the Creek and Seminole towns from which I was able to obtain information. Some towns are so nearly extinct that mistakes have undoubtedly been made, but the list embodies the best information to be had. Where two informants have been consulted and the testimony of these has differed considerably I have inserted the conflicting lists, numbering them (1) and (2).

Clan Councils by Towns

Upper Creeks

White towns

Talladega:
1. Raccoon, Aktayatci.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird.
5. Alligator, Beaver.[16]
6. Deer.
7. Panther.

Abihka-in-the-West:
1. Bird, Alligator, Beaver.
2. Bear, Panther, Wind.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.

Kan-testi:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Deer.
3. Panther.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.
6. Alligator.
7. Bird.
8. Beaver (but perhaps placed with the Bird).

Otciapofa:
1. Panther.
2. Potato.
3. Tâmi.
4. Wind.
5. Pahoss.
6. Beaver.

Otciapofa—Continued.
7. Bear.
8. Aktayatci.
9. Raccoon.
10. Deer.

Tulsa Little River:[17]
1. Bird, Eagle.
2. Deer, Pahoss, Panther, Kapitca(?).[18]
3. Wildcat.
4. Potato.
5. Raccoon.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Wind.
8. Bear.
9. Beaver.
10. Otter.[19]

Lutcapoga (1):
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bird.
5. Beaver.
6. Bear.
7. Wind.
8. Deer.

Lutcapoga (2)
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Panther.
2. Aktayatci. Kapitca, Eagle.
3. Bear, Bird, Beaver.[20]
4. Wind.

[16] The number of Beaver people in this town was very small.
[17] The Turkey was also represented here, but its relations are unknown.
[18] The classification of the Kapitca in this group seems very doubtful. One informant also separated the Pahoss from it, but with less reason, as may be seen if we compare the associations of the Deer and Pahoss in other places.
[19] The presence of an Otter clan here depends on the testimony of one informant, although a very good one, who stated that in this town, unlike some others, the Beaver and Otter people intermarried.
[20] In the Tulsa towns, unlike most others, the Beaver and Bird seem to have preserved their independence and therefore informant 2 is probably wrong. Which informant is right regarding the Bird and Bear it is impossible for me to determine.

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Okfuskee:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Bear.
5. Bird.
6. Beaver.
7. Wind.
8. Panther.
9. Aktayatci.

Abihkutci:
1. Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, Woksi, Eagle, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Bird, Beaver.
5. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey.
6. Deer, Pahosa, Mole.
7. Panther, Wildcat.

Nuyaka:
1. Bear.
2. Wind.
3. Bird.
4. Beaver.
5. Deer.
6. Panther.
7. Alligator.
8. Raccoon.

Pakan tallahassee (1):
1. Bird, Bear, Wolf.
2. Wind, Aktayatci.[31]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Deer.
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey(?).

Pakan tallahassee (2):
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci.

Wiogufki (1):
1. Raccoon, Potato(?).
2. Alligator, Tàmi, Snake.
3. Bird, Pahosa.
4. Kapitca, Aktayatci.
5. Wind.
6. Beaver.
7. Bear.
8. Deer.

Wiogufki (2):
1. Bear, Beaver, Bird, Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey.
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Wind.
5. Panther, Wildcat.

Asilanabi:
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Deer(?).[31a]
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Panther.[31a]
4. Wind.
5. Aktayatci.

(Okchai and Łálogálga were probably the same as Asilanabi.)

Wiwohka:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Kapitca.
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Wind, Skunk.
4. Bear, Bird, Wolf.
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Snake, Beaver.
6. Deer, Pahosa.
7. Aktayatci.[32]

Tuskegee:[33]
1. Beaver, Alligator, Tàmi.
2. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci.
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Bird.
5. Wind.
6. Bear.

Koasati No. 2:
1. Wind, Bear (and all Whites).
2. Raccoon, Alligator, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, Daddy-longlegs (and all Tcilokl).

Red towns

Tukaoahchee:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Aktayatci.
2. Raccoon, Eagle.[34]
3. Potato, Fox.
4. Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Woksi.
5. Wind, Skunk
6. Deer.
7. Bird, Beaver, Otter.[35]
8. Bear.

[31] The association of the Wind and Aktayatci seems improbable.
[31a] But see p. 149 for a probable Deer-Panther association at Okchai.
[32] The Aktayatci perhaps belong in group 1.
[33] Speck notes in this town also the Deer, Fox, Mink, Snake, Buzzard, Skunk, and Rabbit clans.
[34] Some place the Potato in this group.
[35] There is some uncertainty as to the position of the Otter.

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Atasi (very defective):
1. Alligator, Turkey.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird, Beaver (?).
5. Aktayatci.
6. Panther.
7. Deer.
8. Raccoon, Potato.

Kealedji:
1. Mole, Raccoon, Potato,[30] Fox, Łidjâmi, Kohasa.
2. Skunk, Wind.
3. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey, Wokai.
4. Aktayatci.
5. Bear, Wolf.
6. Bird, Beaver.
7. Deer.
8. Panther.

Łapłâko:[31]
1. Pahosa, Deer.
2. Beaver, Bear, Bird.[32]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Aktayatci, Kapitca (?).
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
7. Wind.

Hîlibi:
1. Raccoon, Potato.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Bird.
6. Deer.

Upper Eufaula:[33]
1. Aktayatci, Potato, Raccoon.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf, Bird (?).
4. Panther.
5. Deer.
6. Tâmi, Turkey, Alligator.

Alabama (1):
1. Aktayatci, Deer.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Beaver.

Alabama (2):
1. Alligator, Wind, Bird, Turkey, Aktayatci.[34]
2. Bear, Salt, Panther,[35] Wildcat.[35]

Alabama in Texas:
1. Deer, Wolf.[36]
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Bear, Salt.
4. Alligator, Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, Turkey.
5. Wind, Skunk.

LOWER CREEKS

White towns

Kasihta:[37]
1. Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Fox, Raccoon, Beaver.
2. Wind, Fish (?).
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Panther.
5. Deer.[38]
6. Mole.

Hitchiti:
1. Pahosa, Mole, Deer.
2. Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Snake, Otter, Aktayatci.
3. Potato.
4. Panther.
5. Bear.
6. Wind

Okmulgee:[39]
1. Tâmi, Alligator.
2. Deer, Panther.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Beaver, Bird.
5. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Fox.
6. Wind.

[30] According to one informant the Potato belonged in group 3.

[31] There were also some of the Potato clan; associations unknown.

[32] An inferior informant classified the Bird and Bear separately.

[33] The Beaver clan was also represented here formerly; it sat with the Wind, Bear, Wolf, and Bird, but whether it was linked with any or all of these is uncertain.

[34] The association of Aktayatci and Wind seems improbable, but one other case of the kind has been noted (see Pakan tallahassee).

[35] There were very few representatives of these clans in Alabama.

[36] The only representatives of the Wolf clan living in 1912 were descended from the Pascagoula tribe of Indians.

[37] The Bird clan was also represented in this town, but I did not obtain its linkage, though it sat with the Deer.

[38] Sat with 1 but could intermarry with them.

[39] Legus Perryman, probably referring to this town, said that the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator formed one council, a statement which, if true, would bring 1 and 5 together. The late David Hodge, who belonged to Okmulgee, declared that the Bird, Deer, and Aktayatci clans were all related, the women of these clans calling each other "sisters." This was denied by Perryman and seems improbable in the light of what we know of these clans elsewhere, although it is possible that the first two were so connected.

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Apalachicola:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Deer, Mole, Toad.
2. Bird, Snake, Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Beaver, Kapitca.
3. Wind.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Raccoon, Potato.
6. Aktayatci.

Yuchi:
1. Bear, Wolf.
2. Deer, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat.
3. Alligator, Fish, Beaver.
4. Bird.

Red towns

Coweta (1):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.

Coweta (2):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver, Wind, Bear.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.

Lower Eufaula:
1. Wind, Otter, Skunk, Mole, Tcokote, Toad(?).
2. Bear, Nokfaha, Wolf, Salt, Fresh-land, Asunwa.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake, Alligator, Wokai.
4. Bird, Beaver, Tàmi.
5. Deer, Pahosa, Turkey, Panther, Wildcat.
6. Fox, Raccoon, Potato.

Chisha:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatci.
2. Wolf, Bear, Deer(?).
3. Panther.
4. Bird.
5. Wind, Skunk, Fish.
6. Beaver.
7. Alligator, Tàmi.

Osochi:
(All that is known is that the Panther and Wildcat and the Bear and Wolf did not intermarry.)

SEMINOLE TOWNS

White towns

Ochesee:
1. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Otter.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Potato, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon(?).
5. Panther.
6. Deer.

Okfuskee:
1. Bird, Beaver.
2. Bear, Deer, Pahosa, Potato, Raccoon.
3. Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, Aktayatci.
4. Panther.
5. Wind.

Tallahasutci:
1. Beaver, Potato.
2. Tàmi, Alligator, Turkey.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake.
4. Wind (possibly with last).
5. Bear.
6. Bird.
7. Deer, Panther.

Hitchiti Seminole:
1. Wind, Skunk, Otter.
2. Bird, Aktayatci, Snake, Alligator, Tàmi.
3. Deer, Panther, Kohosa (Cane?), Pahosa.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Tead, Tcokote, Mole.
6. Beaver, Potato.

Red towns

Eufaula:
1. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey, Kapitca, Snake, Aktayatci.
2. Deer (probably including the Pahosa).
3. Raccoon.
4. Potato.
5. Panther.
6. Wind.
7. Bear.[38]
8. Bird.[38]

[38] There were a few people of the Bird clan and one belonging to the Bear which had not been definitely placed, perhaps because in recent years no occasion had arisen which demanded definite allocation.

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Chisha:
1. Wind, Skunk.
2. Raccoon, Fox.
3. Potato.
4. Bird.
5. Bear.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Alligator.
8. Deer.
9. Beaver.

Liwahali:
1. Beaver, Otter, Bird, Turkey, Tami, Bear, Salt.
2. Wind.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Potato, Raccoon.*
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.

Mikasuki: (Unobtainable.)

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The facts are now before us; let us proceed to an analysis of them. In the following table I have recorded the number of times each association of any two clans takes place, and the number of times any two clans are recorded in each town unassociated. UC stands for "Upper Creeks," A for "Alabama," K for "Koasati," LC for "Lower Creeks," H for "Hitchiti," Y for "Yuchi," and S for "Seminole." To.="Total."

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* Another informant stated that the Potato and Raccoon clans were anciently classed with the Bird.

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Associations of Creek Clans

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Wind and Skunk	6	1		2	1		1	11								
Wind and Fish				2				2						1		1
Wind and Otter				1	1		1	3	2				1		1	4
Wind and Bear	1		1	1				3	18	2		4	4	1	6	35
Wind and Deer						1		1	17	3	1	4	4		6	35
Wind and Panther	1					1		2	18	2	1	4	4		5	34
Wind and Mole				1				1	2			1	3			6
Wind and Bird		1		1				2	18		1	3	4		5	31
Wind and Alligator		1						1	17	1	1	3	4	1	7	34
Wind and Turkey		1						1	11	1		2	1		3	18
Wind and Tookote				1				1					1			1
Wind and Toad				1				1				2				2
Wind and Raccoon									19		1	4	2		5	31
Wind and Beaver				1				1	19	2	1	3	4	1	5	35
Wind and Aktayatci	1	1						2	16	1	1	4	4		6	32
Wind and Potato									15			3	4		6	28
Wind and Tami									13			3	4		3	23
Wind and Pahosa									7			1	2		3	13
Wind and Eagle									4							4
Wind and Kapitca									6			1	1		5	13
Wind and Wildcat									7	2		2	2			13
Wind and Tcowasta									2			1				3
Wind and Wolf									5	1		2	3	1	1	13
Wind and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Wind and Nokfaha												1				1
Wind and Salt										2		1			1	4
Wind and Fresh-land												1				1

Wind and Asunwa												1				1
Wind and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Wind and Woksi									3			1				4
Wind and Fish														1		1
Wind and Lidjâmi									1							1
Wind and Cane									1				1			2
Wind and Daddy-longlegs										1	1					2
Bear and Wolf	6			4	3	1	1	15		1						1
Bear and Salt		2		1			1	4								
Bear and Panther	1	1						2	18	1	1	4	4	1	5	34
Bear and Bird	7			1			1	9	14	1	1	3	4		4	27
Bear and Beaver	5			1			1	7	15	2	1	4	4	1	4	31
Bear and Alligator	3							3	17	2	1	4	4	1	6	35
Bear and Tâmi	3						1	4	13			4	4		2	23
Bear and Turkey	3						1	4	9	2		2	1		2	16
Bear and Deer	1			1			1	3	17	2	1	2	4	1	5	32
Bear and Otter							1	1	2			1	2		1	6
Bear and Pahosa							1	1	7			1	2		2	12
Bear and Potato							1	1	15			4	4		5	28
Bear and Raccoon							1	1	20		1	4	2		4	31
Bear and Aktayatci									17	1	1	4	4		6	33
Bear and Daddy-longlegs										1	1					2
Bear and Asunwa				1				1								
Bear and Fresh-land				1				1								
Bear and Nokfaha				1				1								
Bear and Fish												2		1		3
Bear and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Bear and Wildcat									7			2	2			11
Bear and Skunk									6			2	1		1	10
Bear and Mole									2			2	3			7
Bear and Teokote												1	1			2

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Bear and Toad												1	2			3
Bear and Kapitca									6			1	1		5	13
Bear and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Bear and Woksi									3			1				4
Bear and Eagle									4							4
Bear and Teowasta									2							2
Bear and Łidjámi									1							1
Bear and Cane									1				1			2
Panther and Wildcat	6	2		3	2			13	1							1
Panther and Deer	1		1	2	3	1	1	9	15	1		2	1		4	23
Panther and Mole					1			1	2			1	2			5
Panther and Raccoon	1		1					2	18			4	2		4	28
Panther and Potato	1							1	13			4	4		5	26
Panther and Pahosa	1			1	1			3	5				1		3	9
Panther and Alligator			1					1	16	2		4	4	1	5	32
Panther and Beaver			1					1	18	1		4	4	1	4	32
Panther and Nokfaha												1				1
Panther and Łidjámi									1							1
Panther and Bird			1					1	18	1		3	4		4	30
Panther and Aktayatci	1		1					2	15	1		4	4		5	29
Panther and Salt		1						1		1		1			1	3
Panther and Turkey				1				1	11	2		1	1		3	18
Panther and Cane					1			1	1							1
Panther and Daddy-longlegs			1					1		1						1
Panther and Teowasta	1							1	1							1
Panther and Kapitca	1							1	4			1	1		5	11
Panther and Wolf									4	1		3	3	1	1	13

Panther and Fish												2		1		3
Panther and Tàmi									12			4	4		3	23
Panther and Fox									3			4	1			8
Panther and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Panther and Skunk									6	1		2	1			10
Panther and Mole									2			2	2			6
Panther and Tcokote												1	1			2
Panther and Toad					1			1				1	1			2
Panther and Fresh-land												1				1
Panther and Asunwa												1				1
Panther and Snake									1			1	3		5	10
Panther and Wokai									3			1				4
Panther and Eagle									4							4
Deer and Pahoea	5			1	2		3	11	2							2
Deer and Mole	1				2			3	1			2	1			4
Deer and Tcokote												1	1			2
Deer and Toad					1		1	2				1	1			2
Deer and Wildcat				2	2			4	6	1						7
Deer and Bird	1		1					2	17			3	4		6	30
Deer and Beaver	1		1					2	16	2		4	4	1	5	32
Deer and Alligator	1		1					2	16	1		4	4	1	6	32
Deer and Tàmi	1							1	12			4	4		3	23
Deer and Turkey	1			1				2	10	1		1	1		3	16
Deer and Aktayatci		1	1					2	15			4	4		6	29
Deer and Wolf		1		1				2	5			2	3	1	1	12
Deer and Raccoon			1				1	2	20			4	2		4	30
Deer and Cane					1			1	1							1
Deer and Daddy-longlegs			1					1		1						1
Deer and Potato								1	14			4	4		5	27
Deer and Kapitca	1							1	4			1	1		5	11
Deer and Lidjàmi									1							1
Deer and Fish												2		1		3

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Deer and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Deer and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Deer and Skunk												2		1		3
Deer and Nokfaha												1				1
Deer and Salt										1		1			1	3
Deer and Fresh-land												1				1
Deer and Asunwa												1				1
Deer and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Deer and Woksi									3			1				4
Deer and Eagle									3							3
Deer and Teowasta									1							1
Bird and Beaver	10		1	2	3		3	19	9			1	1		2	13
Bird and Snake					3			3	2			1			5	8
Bird and Alligator	4	1	1		3			9	16			3	1		6	26
Bird and Aktayatci		1	1		2			4	16			3	2		6	27
Bird and Turkey	3	1			1		1	6	10			2			2	14
Bird and Tâmi	3			1	3		1	8	12			2	1		2	17
Bird and Kapitca					1			1	6			1			5	12
Bird and Eagle	1							1	3							3
Bird and Wolf	3							3	3			2	3		1	9
Bird and Pahosa	1							1	5			1	2		3	11
Bird and Otter	1				1		1	3	1			1	1		1	4
Bird and Salt								1		1		1				2
Bird and Potato							1	1	14			3	4		5	26
Bird and Raccoon			1				1	2	19			3	2		4	28
Bird and Daddy-longlegs			1					1								
Bird and Wildcat									7	1		2	2			12

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Bird and Skunk									6			2	1		1	10
Bird and Fox									3			3	1		1	8
Bird and Mole									2			1	3			6
Bird and Tookote												1	1			2
Bird and Toad												1	2			3
Bird and Nokfahs												1				1
Bird and Fresh-land												1				1
Bird and Asunwa												1				1
Bird and Woksi									3			1				4
Bird and Teowasta									2							2
Bird and Lidjámi									1							1
Bird and Cane									1				1			2
Bird and Fish												1				1
Beaver and Potato				1	1		2	4	13			3	3		3	22
Beaver and Tàmi	5			2	2		1	10	8			2	2		1	13
Beaver and Aktayatci			1	1	1			3	15	1		3	3		5	27
Beaver and Fox				1				1	3			3	1		1	8
Beaver and Alligator	7	1	1	1	2	1		13	10			3	2		5	20
Beaver and Raccoon			1	1			1	3	18			3	2		3	26
Beaver and Snake	1				2			3	1			1	1		4	7
Beaver and Turkey	4	1			1		1	7	6			2			1	9
Beaver and Kapitca					1			1	6			1			4	11
Beaver and Fish						1		1				2				2
Beaver and Otter	1				1		1	3	1			1	1		1	4
Beaver and Salt							1	1		1		1				2
Beaver and Daddy-longlegs		1	1					2								
Beaver and Wildcat									6	1		2	2			11
Beaver and Wolf									3	1		3	3	1	1	12
Beaver and Skunk									5	1		2	1		1	10
Beaver and Mole									2			2	3			7
Beaver and Tookote												1	1			2
Beaver and Toad												1	2			3

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Beaver and Nokfaha												1				1
Beaver and Fresh-land												1				1
Beaver and Asunwa												1				1
Beaver and Wokai									3			1				4
Beaver and Pahosa									7			1	2		2	11
Beaver and Eagle									4							4
Beaver and Teowasta									2							2
Beaver and Łidjámi									1							1
Beaver and Cane									1				1			2
Alligator and Tàmi	13			3	4		2	22				1			1	2
Alligator and Turkey	12	2		1	1		2	18				1			1	2
Alligator and Potato				2				2	13			2	4		6	25
Alligator and Aktayatci		1	1	3	2		4	11	15			1	2		2	20
Alligator and Fox				2				2	3			2	1		1	7
Alligator and Snake	2			1	3		4	10							1	1
Alligator and Raccoon			1	2				3	18			2	2		5	27
Alligator and Kapitca				1	1		4	6	4						1	5
Alligator and Fish						1		1				2				2
Alligator and Wokai	2			1				3	1							1
Alligator and Otter					1			1	1			1	1		2	5
Alligator and Eagle									2							2
Alligator and Teowasta									1							1
Alligator and Salt										2		1			1	4
Alligator and Daddy-longlegs		1	1					2								
Alligator and Wildcat									6	1		2	2		1	12
Alligator and Skunk									6	1		2	1		1	11
Alligator and Mole									2			2	3			7

Alligator and Tookote												1	1			2
Alligator and Toad												1	2			3
Alligator and Nokfaha												1				1
Alligator and Fresh-land												1				1
Alligator and Asunwa												1				1
Alligator and Pahosa									5			1	2		3	11
Alligator and Wolf									6	1		3	3		1	14
Alligator and Cane									1				1			2
Alligator and Łidjámi									1							1
Tàmi and Turkey	11			1	1		3	3				1				1
Tàmi and Potato				2	1			3	12			2	4		3	21
Tàmi and Aktayatci				2	2		1	5	14			2	2		2	20
Tàmi and Fox				2	1			3	3			2	1			6
Tàmi and Raccoon				2	1			3	14			2	2		2	20
Tàmi and Snake	2				3		1	6				1			2	3
Tàmi and Kapitca					1		1	2	4			1			2	7
Tàmi and Woksi	2							2	1			1				2
Tàmi and Otter					1		1	2				1	1			2
Tàmi and Salt							1	1				1				1
Tàmi and Wildcat									6			2	2			10
Tàmi and Skunk									6			2	1			9
Tàmi and Mole									2			2	3			7
Tàmi and Tookote												1	1			2
Tàmi and Toad												1	2			3
Tàmi and Nokfaha												1				1
Tàmi and Fresh-land												1				1
Tàmi and Asunwa												1				1
Tàmi and Pahosa									6			1	2		2	11
Tàmi and Eagle									2							2
Tàmi and Łidjámi									1							1
Tàmi and Cane									1				1			2
Tàmi and Wolf									6			3	3			12

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Tàmi and Teowasta									1							1
Tàmi and Fish												2				2
Turkey and Snake	1				1		1	3				1			2	3
Turkey and Kapitca					1		1	2	3			1			2	6
Turkey and Woksi	2							2	1			1				2
Turkey and Pahosa				1				1	4						2	6
Turkey and Salt							1	1		2		1				3
Turkey and Aktayatci		1		1			1	3	12			1	1		2	16
Turkey and Raccoon				1				1	12			1	1		2	16
Turkey and Potato				1				1	10			1	1		3	15
Turkey and Otter							1	1	1			1				2
Turkey and Daddy-longlegs		1						1								
Turkey and Wildcat				1				1	5	2		1	1			9
Turkey and Skunk									6			1				7
Turkey and Wolf									5	1		1	1			8
Turkey and Mole									2			1	1			4
Turkey and Teokote												1				1
Turkey and Toad												1	1			2
Turkey and Nokfaha												1				1
Turkey and Fresh-land												1				1
Turkey and Asunwa												1				1
Turkey and Eagle									2							2
Turkey and Teowasta									1							1
Turkey and Fox				1				1	2			2				4
Turkey and Lidjàmi									1							1
Turkey and Cane									1							1
Aktayatci and Kapitca	4			1			5	10	2				1			3

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Aktayatci and Woksi	1			1				2	2								2
Aktayatci and Snake				1	2		5	8	2				1				3
Aktayatci and Potato	3			3	1			7	11			1	3		6		21
Aktayatci and Fox	1			3	1			5	2			1			1		4
Aktayatci and Raccoon	4		1	3	1			9	13			1	1		5		20
Aktayatci and Eagle	2							2	2								2
Aktayatci and Otter					1			1	2			1	1		2		6
Aktayatci and Wildcat	1							1	6	1		2	2				11
Aktayatci and Daddy-longlegs			1					1									
Aktayatci and Salt										1		1			1		3
Aktayatci and Skunk									5			2	1		1		9
Aktayatci and Mole									2			2	3				7
Aktayatci and Pahosa									7			1	2		3		13
Aktayatci and Tookote												1	1				2
Aktayatci and Toad												1	2				3
Aktayatci and Nokfaha												1					1
Aktayatci and Fresh-land												1					1
Aktayatci and Asunwa												1					1
Aktayatci and Wolf									6			2	3		1		12
Aktayatci and Teowasta									2								2
Aktayatci and Cane									1				1				2
Aktayatci and Lidjámi									1								1
Aktayatci and Fish												2					2
Raccoon and Fish												2					2
Raccoon and Potato	12			4	2		3	21	3						2		5
Raccoon and Woksi	1							1	2			1					3
Raccoon and Eagle	2							2	2								2
Raccoon and Kapitca	2							2	4			1	1		4		10
Raccoon and Mole	1							1	1			2	1				4
Raccoon and Fox	2			4	1		1	8	1								1
Raccoon and Pahosa							1	1	7			1			2		10
Raccoon and Daddy-longlegs			1					1									

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNII Creek NNII

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Raccoon and Łidjâmi	1							1								
Raccoon and Cane	1							1								
Raccoon and Tcowasta	2							2								
Raccoon and Wildcat									6			2	2			10
Raccoon and Otter									1			1			2	4
Raccoon and Skunk									6			2			1	9
Raccoon and Salt												1			1	2
Raccoon and Snake									2			2			4	8
Raccoon and Tcokote												1				1
Raccoon and Toad												1	1			2
Raccoon and Nokfaha												1				1
Raccoon and Fresh-land												1				1
Raccoon and Asunwa												1				1
Raccoon and Wolf									6			3	2		1	12
Potato and Fox	3			4	1			8							1	1
Potato and Woksi	1							1	2			1				3
Potato and Eagle	1							1	3							3
Potato and Kapitca	2							2	3			1	1		5	10
Potato and Pahosa							1	1	6			1	2		2	11
Potato and Tcowasta	2							2								
Potato and Łidjâmi	1							1								
Potato and Cane	1							1					1			1
Potato and Skunk									5			2	1		1	9
Potato and Wildcat									5			2	2			9
Potato and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Potato and Mole	1							1	1			2	3			6
Potato and Salt												1			1	2

Potato and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Potato and Teokote												1	1			2
Potato and Toad												1	2			3
Potato and Nokfaha												1				1
Potato and Fish												2				2
Potato and Fresh-land												1				1
Potato and Asunwa												1				1
Potato and Wolf									5			3	3		1	12
Fox and Lidjâmi	1							1								
Fox and Cane	1							1								
Fox and Mole	1							1	1			2				3
Fox and Wildcat									2			2	1			5
Fox and Otter									1			1				2
Fox and Skunk									4			2			1	7
Fox and Salt												1				1
Fox and Snake												1				1
Fox and Pahoea									1			1				2
Fox and Teokote												1				1
Fox and Toad												1				1
Fox and Nokfaha												1				1
Fox and Fresh-land												1				1
Fox and Asunwa												1				1
Fox and Wolf									2			3	1			6
Fox and Fish												2				2
Fox and Eagle	1							1	1							1
Fox and Woksi	1							1	2							2
Fox and Kapitca	1							1				1				1
Wolf and Fish												2				2
Wolf and Nokfaha				1				1								
Wolf and Asunwa				1				1								
Wolf and Fresh-land				1				1								
Wolf and Salt				1				1		1						1

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Wolf and Wildcat									3	1		1	2			7
Wolf and Skunk									4	1		2	1			8
Wolf and Mole									2			2	2			6
Wolf and Tcokote												1	1			2
Wolf and Toad												1	2			3
Wolf and Pahosa									2			1	1			4
Wolf and Otter												1	1		1	3
Wolf and Kapitca									2			1	1		1	5
Wolf and Snake									1			1	2		1	5
Wolf and Eagle									1							1
Wolf and Tcowasta									1							1
Wolf and Woksi									2			1				3
Wolf and Lidjámi									1							1
Wolf and Cane									1				1			2
Wolf and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Mole and Tcokote				1	1			2								
Mole and Toad				1	2			3								
Mole and Pahosa	1				1			2				1	1			2
Mole and Wildcat					1			1	1			1				2
Mole and Eagle									1							1
Mole and Otter				1				1					2			2
Mole and Skunk				1				1	2				1			3
Mole and Lidjámi	1							1								
Mole and Cane	1							1					1			1
Mole and Nokfaha												1				1
Mole and Salt												1				1
Mole and Fresh-land												1				1

Mole and Asunwa												1				1
Mole and Kapitca									1			1	1			3
Mole and Snake												1	3			4
Mole and Woksi									2			1				3
Mole and Fish												1				1
Snake and Kapitca				1	1		5	7	2							2
Snake and Woksi				1				1								
Snake and Otter					1			1				1	1		2	4
Snake and Pahosa									2			1	2		3	8
Snake and Wildcat									1			1	1			3
Snake and Skunk									1			1	1			3
Snake and Tcokote												1	1			2
Snake and Toad												1	2			3
Snake and Nokfaha												1				1
Snake and Salt												1			1	2
Snake and Fresh-land												1				1
Snake and Asunwa												1				1
Snake and Tcowasta									1							1
Snake and Cane												1				1
Kapitca and Eagle	2							2	1							1
Kapitca and Woksi	1			1				2								
Kapitca and Tcowasta	1							1	1							1
Kapitca and Wildcat									4			1	1			6
Kapitca and Otter									1			1			2	4
Kapitca and Skunk									2			1				3
Kapitca and Tcokote												1				1
Kapitca and Toad												1	1			2
Kapitca and Nokfaha												1				1
Kapitca and Fresh-land												1				1
Kapitca and Asunwa												1				1
Kapitca and Salt												1			1	2
Kapitca and Pahosa	1							1	4			1			3	8

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Pahosa and Cane					1			1								
Pahosa and Wildcat				1				1	4							4
Pahosa and Otter									1			1	2		1	5
Pahosa and Skunk									2			1	1			4
Pahosa and Tookote												1	1			2
Pahosa and Toad												1	1			2
Pahosa and Nokfaha												1				1
Pahosa and Salt												1			1	2
Pahosa and Fresh-land												1				1
Pahosa and Asunwa												1				1
Pahosa and Woksi									1			1				2
Pahosa and Eagle									2							2
Pahosa and Tcowasta									1							1
Eagle and Woksi	1							1	1							1
Eagle and Wildcat									3							3
Eagle and Otter									2							2
Eagle and Tcowasta									1							1
Eagle and Skunk									2							2
Skunk and Fish				1				1								
Skunk and Otter				1	1			2								
Skunk and Tookote				1				1					1			1
Skunk and Toad				1				1					1			1
Skunk and Salt										1		1				2
Skunk and Wildcat									3	1		1				5
Skunk and Nokfaha												1				1
Skunk and Fresh-land												1				1
Skunk and Asunwa												1				1

Skunk and Wokxi									3			1				4
Skunk and Lidjami									1							1
Skunk and Cane									1				1			2
Skunk and Nokfaha												1				1
Skunk and Teowaste									1							1
Skunk and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Otter and Teokote				1				1					1			1
Otter and Toad				1				1					1			1
Otter and Salt							1	1				1				1
Otter and Wildcat									2			1				3
Otter and Fish																
Otter and Nokfaha												1				1
Otter and Fresh-land												1				1
Otter and Asunwa												1				1
Otter and Wokxi									1			1				2
Salt and Nokfaha				1				1								
Salt and Fresh-land				1				1								
Salt and Asunwa				1				1								
Salt and Wildcat		1						1		1		1				2
Salt and Wokxi												1				1
Salt and Teokote												1				1
Salt and Toad												1				1
Salt and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Wildcat and Teokote												1				1
Wildcat and Toad					1			1				1				1
Wildcat and Nokfaha												1				1
Wildcat and Fresh-land												1				1
Wildcat and Asunwa												1				1
Wildcat and Wokxi									2			1				3
Wildcat and Teowaste									1			1				2
Wildcat and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Teokote and Toad				1	1			2								

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Teokote and Nokfaha												1				1
Teokote and Fresh-land												1				1
Teokote and Asunwa												1				1
Teokote and Wokai												1				1
Teokote and Cane												1	1			1
Toad and Cane													1			1
Toad and Nokfaha													1			1
Toad and Fresh-land												1				1
Toad and Asunwa												1				1
Toad and Wokai												1				1
Wokai and Cane												1				1
Wokai and Łidjámi									1							1
Wokai and Nokfaha									1							1
Wokai and Fresh-land												1				1
Wokai and Asunwa												1				1
Nokfaha and Fresh-land												1				1
Nokfaha and Asunwa				1				1								
Fresh-land and Asunwa				1				1								
Cane and Łidjámi	1			1				1								

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The Bear and Wolf were associated almost everywhere. The latter, while very much smaller, was, strangely enough, called the "uncle" of the former, which in turn was its "nephew." The Wildcat and Panther were also associated and again it was the smaller, the Wildcat, which was the "uncle."[28] This was also true of the Skunk, which was always reckoned as part of the Wind and was the "uncle" of it. Such a connection is remembered even by the Alabama in Texas. A well-nigh universal association was also formed between the Alligator, Tàmi, and Turkey. In this group the Tàmi were said to be the "uncles" by one informant and the Alligator by another. While the other associations appear to be natural, indicated by the related nature of the animals, one is at first puzzled to know what connection could have been found between the Alligator and the Turkey. The word tàmi suggests a large flying thing, hence the connection of Tàmi and Turkey is explicable. According to one informant the linking of the other two was because both the alligator and the turkey come from eggs, and if this was the real reason the Creeks had made one step toward determining those intimate relations which we now know to exist biologically between birds and reptiles. In connection with the use of terms of relationship for entire clans Stiggins's remark to the effect that "all grown women of the Wind family are to be called grandmother by all the other families" is of value. "All the families," he adds, "are connected as friends or some distant relation throughout the nation."[29] In his version of the migration legend Hawkins's Kasihta informant says that the Coweta Indians chose the Fish clan to supply their chiefs,[30] and in Gatschet's plan of the Kasihta square ground it occupies the northern half of the chiefs' arbor and is given as that from which the "vice-chief" was chosen.[31] Jackson Lewis told me that it was kindred to the Alligator, and my Yuchi informant placed it in one phratry with the Alligator and Beaver. The Coweta and Kasihta Indians declared, however, that it was a minor branch of the Wind clan, and this seems to be the general opinion. It is borne out to some extent by Hawkins's statement quoted above, coupled with the fact that in later times Coweta chiefs were selected from the Wind. The same thing is perhaps indicated by the further fact that in Kasihta it seems to have shared the functions of heniha with the Wind. Some Creeks deny that there was a Rabbit clan, and explain the use of such a term as a mere joke, since the Rabbit was "trickster" among all southeastern Indians. Others, however, and apparently the better informed, affirm that

[28] In explanation of this association Mr. McCombs told me that all creatures with claws were considered kindred and hence the claws named from them were also akin, but this would apply equally to the Bear, Panther, Raccoon and others which were rarely brought together.

[29] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 32.

[30] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, p. 62; see p. 33.

[31] Gatschet, Mig. Leg., vol. ii, p. 122.

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there was really a clan of the name and that, like the Skunk and Fish, it was a minor division of the Wind. Among the Hitchiti-speaking people and the Lower Eufaula Indians were three small clans called Mole, Toad, and Tcokote. The two former are uniformly said to have belonged together.[42] According to one of my informants the Tcokote was distinct, but those better qualified to pass an opinion declared that it belonged to the same group and one went so far as to state that Tcokote was another name for the Toad clan. The way in which the Mole is said to have split from the rest has been already related. The Mole and Toad—and the Tcokote also, if the majority of my informants are correct—usually formed one phratry with the Deer.

A most perplexing complex included the Fox, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci. Some of the older people state that in their youth the Fox clan was much more prominent but declined in later years, while the Raccoon and Potato clans rose into prominence in its place. I have already mentioned the supposed origin of the Raccoon from the union of the Fox and Daddy-longlegs and my reasons for doubting it, but there can be no question regarding the close connection that existed between the two former, for in eight of the nine cases in which the Fox clan is mentioned in my lists it belongs to the same phratry as the Raccoon. The connection between the Potato and Fox was equally close; according to my records they were in separate phratries in only one town, and that a settlement of the Seminole. The Raccoon and Potato clans intermarried in Tukabahchee, at least in late times, but almost everywhere else they were considered to belong to one phratry. In Łapłáko the Raccoon people were denominated "uncles" by the Potato people. The only other exceptions which my lists contain are from towns where the information is least trustworthy. According to Legus Perryman the Potato clan had come from the Raccoon; in fact he gave this as an occurrence which "all admit." The same informant also stated, as a fact "well known," that the Aktayatci clan had come from the Fox, but this is in the highest degree doubtful, though it is true that in some towns the Aktayatci was linked up with the Fox as well as the Raccoon and Potato. In fact the Aktayatci is found in three different positions—independent, associated with the Raccoon, Fox, and Potato, or associated with the Alligator and their allies and the Snake. In Kasihta, Coweta, and one or two other towns the three groups are brought together in one phratry, this clan perhaps being the ground of the association. Among Seminole towns the association of the Aktayatci with the Alligator and Snake is especially marked, and this can be accounted for very well if the explanation of the name Aktayatci given me by an old Seminole is correct. He interpreted it to mean "something traveling about," reference being

[42] Gatschet's informants and mine all agreed on this.

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intended to the water moccasin. Knowing as we do how often secondary interpretations are given by primitive people to terms the actual meaning of which has been forgotten we can not feel sure that this explanation is the true one, but there is reason to believe that it represents the opinion of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles among whom the association took place and therefore it at least gives their justification for that particular association.[43] It also explains the association of the Aktayatci and Alligator. In 11 cases they are placed in the same phratry; in 20 cases they are separated.

It should be noticed that this linkage takes place principally in Lower Creek and Seminole towns, while the separation is mainly among the Upper Creeks. The Kapitca, a name which by some is interpreted "lye drip" or "ashes," also appear oftenest among the Seminole, though they are mentioned as well in six Upper Creek towns, one Lower Creek town, and one Hitchiti town. In all but 3 of the 13 towns in which they and the Aktayatci occur together the two are in the same phratry, and one of the exceptions is a town with an imperfect record. They are associated with the Snake clan in 7 out of 9 cases. The Woksi were a comparatively obscure clan not recorded from many towns. Jackson Lewis said that they were "almost the same" as the Aktayatci. They are in fact found in the same group with this clan and the Kapitca in Abihkutci and Lower Eufaula. In Kealedji they are separated and put with the Alligator, but, knowing the frequent association of the Alligator and Aktayatci, this is susceptible of explanation. The Daddy-longlegs is one of those clans most largely represented among the Texas Alabama, but it is barely remembered by the Alabama and Koasati of Oklahoma. According to a Koasati informant in Oklahoma this clan was "the same as the Aktayatci and Alligator," and his statement is important because it agrees with the classification remembered by the Texas Alabama in accordance with which they formed one phratry with the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver. The Łidjâmi was a small clan which seems to have been found principally in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, and some related towns. According to current report they were a branch of the Raccoon. Another clan connected with the Raccoon was the Eagle. One of my informants placed this with the Bird, a natural enough assumption, but that he was mistaken is shown both by the direct testimony of better informed individuals and by certain supplementary considerations. In the first place Jackson Lewis, whose evidence is always valuable, stated that this was the leader among the Tciloki clans, in the dual division to be explained presently. The Bird, on the contrary, was one of the

[43] The prefix ak- signifies motion into water or something down in the water and hence bears out the suggestion very well. Ayatci means "to travel about" but this leaves the t unexplained. Perhaps tayatci comes rather from tayat, abundant, sufficient.

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615 leading clans on the opposite side, and, as a mark of this distinction, in the tcitahaia, the so-called "feather dance," those who belonged on the Tciloki side carried eagle feathers [43a] on their wands while those who belonged on the opposite side, the White side, carried white crane feathers. The leading position ascribed to the Eagle by Jackson Lewis is explained by Hawkins's statement to the effect that in [622] his day the chiefs of Tukabahchee, the leading town of the Upper Creeks, were selected from it.[44] At the present time, however, Tukabahchee chiefs are selected from the Raccoon clan, a fact easily accounted for if the Eagle and Raccoon were closely related. Indeed, one of my best informants gave this very reason. In my lists the Eagle and Raccoon are found classed together at Abihkutci. At Lutcapoga it is said that the Eagle was placed with the Aktayatci and Kapitca, but, as we have seen, these were sometimes classed with the Raccoon and Potato. The Salt clan seems to have been particularly prominent in the Alabama tribe. Legus Perryman stated that it was a branch of the Bear, and he is confirmed in every one of the four instances in which the two names occur together in my lists. It is particularly important to obeserve that this association is preserved by the Alabama Indians in Texas. Jackson Lewis classed the Otter with "the Alligator and other water clans," and one might naturally expect it, but as a matter of fact in three of the seven cases which I have recorded it is placed in one phratry with the Wind and Skunk, while in three of the others it is with the Bird and Beaver. All of these clans are White clans; I am therefore of the opinion that the Otter was also considered a White clan and was attached to the others on account of some supposed resemblance to the Skunk and Beaver.

Native informants generally state that the Pahosa are the same as, a part of, or kindred to, the Deer, and this testimony is confirmed by my lists where the two clans are linked together in 11 out of 13 cases in which they are both mentioned, the two exceptions being probably due to imperfect information from the towns concerned. According to Kasihta yahola the Deer people called the Pahosa their "uncles" and the Pahosa called the Deer people their "nephews." The connection of the Mole, Toad, and Tcokote with the Deer has been referred to. The Mole also appears once with the Wind and once with the Raccoon.

The position of the Beaver clan is somewhat peculiar. It was particularly prominent in the towns of the Tulsa group, where it usually supplied the chiefs, and in these towns it ordinarily occurs in a separate phratry. Elsewhere, however, it is so commonly associated with the Bird that many Creeks consider the connection axiomatic. The Beaver people are said to have called the Bird people their "uncles"

[43a] And also, it is said, buzzard feathers. [44] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69.

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while the Bird people called the Beaver people their "nephews." A saying of one of my informants apropos of this connection should be quoted, to the effect that "anything in contact with water is supposed to be akin to birds." Presumably the birds to which he referred were water birds, since white crane feathers were a symbol of the White clans. Where the Beaver is not linked with the Bird and where it does not stand by itself it is usually placed with the Alligator on account of this same association with water. Altogether it occurs thirteen times with the Alligator, nineteen times with the Bird, and eleven times separated from both. Its associations with other clans are not nearly so pronounced. One of my informants said that the Bird and Beaver "sometimes claimed the Potato were of one phratry with themselves," but this assertion receives comparatively little support from the tables, except perhaps in the case of the Beaver. 615

While the Panther clan ordinarily stands apart from all others except the Wildcat, in some towns an association exists with the Deer which is evidently more than accidental. Although the number of times this linking takes place totals only 9 as against 23 cases in which it is absent, the important fact is that wherever the Panther is linked with another clan—leaving out of consideration the Wildcat—that clan is almost always the Deer. It may also be significant that this linking is more pronounced among the Hitchiti towns—in three out of four—than elsewhere. This association was also confirmed by an Okchai Indian named Barney Leader, who said: "The story is that Panther and Deer lived together as friends, but at noon Panther jumped upon Deer and killed him. So the Panther and Deer clans are one until noon and after that separate. Until noon the same terms of relationship are extended over both clans." In Texas the Deer is linked with the Wolf instead of with the Panther and this happens twice among the Oklahoma Creeks. In consequence, one or two cases are found in which this clan is associated with the Bear.

The Bear clan usually stands clearly apart from all groups except as already noted. In some Upper Creek towns, however, particularly the group to which Pakan tallahassee, Fish Pond, and Wiwohka belong, there is an association with the Bird and Beaver, the Bear-Bird association occurring seven times out of twenty-one among the Upper Creeks and the Bear-Beaver five times out of twenty. This association is to be explained, I think, by the fact that these clans were all White clans. Although not even hinted by any of my informants, material which I collected from the Alabama and Koasati Indians in Texas and Louisiana seems to suggest a repugnance to marriage between persons of the Bear and Panther clans.

The Alabama have a town in Polk County, Texas, with scattering representatives throughout southeastern Louisiana, while the Koasati have a town in Louisiana, but a few relatives living with the Texas Alabama. I was able to secure a very satisfactory statement of the 615 614

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clan affiliations of most of these Indians, the testimony of my several informants agreeing very well, and this information is included in the following tables. While there are undoubtedly some omissions, they include, on the other hand, as many deceased members of the two tribes as my informants could recall.

ALABAMA

Clan	Living in Texas	Living in Louisiana	Total
Bear	53	11	64
Daddy-longlegs	42	5	47
Deer	36	6	42
Panther	34	3	37
Beaver	23	1	24
Salt	11	3	14
Wind	9	1	10
Wildcat	5	--------	5
Total	213	30	243

KOASATI

Wildcat	6	20	26
Beaver	6	18	24
Turkey	2	19	21
Panther	2	4	6
Wind	4	2	6
Bear	3	1	4
Salt	1	2	3
Deer	--------	1	1
Wolf	1	--------	1
Alligator	1	--------	1
Total	26	67	93

In the Alabama town were also three members of the Wolf clan, but they belonged properly to the old Pascagoula tribe and therefore are not listed. In the Alabama table most of the children are included and in the Koasati table most of them are left out. This accounts in part for the greater apparent population of the Alabama, although, as a matter of fact, the actual figures are somewhat in their favor.

The contrasts between these two tables are rather striking. Thus the three most populous Alabama clans, Bear, Daddy-longlegs, and Deer, are poorly represented among the Koasati, the second of them not at all. The Salt also seems to be rather an Alabama than a Koasati clan. On the other hand, the Wildcat, the leading Koasati clan, is represented by only five persons among the Alabama, and I have reason to believe that they are really Koasati. The Panther clan is very well represented in Texas, and the relationship between it and the Wildcat was considered so close that informants sometimes gave the affiliations of a person as Panther, sometimes as Wild-

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cat. It is now impossible to say whether the Wildcat clan of the Koasati was originally distinct from the Panther clan of the Alabama, or whether the Koasati merely preferred to use the name Wildcat, the Alabama choosing rather that of Panther. The Beaver and Wind are the clans represented most evenly in the two tribes, though the representatives of the Wind among the Koasati are now deceased. 615 614

From the Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas and Louisiana I collected records of 95 marriages, exclusive of some unions between Indians and Negroes. This information is contained in the following list, the clan of the male being placed first. Individuals of the Koasati tribe are distinguished by the letter (K), and those of the Pascagoula tribe by the letter (P). The rest are Alabama. 615 614 582

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	5	
Daddy-longlegs–Bear	4	
		9
Deer–Bear	4	
Bear–Deer	2	
		6
Bear–Beaver	4	
Bear–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Beaver (K)	5	
Beaver (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Wildcat (K)	4	
Wildcat (K)–Turkey (K)	2	
		6
Deer–Beaver	1	
Deer–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Deer	3	
		5
Deer–Panther	3	
Panther–Deer	1	
		4
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	2	
		4
Bear–Wind	2	
Bear–Wind (K)	2	
		4
Beaver (K)–Wildcat (K)	1	
Wildcat (K)–Beaver (K)	3	
		4
Beaver–Salt	2	
Salt (K)–Beaver (K)	2	
		4
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	1	
		3
Wind–Panther	2	
Wind (K)–Panther	1	
		3
Panther–Turkey (K)	1	
Panther (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		2
Deer–Wind	1	
Wind (K)–Deer	1	
		2
Panther (K)–Beaver (K)	1	
Panther–Beaver (K)	1	
		2
Wolf (P)–Wind	1	
Wolf (K)–Wind (K)	1	
		2
Bear–Turkey (K)	1	
Turkey (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		2
Salt–Wildcat (K)		2
Daddy-longlegs–Panther (K)		1
Deer–Alligator (K)		1
Wildcat (K)–Deer		1
Wolf (P)–Panther		1
Bear–Wildcat (K)		1
Wolf (P)–Daddy-longlegs		1
Wolf (P)–Bear		1
Salt–Wind		1
Salt–Turkey (K)		1
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey (K)		1
Beaver (K)–Lost Beaver (K)		1
Panther–Panther		1
Wildcat (K)–Wildcat (K)		1
Bear–Bear		1
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs		1
Deer–Choctaw		2
Choctaw–Bear		2
		95

This includes 42 marriages in which both individuals were Alabama Indians, 25 in which both were Koasati, 20 between Alabama and Koasati, 4 between Alabama and Pascagoula, and 4 between Alabama and Choctaw.

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Excluding unions with Choctaw, the number of marriages into which each clan entered is as follows:

Beaver	31	Panther	14
Bear	30	Wind	12
Deer	23	Salt	8
Daddy-longlegs	20	Wolf	5
Turkey	18	Alligator	1
Wildcat	15		

It will now be instructive to ascertain how the marriages of each clan were distributed among the other clans, and this is shown by the following tables:

Beaver-Bear	6 (A, K, A-K)
Beaver-Turkey	6 (K)
Beaver-Deer	5 (A, A-K)
Beaver-Wildcat	4 (K)
Beaver-Salt	4 (A, K)
Beaver-Daddy-longlegs	3 (A)
Beaver-Panther	2 (K, A-K)
Beaver-Lost Beaver	1 (K)
Beaver-Wind	0
Beaver-Wolf	0
Beaver-Alligator	0
	31

Bear-Daddy-longlegs	9 (A)
Bear-Deer	6 (A)
Bear-Beaver	6 (A, K, A-K)
Bear-Wind	4 (A, A-K)
Bear-Turkey	2 (K, A-K)
Bear-Wildcat	1 (A-K)
Bear-Wolf	1 (A-P)
Bear-Bear	1 (A)
Bear-Panther	0
Bear-Salt	0
Bear-Alligator	0
	30

Deer-Bear	6 (A)
Deer-Beaver	5 (A, A-K)
Deer-Panther	4 (A)
Deer-Daddy-longlegs	4 (A)
Deer-Wind	2 (A, A-K)
Deer-Alligator	1 (A-K)
Deer-Wildcat	1 (A-K)
Deer-Turkey	0
Deer-Salt	0
	23

Daddy-longlegs-Bear	9 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Deer	4 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Beaver	3 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Panther	1 (A-K)
Daddy-longlegs-Wolf	1 (A-P)
Daddy-longlegs-Turkey	1 (A-K)
Daddy-longlegs-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Wildcat	0
Daddy-longlegs-Wind	0
Daddy-longlegs-Salt	0
Daddy-longlegs-Alligator	0
	20

Turkey-Beaver	6 (K)
Turkey-Wildcat	6 (K)
Turkey-Panther	2 (K, A-K)
Turkey-Bear	2 (K, A-K)
Turkey-Salt	1 (A-K)
Turkey-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A-K)
Turkey-Deer	0
Turkey-Wind	0
Turkey-Wolf	0
Turkey-Alligator	0
	18

Wildcat-Turkey	6 (K)
Wildcat-Beaver	4 (K)
Wildcat-Salt	2 (A-K)
Wildcat-Deer	1 (A-K)
Wildcat-Bear	1 (A-K)
Wildcat-Wildcat	1 (K)
Wildcat-Daddy-longlegs	0
Wildcat-Panther	0
Wildcat-Wind	0
Wildcat-Wolf	0
Wildcat-Alligator	0
	15

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Panther–Deer	4 (A)
Panther–Wind	3 (A, A–K)
Panther–Turkey	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Beaver	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–K)
Panther–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Panther–Panther	1 (A)
Panther–Bear	0
Panther–Wildcat	0
Panther–Salt	0
Panther–Alligator	0
	14

Wind–Bear	4 (A, A–K)
Wind–Panther	3 (A, A–K)
Wind–Deer	2 (A, A–K)
Wind–Wolf	2 (K, A–P)
Wind–Salt	1 (A)
Wind–Beaver	0
Wind–Daddy-longlegs	0
Wind–Wildcat	0
Wind–Turkey	0
Wind–Alligator	0
	12

Salt–Beaver	4 (A, K)
Salt–Wildcat	2 (A–K)
Salt–Wind	1 (A)
Salt–Turkey	1 (A–K)
Salt–Bear	0
Salt–Deer	0
Salt–Daddy-longlegs	0
Salt–Panther	0
Salt–Wolf	0
Salt–Alligator	0
	8

Wolf–Wind	2 (K, A–P)
Wolf–Panther	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Bear	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Beaver	0
Wolf–Deer	0
Wolf–Wildcat	0
Wolf–Turkey	0
Wolf–Salt	0
Wolf–Alligator	0
	5
Alligator–Deer	1 (A–K)

The data regarding the Wolf and Alligator clans is, of course, of no particular significance owing to the small numbers of representatives of each of these clans and the fact that three of the Wolf clan were Pascagoula Indians. Elsewhere there is an intimation that the Bear, Salt, and Wind may have belonged to the same phratry or clan moiety, and this is to some extent borne out by the above data, only one marriage between individuals of these clans—Salt and Wind—being given. However, the material would seem to indicate a feeling of repugnance to marriage between the Bear, Panther, and Wildcat. That the Panther and Wildcat were considered practically equivalent clans is certain, but it is not often that the Bear is found associated with these. In fact, were it not for the tables I should have had no suspicion of it, nothing of the kind having been suggested by any of my informants. The data bears out their contention that prohibition of intermarriage existed between the Deer and Wolf, the Panther and Wildcat, and the Bear and Salt, although it is too small in amount to be satisfactory. There is now no Skunk clan, and therefore we can not test native opinion that the Skunk and Wind were similarly allied. On the other hand the association which they declare to have existed between the Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, and Turkey is certainly no longer in evidence.

I have now touched upon practically all of the more important associations that can be shown with any certainty to have been established between Creek clans. Many others are recorded in my 615

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lists as having taken place in from one to three towns, and undoubtedly some of these actually occurred, but, owing to the breakdown of the system and the chance for error in collecting information from so many informants of varying degrees of reliability, too much confidence must not be placed in them. Our analysis shows that the 50 or more clans, the names of which can in any way be recovered, fall for the most part into a small number of groups headed by a few clans more prominent than the rest. About nine such groups may be made out, headed, respectively, by the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon, Alligator, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther, although, as we have seen, associations are also found between several of these, as, for instance, the Bird and Beaver, Raccoon and Aktayatci, Aktayatci and Alligator, Beaver and Alligator, and Deer and Panther. Legus Perryman, one of my oldest informants, denominated these very clans, minus the Raccoon, "old original clans." It is interesting to compare this list with the clans mentioned by Adair, Bartram, and Stiggins, which, it is to be presumed, were those most prominent in the times in which they wrote, though in a few cases Adair mentions a clan in order to back up some argument. In various places he refers to the following: Eagle, Panther, Buffalo, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, Tortoise, Snake, Fish, Wind, Raven, and Sphane.[45] In one place he seems to distinguish between the Panther and "Tyger,"[46] but elsewhere he speaks of the "Panther or Tyger."[47] Five of the clans in his list, the Wind, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, and Panther, are among the nine principal clans recognized to-day; three more, the Eagle, Snake, and Fish, have, or are remembered to have had, considerable prominence; three others, the Buffalo, Tortoise, and Sphane, are known to have existed; and only one, the Raven, has vanished from life and from memory as well.[48] Bartram mentions, incidentally, the Wildcat, Otter, Bear, and Rattlesnake.[49] By the last he probably means the Snake clan. With this understanding all are well-known clans, though it happens that only one, the Bear, is of major importance. Stiggins says: "The nation consists of nine clans or families, viz, the Wind, the Bear, the Panther, the Bird, the Polecat, the Fox, the Potato, the Red Paint, and the Isfauna which is composed of many small clans."[50] The first four of these belong to the leading nine of to-day, and the Fox and Potato are connected with two others, the Raccoon and Aktayatci. I have spoken of the Red Paint already, also of the "Isfauna."[51] The Polecat or Skunk is the only one this writer mentions which may be said to have been strictly a minor clan. It is not surprising that a clan with an uninterpretable name, such as the Aktayatci, should not have been selected by these writers

[45] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 15, 31, 131.
[46] Ibid., p. 15.
[47] Ibid., p. 31.
[48] Consult, however, p. 119, footnote 2.
[49] Bartram, Travels, p. 451.
[50] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[51] See pp. 119, 120.

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in giving specimens of the clan names, and the Beaver we know to have had importance only in one or two localities. The omission of the Bird by Adair, however, and particularly the failure of any of these writers to notice the Alligator, is singular. Perhaps the Snake was representative of the Alligator group at that time. On the other hand, the Bird and Alligator may have arisen to prominence only at a very late period. Still, these early lists as a whole yield no proof of any violent change in the clan composition of Creek peoples.

In all of the cross grouping to which attention has been given it is remarkable to what an extent the Wind clan stands by itself. Out of 38 possibilities for association between this clan and the Bear—both of which it should be remarked are White clans like the Bird and Beaver—there are but 3 cases in which they fall together. Only 2 out of 36 are found between the Wind and Panther, 2 out of 33 between the Wind and Bird, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Deer, 1 out of 35 between the Wind and Alligator, 2 out of 34 between the Wind and Aktayatci, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Beaver, and in 31 possibilities there is not a single association between this clan and the Raccoon. The remaining clans rank, with reference to their independence, in about the following order: Panther, Deer, Bear, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Alligator, Bird, and Beaver. If, however, we consider the number of different clans with which associations were formed instead of the total number of associations we would have to set down the Bird and Beaver as more independent than the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator.

The following table illustrates in concrete form the connection of the various Creek clans in so far as it can be determined. The nine principal phratries are numbered, and all of the clans which occur under each are usually found in this association. The relationships which we find between the phratries themselves are indicated by arrows.

1. Wind, Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, Turtle.
2. Bear, Wolf, Salt, Nokfaha, Asunwa, Fresh-land.
3. Bird, Medicine, Inlanisi.

↕

4. Beaver.

↕

5. Alligator, Turkey, Tami, Daddy-longlegs.

↕

6. [Raccoon, Lidjámi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, Mink.
[Potato, Tcowasta.

↕

7. Aktayatci, Snake, Kaptica, Wokai.
8. Deer, Pahosa, Mole, Toad, Tookota.

↕

9. Panther, Wildcat, Arrow.

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615 One of the difficulties with which this investigation is beset is that analogies between clan names, or the animals which gave their names to clans, have brought about certain mental associations and it is not always certain whether an alleged clan association may not have been assumed by the informant without having actually taken place. This fact also renders it very difficult to determine any genetic relationship between clans, even those most closely connected. For instance, an association was assumed by some of my informants between the Eagle and the Bird and also between the Turkey and the Bird, when, as a matter of fact, the Eagle is linked with the Raccoon and the Turkey with the Alligator. There is evidently a conscious tendency to find an association between the water animals. This explains why the Beaver is at times united with the Alligator, and the Alligator linked with the Aktayatci. For the same reason the Fish, Mink, and Otter are also sometimes said to be connected with the Beaver. Indeed the lack of intimate correspondence between clans named after water animals is rather marked when one considers the strength of the desire to unite them. As I shall have occasion to show more than once, Indians are most skillful in inventing reasons for institutions or customs already in existence. Native explanations of the association of the Bird and Beaver and the Bird and Alligator are examples.[51a] There are other linkings which might seem beyond Indian ingenuity to account for, yet I believe that reasons for such associations would be discovered by them.

As nearly as can be made out from the information given by Pareja the Timucua of Florida had the following phratries:

White Deer, in some provinces called Great Deer (no linkages given).

Dirt (or Earth) (no linkages given).

Fish (including two minor divisions); Tucunubala, Irihibano; Apichi (Rabbit?).

Buzzard; a clan called Nuculaha (consisting of three coordinate or subordinate parts); Chorofa; Usinaca; Ayehanisino; Napoya; Amacahuri; White Fox; Amusaya.

Bird; Bear; Habachaca; and others.

Acheha; Panther; Partridge; Dog (Efaca); Hobatine; Quasi; Chehelu.

Moieties

616 In addition to the linking of clan to clan, varying considerably as we have seen, from one town to another, there existed a dual division of clans to which allusion has several times been made. This did not run across clans like the Chiefs and Warriors societies of the Yuchi[52] but separated clan from clan. One of these two

[51a] See pp. 145, 149.

[52] See Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi, pp. 74-78.

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One of these two
moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tági or Hola'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste.

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans.

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the

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same time from what town or towns each clan was reported. Numbers after the W and Tc tell how the clans were associated in phratries within the town, the 1's being in one phratry, the 2's in another, and so on.

Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Talladega	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	W	W		W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc.
Abihka-in-the-West	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(1)	Tc(4)	
Kan-tcati	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Otciapofa	W(1)	W(2)		Tc(3)		Tc(4)	W(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Tulsa Little River	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)		Tc(5)	W(5)	?(6)	Tc(7).
Lutcapoga	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(6)	?(7).
Okfuskee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	Tc(9).
Tcatoksofka	W	W	W	W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Nuyaka	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Talmutcasi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pakan tallahassee	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6?).
Wiogufki	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W?(2)	Tc(3)	W?(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Tukpafka	W			W		Tc	Tc	Tc	
Asilanabi	W(1)	W (2)	W(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)
Okchai (probably same connections).	W	W	W	W	W	Tc		Tc	Tc.
Łálogálga	?					?		?	
Wiwohka	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	(?5)	?(6)	?(7 perhaps 6).
Tuskegee	W(1)	W(2)	?(3)	W(4)	Tc?(4)		Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc?(6).
Koasati No. 2	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2).

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Snake
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W							
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati		Tc(8)						
Otciapofa		Tc(8)	W(9)	Tc(10)				
Tulsa Little River		?(8)	?(5)		Tc(5)	?(3)	Tc(9)(7)	
Lutcapoga		?(6)		?(4)	?(7)	?(7)		
Okfuskee		Tc(8)	Tc(6)	Tc(5)			Tc(5)	
Tcatoksofka						W	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(2)	Tc(7)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(7)	Tc(7)	Tc(4)	
Nuyaka								
Talmutcasi		?						
Pakan tallahassee	W(2)			W(2?)			W(2?)	
Wiogufki		Tc(5)		W?(2)	Tc(6)		W?(2)	Tc(2).
Tukpafka		Tc						
Asilanabi		Tc(4)		Tc(2)			Tc(2)	
Okchai (probably same connections).				W			W	
Łálogálga								
Wiwohka	?(2)	?(6)	?(4)	?(3)	?(6)		?(3)	?(3).
Tuskegee		Tc(6)		Tc(4)				
Koasati No. 2								

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Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Fox	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Otter	Tcowasta	Tapasola
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)								
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-testi								
Otciapofa								
Tulsa Little River					?(9)	Tc(10)		
Lutcapoga							?(1)	
Okfuskee								
Tcutokofka								
Abihkutci	Tc(7)	Tc?(7)	W(1)	Tc?(5)	Tc(6)			
Nuyaka								
Tamutcasi								
Pakan tallahassee			W(1)		Tc(4)			
Wiogufki								
Tukpafka								
Asilanabi						W(2)?		
Okchai (probably same connections).								
Łalogalga								
Wiwohka			?(1)		?(5)		?(6)	
Tuskegee					Tc(5)			
Koasati No. 2								Tc(2).

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Tukabahchee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Atasi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3?)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Kealedji	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	W(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(4).
Łapłáko	W(1)	Tc(2)	W(2?)	W(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Łiwahali	W	W	W		Tc?	Tc	Tc		Tc.
Hillibi		W(1)	W(2)	?	Tc(3)	Tc(4) [W(4) (J. L.)]		Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Eufaula (Upper)	W(1)	W(2?)	W(2?)	W(?)	W(6)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)[1]	Tc(5)	Tc(5).
Alabama	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(5)	Tc(3?) W[2]	Tc(4)	Tc(2)		Tc(4).
Alabama in Texas	?(1)	?(2)		?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Tukabahchee		Tc(8)		Tc(4)		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(8).
Atasi		Tc(7?)		Tc(4?)			Tc(4)	
Kealedji	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(4)			Tc(4)	Tc(7).
Łapłáko		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)		Tc(3)	
Łiwahali								?
Hillibi	W(1)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)			Tc(3)	
Eufaula (Upper)	W	Tc(5)		W(6)			W(6)	
Alabama							Tc(3?)	
Alabama in Texas	?(4)						?(3)	

[1] Formerly it is said to have been White.

[2] According to Billy Yahola.

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Wokni	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjâmi	Fish
Tukabahchee	Tc(4)	W(1)		Tc(6)				
Atasi								
Kealedji	Tc(4)	W(1)	Tc(7)				Tc(7)	
Łapâkto				Tc(5)				
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)		W(1)						
Alabama				Tc(2)				
Alabama in Texas		?(1)		?(5)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Teokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapesola
Tukabahchee								
Atasi								
Kealedji		Tc(7)						
Łapâkto								
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)								
Alabama				W(2)				
Alabama in Texas				?(2)				?(3).

LOWER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatsi
Kasihta	W(1)	W(2)	W?	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(3)	Tc(3).
Hitchiti	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	W(3)	?(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)
Okmulgee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(6)	Tc(57).
Yuchi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(1)	Tc(1)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahoss	Tâmi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Kasihta	W(2)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)				Tc(3).
Hitchiti		Tc(6)	Tc(4)					
Okmulgee	W(2)	Tc(6)		Tc(4)				Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(2)	Tc(6?)		Tc(3)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)	
Yuchi	W(2)							

Town	Wokni	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjâmi	Fish
Kasihta			Tc?(6)	Tc(5)?				W?(1).
Hitchiti			Tc(4)		Tc(3)			
Okmulgee				Tc(5)				
Apalachicola			Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)			
Yuchi		W(1)		Tc(1?)				W(4).

Town	Toad	Cane	Teokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapesola
Kasihta								
Hitchiti								
Okmulgee								
Apalachicola	Tc?(4)							
Yuchi								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

LOWER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Coweta	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(4).
Likatcka	?	W			?	Tc	?		?.
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)	Tc(2)	?(2)	?(2)	W(4)	?(5)	?(5)	?(6)	?(4).
Chisha	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(4)	Tc(5)	W(27)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Osochi	?	?(1)	?	?	?	?	?(2)	?	?.

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahose	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Coweta		Tc(4)		Tc(4)				Tc(4).
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(2)	?(6)	?(5)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	
Chisha	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(5)				Tc(7).
Osochi	?(1)	?			?			?.

Town	Wokni	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Lidjámi	Fish
Coweta				Tc(5)				
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(4)	?(1)	?(1)	?(5)	?(4)	?(1)		
Chisha		W(1)			Tc?(37)			W?(7).
Osochi				?(2)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tookote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asumwa	Tapasola
Coweta								
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)		?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	
Chisha								
Osochi								

SEMINOLE TOWNS [1]

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Ochasee	W?(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	(W)(37)	Tc(4).
Okfuskee	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	?(4)	?(2)	?(5)	?(2)	?(4).
Tallahassee	Tc(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6)		Tc(3).
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(4)	?(2)	?(5)	?(5)		?(2).
Eufaula	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)		?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(7)	?(4).
Liwahali	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(3)
Chisha	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(4)	Tc(3)	Tc (6)		Tc(7)	Tc(3).
Mikasuki		?		?	?		?		

[1] [For key to symbols, see pp. 157-158, category 116. -- Analyst

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

SEMINOLE TOWNS—Continued

Town	Wolf	Potato	Paboca	Tami	Kapitea	Eagle	Turkey	Fox	Wokai
Ochesee	W(2)	W(3)			Te(4)				
Okfuskee		?(3)	?(3)		?(4)				
Tallahasutci		?(4)		W?(5)	?(8)		?(5)		
Hitchiti	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(3)					
Eufaula		?(8)	?(5)	?(4)	?(4)		?(4)		
Łiwahali		Te(6)	Te(4)	W(2)	Te(3)		W(2)		
Chisha		Te(9)						Te(7)	
Mikasuki		?							

Town	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Toad	Fish	Teokota	Salt	Cane
Ochesee				Te(4)	W?(1)					
Okfuskee				?(4)						
Tallahasutci				Te(8)						
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(6)		?(3)	?(1)	?(6)		?(6)		?(6).
Eufaula				?(5)						
Łiwahali				Te(2)	W(2)				W(2)	
Chisha	W(1)									
Mikasuki					?					

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On examining this list we find but one town in which the Wind are set down as Tcilokogálgi. This is the Seminole town of Tallahasutci and I believe the statement to be an error. The Seminole towns were built up from several different Creek towns and do not represent an old organization. Among other changes this institution of Whites and Tcilokis fell rapidly into decay, and for three of the towns I have been unable to get any information. Moreover, all of the old men of Tallahasutci are dead and, although I am sure that my informant tried to give correct information, he probably erred. The Bear occurs twice as Tciloki, in Eufaula Hobayi and Łapláko. In the first case not much reliance is to be placed on the information, since the town has long given up its square and my informant merely said in a general way that the Bear were the Tciloki and the Alligator the Whites. The information regarding Łapláko was, however, from one of my oldest informants and was furnished in a positive manner without hesitation. It is true that in the sister town of Łiwahali the Bear is given as White, but my Łiwahali informant was a comparatively young man, and the Łiwahali square was given up much before that of Łapláko. In accordance with the history of the Creek towns, as worked out in another place,[42a] Łapláko and Łiwahali would seem to have represented a division more ancient than the Tukabahchee, Eufaula, or many other groups of towns upon the Red side, and it is quite likely that the assignment of the Bear to the Tciloki was peculiar to them. In the same towns

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[42a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-262.

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the Bird and Beaver are White. This is their usual classification, but my lists show that they were Tciloki in Alabama, Koasati, Apalachicola and two of the Abihka towns. That they were actually Tciloki in Alabama is attested by several informants within and without that town, and one of my interpreters, himself a Tukabahchee, recalled, as a subject of general amusement, that when a ball game was to be played the Bird clan in Alabama sided against the Whites. If the Bird and Beaver were Whites in Alabama they were probably Whites in Koasati also, the two towns having been close together and being related in language. It is also probable that this difference obtained among the Hitchiti. It is true that in Okmulgee the Bird appear as White and the Beaver as Tciloki and in Hitchiti proper the Beaver as White and the Bird as Tciloki, but my authorities for this were much younger than the one for Apalachicola and their squares were among the first to be given up. In two of the four Abihka towns the Bird and Beaver would seem to have been White and in two Tciloki. The information with respect to Talladega, in which the two are Whites, should have been the most correct, since that square is still maintained; since the Bird and Beaver seem to be Tciloki among the tribes incorporated into the Creeks, perhaps the disturbance in some Abihka towns may have been due to the Natchez who settled with them. The Beaver are also given as Tciloki in Otciapofa and Kasihta. In the latter place this seems to have been a late arrangement, due to the fact that there were no Birds, and the three Beaver were seated with the Potato clan and hence classed on the same side with them. Something like this may be the secret of the change at Otciapofa. Another reason is suggested by the case of Asilanabi, where the Beaver was also Tciloki although the Bird was White. My information was from the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łałogâlga and is probably correct. It appears that the anomaly was due in part at least to the association of the Beaver with water animals like the Alligator.

But sometimes the association of the Alligator and Beaver seems to have worked in the opposite direction, the Alligator being placed among the Whites. From my notes this would appear to have been the case at Talladega, the old Abihka town near Eufaula, Oklahoma, at Pakan tallahassee, Wiogufki, Okchai, Atasi, Eufaula Hobayi, and Yuchi. While some of these cases do not rest on altogether satisfactory information there can be no doubt that such a classification occurred at times. We have no means of knowing whether it was characteristic of the Creeks in olden days or is a later innovation. The Deer clan is said, on the best authority obtainable, to have been reckoned a White clan in Chiaha, and this, according to an Indian of the neighboring Coweta town, was because it was there associated with the Bird. It might also be mentioned that in Tukabahchee the

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Deer were employed as henihas during the women's dance, and the henihas, as we shall see, were connected with peace. In Otciapofa the Pahosa are said to have been not merely Whites but the leading clan among the Whites, and as the Pahosa and Deer were uniformly linked together the condition noted in Chiaha may have been duplicated in Otciapofa. The Panther clan is given as White in Otciapofa, Little River Tulsa, Wiogufki, and Kealedji, the evidence in the last case being particularly good. Although the Panther is to-day almost always regarded as Tciloki some of my oldest and best informants, including Jackson Lewis and Big Jack of Hilibi, asserted positively that it was properly a White clan. According to the latter it was a White clan which had been turned over to the Tciloki to make their numbers even with the numbers of the Whites. Referring back to the origin myths it is seen that corroborative evidence may be adduced from that source.[49] If the Panther was anciently White it is to be presumed that the Wildcat was White also, but of this I have no certain knowledge. The Potato and Raccoon were said by one of my very best informants to have been reckoned as White clans in the Seminole town of Ochesee. While I am not prepared to deny the fact it would be so unique that I believe it must have been due to some later readjustment and does not represent an original condition. An informant reported that the Eagle was a White clan in Tcatoksofka but this was probably due to a mistaken association of the Eagle and Bird clans such as I have mentioned elsewhere.

Summing up, then, we find that the Wind and Bear are almost always White, the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Potato almost always Tciloki, the Bird and Beaver Tciloki occasionally but usually White, the Alligator, Deer, and Panther White occasionally but usually Tciloki. The clans linked with each of these so constantly as to be reckoned subdivisions were considered of the same moiety.

At first sight it would seem as though the connection of the names of the White clans with peace were very remote, but "where there's a will there's a way," especially when it comes to ex post facto explanations, and here is how my good informant, Jackson Lewis, solved the enigma in connection with four of these.

"The Wind is considered a peace clan because the wind can drive away clouds, fogs, and so on, and bring on clear, pleasant weather for mankind. The name of the Bird clan is understood to apply to birds with white plumage, such as the crane, pelican, spring crane, etc. Crane feathers were borne by dancers belonging to White clans at Tukabahchee, while those of the other side carried eagle feathers. The Bear is a peace clan because the bear is regarded as exceedingly watchful and therefore useful in the interests of peace. The Wolf, as a branch of the Bear, is a peace clan because the Wolf is a close

[49] See pp. 111-112.

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observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear." 616

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.[33a] 621

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Łapłáko the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group. 616 621 582

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties. 616 621 526

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had 616 621 526 177

[33a] See pp. 111-113.

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46 621 526 [177] the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

64 582 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[55] 567 727 597

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[56] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 311.
[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 62, 212, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 273.

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602 614 Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based opon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

614 825 688 A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[56a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[57]

[522] Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[58] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

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[56a] See p. 112. [57] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.
[58] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

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its skin for one of his sons. Afterwards he met a man of the Deer clan who took him to task for this but was finally mollified by the assurance that it was so used, not out of disrespect, but because it was held in honor. A man was also supposed to see that proper respect was paid to the totem animal of his father's clan. An instance was related to me in which a man was called to account for having killed a wolf, by another man whose father belonged to the Wolf clan. It is from this clan association that the Creeks applied terms of relationship to animals. According to one informant the Bird people called the buzzards, and all other kinds of birds in fact, "my father," and he added that this form of address was usual with other clans. It is, however, more likely that the term given by way of illustration was applied by persons whose fathers were from the Bird clan. If they themselves had been Birds they would probably have said "my uncle."[58a]

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There appears not to have been the slightest objection to killing totem animals from veneration for them as such, and this was just as true in Adair's time. He says:

"The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves. The *wolf* indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns . . . though, at the same time, they are so far from esteeming it a deity, they reckon it the most abominable quadruped of the whole creation."[59]

We should perhaps add to this a taboo against killing the rattlesnake, but there appears not to have been the least connection between their unwillingness to kill this reptile and its eponymous character, and indeed the name of Snake clan is not certainly known to have applied specifically to the rattlesnake.[60]

When a formal council was opened in the tcokofa Bartram says that the tobacco used was brought in in a skin usually taken from that animal from which the chief's clan derived its name.[61]

The Wind clan formed in some respects a privileged class. I have already mentioned the fact that women of this clan were called "grandmothers" by the other people, and we shall see later that, with the possible exception of the Bear, this was the only clan allowed to take up again the clubs with which adulterers were punished, after they

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[58a] See also pp. 141-142.
[59] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 16.
[60] Consult, however, Bartram, Travels, p. 451; see p. 537 in following paper.
[61] Bartram, op. cit.

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614 had once been laid aside. According to one writer the Wind clan could take them up an indefinite number of times; according to another, four times. This privilege is well remembered. A single writer adds that people of the Bear clan were allowed to take the clubs up twice, but I have been able to learn nothing definite upon the subject from the living Indians. Local privileges connected with the busk ceremonial were, of course, enjoyed by other clans.[62]

In other parts of America clan distinctions are indicated by means of face paintings or tattooings. With the Creeks, however, most of the latter seem to have had to do with war honors. I was told that members of the Raccoon clan painted circles about their eyes, but according to others this was done merely by doctors as a sign that they were able to see in the dark. Paintings used to indicate the towns of the persons using them will be considered presently.[62a]

Another source of information regarding the position of clans in the tribe is still to be tapped, but in order to do this we must first set forth a description of the Creek ceremonial or busk ground, the religious and social center of every Creek community of consequence.

DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO THE LAND AND THE TOWN

174 Both the Creeks and the Texas-Alabama have told me that
361 anciently clans lived apart, and in a Creek story of the origin of corn
614 they are represented as scattered about in a number of different camps. Whether or not the major clans are descended from bodies of people which once lived in separate towns and lacked exogamy the local separation of the clans until very late times is an undeniable fact. I may note here the assertion of one of my oldest and best informants to the effect that in olden times the clans were not exogamous, but that upon one occasion a council was held and it was determined that afterwards they should be considered such. This is interesting as marking the native recognition of such a possibility, not as proving
[361] that the change actually took place. The Creek towns in the times when we begin to have knowledge of them consisted of a succession
592 of villages or neighborhoods scattered through the woods and along the streams, and connected by a network of trails. The unit of such
614 a town consisted of a group of houses owned by women of one clan and occupied by themselves, their husbands, and their young children. In practice it worked out something like this. A man, assisted by other members of his family or clan, might build a house in a new situation and clear the usual yard by hoeing up the surface weeds and grass for a considerable space about it. Now, when one of his daughters married her husband, drawn from some other, perhaps distant, locality, would build another house on part of the same

[62] Cf. also Milliot, Mém., p. 255.

[62a] See p. 268.

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cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[33] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

592 614 [574] [888]

The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

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"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[33] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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342 "The dwellings of the Upper Creeks [i. e., the Creeks proper, exclusive of the Seminole] consist of little squares, or rather of four dwelling-houses inclosing a square area, exactly on the plan of the Public Square. Every family, however, has not four of these houses; some have but three, others not more than two, and some but one, according to the circumstances of the individual, or the number of his family. Those who have four buildings have a particular use for each building. One serves as a cook room and winter lodging-house, another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors, and a third for a granary or provision house, etc. The last is commonly two stories high, and divided into two apartments,

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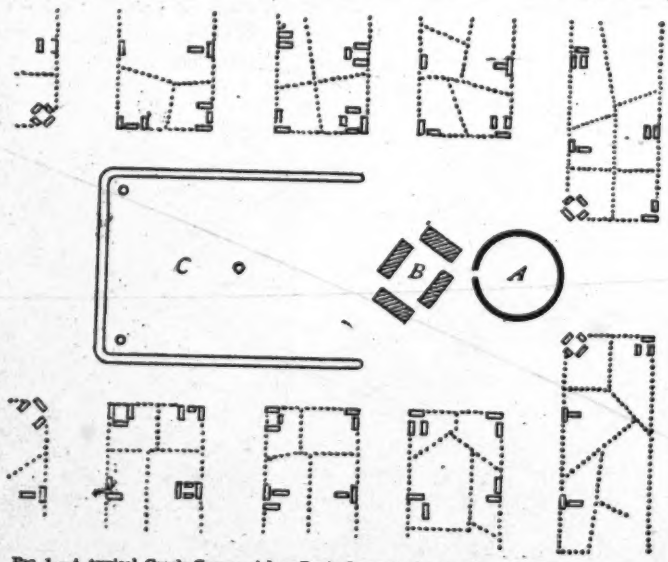

FIG. 1.—A typical Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground, showing its relation to the town. (After Bartram.)

transversely, the lower story of one end being a potato house, for keeping such other roots and fruits as require to be kept close, or defended from cold in winter. The chamber over it is the *council*. At the other end of this building, both upper and lower stories are open on their sides; the lower story serves for a shed for their saddles, pack-saddles, and gears, and other lumber; the loft over it is a very spacious, airy, pleasant pavilion, where the chief of the family reposes in the hot seasons, and receives his guests, etc. The fourth house (which completes the square) is a skin or ware-house, if the proprietor is a wealthy man, and engaged in trade or traffic, where he keeps his deer-skins, furs, merchandise, etc., and treats his customers. Smaller

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or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344 361 621

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."[64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."[65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177]

Among the Alabama the yard (tā'ăle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the household. [351 784]

[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-55.
[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 96.

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342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house [592 owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the 606] husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

171 When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find 361 that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

342 "The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of 344 all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to 622 give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong."[88]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[88] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

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mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

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"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

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"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.
[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 120.
[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 88.
[70] Ibid., p. 101.
[71] Ibid., p. 23.
[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 56, 102.
[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 130.

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344 positions in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and
361 the slave-posts." [74]

The use of the mound, while partly no doubt for defense and to add dignity to the structures placed upon it, was very often in order to protect the buildings from spring floods and the general dampness. Some earlier Spanish statements suggest that perhaps even in the sixteenth century not all public buildings were placed upon mounds. Yet by analogy with the Cherokee town house and the lower Mississippi temple we may consider it probable that the arrangement set forth by Bartram was actually a very ancient one. It would seem likely that the building called by Bartram the rotunda was once the most important element and that the public square was merely a summer substitute suggested by a southern climate. Such an evolution of the Creek public buildings would bring them into line with those known to have existed among the Cherokee and the tribes of the Mississippi. A later evolution changed the relative position of the elements here brought together and finally resulted in an almost complete elimination of the mounds. We will continue with Bartram's description of the later square (fig. 3) which remained essentially as he represents it almost to the present day.

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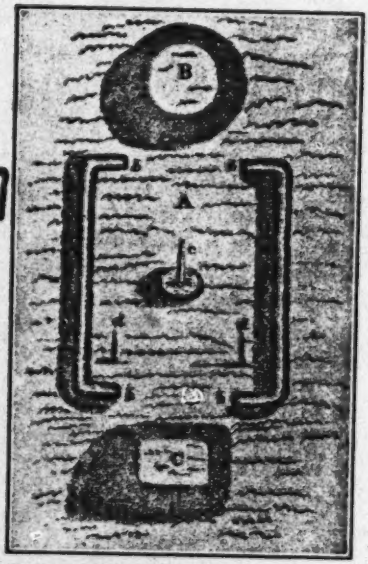

FIG. 2.—Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

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"This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky-Yard Public Square, and Rotunda of the *modern* Creek towns.

"*A*, the Public Square or area.

"*B*, the Rotunda; *a*, the door opening towards the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; *c*, the great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house.

"*C*, part of the Chunky-Yard." [75]

[74] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

[75] Ibid., p. 54.

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But however the arrangement, it is to be noticed that the public grounds of the Creeks included three elements, the *A*, *B*, and *C* of Bartram. As already stated, I believe the building which he calls the rotunda to be the oldest element of all, although it is the one which has disappeared most completely. In construction it was similar to the winter house of the individual Creek Indian, differing little except in size and the uses to which it was put. Adair says: 344

"It is usually built on the top of a hill; and, in that separate and imperial state house, the old beloved men and head warriors meet on material business, or to divert themselves, and feast and dance with the rest of the people. They furnish the inside with genteel couches, either to sit or lie on, about seven feet wide, and a little more in length, with a descent towards the wall, to secure them from falling off when asleep. Every one takes his seat, according to his reputed merit; a worthless coxcomb dare not be guilty of the least intrusion—should he attempt it, he is ordered to his proper place, before the multitude, with the vilest disgrace, and bears their stinging laughter." [76] 344 623

FIG. 3.—Later pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

Swan describes it as follows:

"The hot-house is a perfect pyramid of about twenty-five feet high, on a circular base of the same diameter. The walls of it are of clay, about six feet high, and from thence drawn regularly to a point at the top, and covered round with tufts of bark. Inside of the hot-house is one broad circular seat made of canes, and attached to the walls all around. The fire is kindled in the center; and the house, having no ventilator, soon becomes intolerably hot; yet the savages, amidst all the smoke and dust raised from the earthen floor by their violent manner of dancing, bear it for hours together without the least apparent inconvenience." [77] 344

Hawkins names this house the "chooc-ofau thluc-co"—Tcokō'fa łą'ko, "house with a big room," as obtained by myself—and he goes on to give the following description:

"This is near the square, and is constructed after the following manner: Eight posts are fixed in the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these, five or six logs are placed, of a side,

[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 421. [77] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 265-266.

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drawn in as they rise. On these, long poles or rafters, to suit the height of the building, are laid, the upper ends forming a point, and the lower ends projecting out six feet from the octagon, and resting on posts five feet high, placed in a circle round the octagon, with plates on them, to which the rafters are tied with splits. The rafters are near together, and fastened with splits. These are covered with clay, and that with pine bark; the wall, six feet from the octagon, is clayed up; they have a small door into a small portico, curved round for five or six feet, then into the house.

"The space between the octagon and the wall, is one entire sopha, where the visitors lie or sit at pleasure. It is covered with reed, mat or splits.

"In the centre of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made, of dry cane or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid in a spiral circle." [78]

The following account is from Bartram:

"The great council house or rotunda is appropriated to much the same purpose as the public square, but more private, and seems particularly dedicated to political affairs; women and youth are never admitted; and I suppose it is death for a female to presume to enter the door, or approach within its pale.[78a] It is a vast conical building or circular dome, capable of accommodating many hundred people; and constructed and furnished within, exactly in the same manner as those of the Cherokees already described, but much larger than any I had seen of them; there are people appointed to take care of it, to have it daily swept clean, and to provide canes for fuel, or to give light." [79]

Bartram's description of the Cherokee "rotunda," to which reference is made in the above account, is as follows:

"They first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at top, to receive into them from one to another, a range of beams or wall plates; within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at top, to receive another range of wall plates; and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but fewer in number, and standing at a greater distance from each other; and lastly, in the centre stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building, and to which the rafters centre at top; these rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed, and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all. There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light from without and the smoak to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small

[78] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 71-72.
[78a] This is erroneous; see Swan's statement on p. 182.
[79] Bartram, Travels, pp. 448-449.

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fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoak. All around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with mats or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year." [80]

This writer is the only one mentioning three concentric rows of posts in addition to the central pillar.

Contemporaneous with Bartram's description is that of Taitt:

"The hot house is generally built at the north west Corner of the Square having the door fronting the South East. The one in this Town [Tukabahchee] is a Square building about 30 feet diameter rounded a little at the Corners; the walls are about four feet high; from these walls the roof rises about twelve feet, terminating in a point at top. The door is the only Opening in this house for they have no window nor funnell for the smoke to go out, there is a small entry about ten feet long built at the out side of the door and turned a little round the side of the house to keep out the Cold and prevent the wind blowing the fire about the House; they make a Circle of pitch pine Split small; or in lieu of the pitch pine they use small dry Canes, leaving a small space of the Circle Open where the fire is lighted, still keeping some person Employed to add pitch pine of Canes to one part of the Circle while the fire Consumes the other. In this house the Indians consult about the affairs of their Nation in the Winter Season and in their Square in Summer." [81]

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Hitchcock's notes contain a short description of the Tukabahchee tcokofa erected after the emigration of the Creeks to the banks of the Canadian. He calls this building "the Round house," and says:

"Considerable ingenuity has been employed in its erection.[81a] The main structure is supported upon *twelve* posts or pillars, one end sunk in the ground. They are disposed in a circle about 9 or 10 ft. apart, making a space within of about 120 ft. circumference, in the centre of which, upon the ground, is the sacred fire. The roof over this circle

[80] Bartram, Travels, pp. 366-367.

[81] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 303.

[81a] It seems that the architect was Tukabahchee mikō, a well-known Upper Creek leader and at that time its leading medicine maker. After giving the dimensions of the building as "about 60 feet in diameter and 30 feet high," he says that Tukabahchee mikō "cut sticks in miniature of every log required in the construction of the building, and distributed them proportionately among the residents of the town, whose duty it was to cut logs corresponding with their sticks, and deliver them upon the ground appropriated for the building, at a given time. At the raising of the house, not a log was cut or changed from its original destination; all came together in their appropriate places, as intended by the designer. During the planning of this building, which occupied him six days, he did not partake of the least particle of food."—Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 68, p. 12.

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344 is a cone terminating in a point over the fire some 20 odd feet high. The rafters extend down from the apex of the cone beyond the twelve pillars, which are about 8 ft. high, to within 4 or 5 ft. of the ground, which space, of 4 or 5 ft., is closed entirely with earth. Between the pillars and the extreme exterior, a space of several feet, are seats of mats, like those of the sheds [in the Square]. The manner of constructing the roof is very remarkable for Indian work. Upon the alternate couples of the 12 pillars are first placed horizontal pieces, then upon the ends of these are placed other horizontal pieces between the other couples of pillars, then another series of horizontal pieces resting upon the second set, but drawn within towards the centre of the circle a few inches. Upon these again are other pieces still more drawn in. There are 4 tiers of horizontal pieces thus placed upon each other (fig. 4).

"A, b, c, d, are four of the twelve pillars. Pieces are first laid upon ab and upon cd, then a piece upon these and between bc, etc., etc. These horizontal pieces are strongly bound together by leather thongs of green hide. They are only carried up to the number of 4 sufficient for giving a direction and a foundation for the rafters, which are laid upon these, extending up to a point in one direction and in the other direction over [the] outside nearly to the ground. The rafters are strongly bound by thongs and covered with ordinary rived boards for shingles. There is but one small entrance to the House which is next towards the angle of the square adjacent to which the Round House stands." [a]

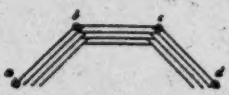

FIG. 4.—Structure of the roof of a Creek tookofa. (After Hitchcock)

[624] He adds that certain persons were appointed to preserve the buildings and that they were obliged to take the black drink every morning.

177 These descriptions, particularly that of Hawkins, agree with those I have myself obtained from old men who remember some of the 344 hot houses that were built in Oklahoma. One had even heard that these buildings were anciently on mounds. In later times, however, the construction became much simpler. Some were made by resting poles on one end on an earthen wall and drawing the upper ends together at the center, the whole being covered with long boards. It is to be added that, although the seats ran all the way around this building on the inside, it was divided into separate "beds," maintaining the same general position as those in the "big house" out of doors. It was, as nearly as could be managed, an indoors version of the latter. During the Civil War most of these houses disappeared, and only one seems to have been built after that time, in this case by the people of Pakan tallahassee. One of the men who had participated

[a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. The overlapping of the horizontal pieces in the sketch is crudely indicated, suggesting an outward rather than an inward flare.

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in the erection of this particular structure told me that the boards were made, and the materials brought to the spot, set up and fastened together—with grapevines instead of nails—all in 10 days. This hot house was used by the Laksafáski,[83] who are the tâstânâgâlgi—in this town equivalent to the Deer clan. It was afterwards burned to the ground and has never been replaced, though the foundation, including the location of the large center post and the circular outline, was traceable when I visited the Pakan tallahassee busk ground in 1912. At Tukabahchee its place is still theoretically marked, and a fire made for it annually, in a circular area about 50 feet in diameter northwest of the square ground.[83a]

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The outdoors council ground or "big house," as it is known to the Creeks, has also suffered degeneration, though not to such a marked degree as the tcokofa. The best early descriptions are by Bartram, Swan, and Hawkins, and they are confirmed by allusions on the part of Adair and other writers. Hawkins says:

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"Choo-co-thluc-co, (big house), the town house or public square, consists of four square buildings of one story, facing each other, forty by sixteen feet, eight feet pitch; the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame, supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed, up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise, into two seats; the front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed-mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot, and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats they lie or sit at pleasure." [84]

Swan's description is yet longer:

"The public squares, placed near the centre of each town, are formed by four buildings of equal size, facing inwards, and enclosing an area of about thirty feet on each side. These houses are made of the same materials as their dwelling-houses, but differ by having the front which faces the square left entirely open, and the walls of the back sides have an open space of two feet or more next to the eaves, to admit a circulation of air. Each of these houses is partitioned into three apartments, making twelve in all, which are called the cabins; the partitions which separate these cabins are made of clay, and only as high as a man's shoulders, when sitting. Each cabin has three seats, or rather platforms, being broad enough to sleep upon. The first is raised about two feet from the ground, the second is eight inches higher, and the third, or back seat, as much above the second. The whole of the seats are joined together by a covering of cane-mats, as large as carpets. It is a rule, to have a new covering to the seats every year, previous to the ceremony of the busk; therefore, as the

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[83] Said by some to be a nickname for the Tellokogâlgi; see p. 127.

[83a] Some further notes on the tcokofa will be found on p. 88.

[84] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 59-60.

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344 old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[88] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [89] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[532 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
614] of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

[621 "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the
531] posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[714] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[88] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[89] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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"Each square has a black-drink cook, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum." [27] 344 [272]

Hawkins probably had the square of Kasihta more particularly in mind and Swan that of Otciapofa. From Bartram we have two different descriptions, one more generalized, the other a particular account of the square of Atasi. The first and briefer of these runs as follows:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all the apparatus of the priests. None but the priests having the care of these articles are admitted; and it is said to be certain death for any other person to enter. [623] [778]

"Fronting this is another building, called the "Banqueting House;" and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike, and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment." [28]

His description of the Atasi square is much longer:

"The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre and highest part of the town: it consists of four-square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants: there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width: each building is constructed of a wooden frame fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay mortar; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air; the front or side next to the area is quite open like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the coun- 344 623

[27] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. [illegible].
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. iii, pp. 39-44.

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344 [622] cilhouse where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide and rectify all grievances, complaints and contentions, arising betwixt the citizens; give audience to ambassadors, and strangers; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies or distant nations; consult about the particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens, or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three: it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded [778] place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary* dedicated to religion, or rather priest craft; for here are deposited all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs and other apparatus of conjurations; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail (Vultur sacra) curiously formed and displayed like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermillion. The piazza or front of this building, is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats or cabins stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sophas, and serve for a banqueting-house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females however are seldom or never seen in the public square.

344 532 "The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as an historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque or caricature, as men in variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kind of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front

* "Sanctorum or sacred temple; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war-chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night."—Bartram.

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344 [532]

or piazza of the council-house of the square, are ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled serpents, ascending upwards; the Ottasees being of the snake family or tribe."[30]

Taitt's description, referring particularly to Tukabahchee, is brief but to the point:

"The Square is formed by four houses about forty feet in Length and ten wide. Open in front and divided into three different Cabins each. The seats are made of Canes Split and worked together raised about three feet off the Ground; and half the width of the House, the back half being raised above the other about one foot; these Cabins serve for beds as well as seats in Summer."[31]

January 31, 1842, General Hitchcock visited the Tukabahchee Square, in what is now Oklahoma, and gives the following description:

"The *Square* consists of four shed roofs forming a rectangle 20 paces on a side within. Each roof is closed on three sides to the ground, the fourth or inner side being open for counsellors to sit in, where mats are spread made of cane for seats. The four sheds are separated on their angles 4 or 5 paces for entrance and egress and they are situated so that diagonals of the Square are nearly upon the meridian line and at right angles to it. The 3 sides of the sheds which are closed are closed with mud and are raised about 6 feet, the open front inside being a corresponding 6 feet. Each shed is divided into three parts by a partition raised only about elbow high to one in a sitting posture. Upon each partition there are two earth bowls about a foot in diameter in which live coals are placed during the council for the grave counsellors to light their pipes by.

"One of the sheds is appropriated, or two parts of the three into which it is divided, to the preservation of articles used in the preparation and drinking of the 'black drink.' The most curious part of the preparation at the Square is at the west angle a few feet from the angle outside."[32]

Another description, probably applying to the Coweta Square, is furnished by Milfort and will be found in the chapter on Creek government.[33] Still another is contained in the Creek origin myth related to Gatschet by Ispahihtca of Kasihta and refers to that town. The dimensions given are greater than those included in the descriptions of Hawkins, Taitt, and Hitchcock. Adair gives the size of the central section of the west bed as 9 by 7, which would indicate that the entire bed was not more than 30 feet long.

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Attention should be called to the inclosed space behind the chief's bed mentioned by Hawkins and Bartram, and also by Adair who styles it "the holy of holies" and says regarding it: "As the Jews had

[30] Bartram, Travels, pp. 469-414.
[31] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 502.
[32] Hitchcock, Ms. Notes.
[33] See pp. 311-312.

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344 a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, so have all the Indian
778 nations; particularly, the Muskohge. It is partitioned off by a mud-wall about breast-high, behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red-painted war-seat; there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular damage to themselves, and general hurt to the people, from the supposed divinity of the place."[84] Later most of the objects which had been preserved here were put up under the roof as was the case in the square described by Hawkins. In old Okchai they were up under the roof at the north end of the west cabin, where the Wind clan sat. In recent years, perhaps to protect them from desecration by the
[177 whites, they have in some towns built a small house about 4 feet
346] each way in which the pots used at that time are stored. There is one at Eufaula just back of the chief's bed, one at Alabama southeast of the square, and one at Chiaha Seminole in the same relative position. Tukabahchee, where the busk vessels and appurtenances are kept in a small inclosed space just back of the center of the chief's bed, is the only town to preserve a relic of the more ancient custom.

344 In olden times there was in front of each front post in every bed a stick tapering to a point at the top, leaning outward, and provided on the outer side with two notches. The butt ends of the wands on which the feathers were tied used in the tcitahaia dance were stuck into the ground at these same points. The sticks were called atàsà, like the smaller ones carried by the leaders of the women in the women's dance and the small ones given to youths when they were named, and in all cases they evidently refer to the old-fashioned war club (atàsà or atàsu). This description applies particularly to Tukabahchee. Other towns are said to have had sticks in the shape of axes instead of war clubs. Besides these sticks I am told that on the front of each post on the right-hand side of the center of each bed as you face the bed notches were cut called (i)ná'tàsà ha'ki, "made like the atàsà," and only men of great importance who could call councils sat next to these posts.

Jackson Lewis agreed with Hawkins in stating that in the old days when cane seats were employed there were generally only two tiers, but it is evident that the practice was different in different towns. Aside from the plan given by Swan the only attempt to represent any part of the square graphically was by a French artist who sketched what is probably the west bed of the Alabama ground in the early part of the eighteenth century. (Fig. 5.) This differs from all other illustrations and descriptions in showing four sections instead of three.

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[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 80.

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From these descriptions it appears that the buildings of the square were anciently constructed somewhat after the fashion of a native house with a long porch. In Oklahoma they degenerated rapidly, especially after the Civil War. While I have seen one square in which the cabins were provided with a shingle roof, they are almost universally simple brush arbors. In those which retain the original idea most fully there are eight posts marking out the three ancient subdivisions, but in many grounds these have become reduced to six and in still others to four. Often, however, the tripartite division is theoretically maintained. The posts are forked at the top and bear a brush roof that is renewed every year at the time of the busk. The seats are usually of logs split in halves, laid with the flat surface uppermost. Two or three rows from front to back are made of these, but as a matter of fact many Indians, especially the principal

344 [177]

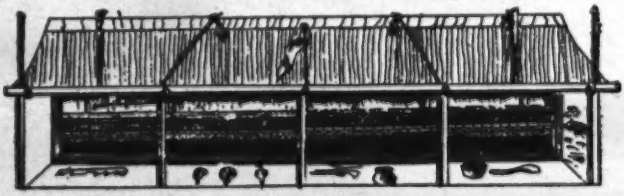

FIG. 5.—One of the beds in the Alabama Square Ground as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century. From a contemporary sketch. Medicine pots and spoons to right, on ground; gourd rattles to left; flag over the center pole; notched pole or ataká at either end and another pair some distance in from either end; a pole carrying a scalp at the top of each intermediate post; two full-length cane seats below. Near the left end, under the front of roof, are written the words "Caban de Conseille." (From an article entitled "Documents concernant l'Histoire des Indiens," by the Baron Marc de Villiers, in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s. vol. xiv, 1922, p. 136.)

men, now use wooden chairs brought from their camps. The well-nigh universal statement, on the part of earlier white writers and the modern Indians, is to the effect that the cabins, arbors, or "beds," as the Creeks themselves call them, should be laid out toward the four cardinal points, and this holds for almost all of the modern squares. Jackson Lewis said that they used the north star as a guide in placing them. On the other hand the great square of Tukabahchee is somewhat askew, and one of my interpreters, who had formerly been the miko of that town, asserted that it was intended that the entrances should lie toward the cardinal points. This is confirmed by Hitchcock.[94a] Whether this was an established custom of some or all of the Creek towns it would now be impossible to say, but I am of the opinion that it was never universal. A change has also come about in the number of arbors. Anciently there appear to have been four without exception. At least there is no early mention of a smaller number among the Creeks proper.[95]

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[94a] See p. 185.

[95] For the Seminole, however, see Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 56.

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With a falling off in population, however, and the conversion of many Indians to Christianity, it was found unnecessary to put up so many, and also too laborious for the workers available. Where four were preserved one or more came to be assigned to the women and children, although anciently they did not have seats on the square ground. We therefore find in many towns only three arbors, and in a few, like Alabama, only two. The ones dropped off were those which had been occupied by the boys, the visitors, and the less important officials. Łiwahali Seminole presents an extreme stage in the decline of the busk, each arbor being represented by only a single split log entirely uncovered (pl. 5, *c*). The last relic of the public ground to survive, however, was the chunkey yard, which we have yet to consider.

344

Not so much attention is paid to this chunkey yard by our early authorities, Hawkins practically disregarding it, while Swan merely refers to "a May-pole, with a large circular beaten yard around it, at the southwest corner, which is called the chunkey yard."[96] Bartram gives the fullest description of the ground to be found among older writers. Following is his account in full:

"The *Chunky-Yard* of the Creeks, so called by the traders, is a cubiform area, generally in the centre of the town, because the Public Square and the Rotunda, or great winter Council-house, stand at the two opposite corners of it. It is generally very extensive, especially in the large old towns,[97] is exactly level, and sunk two, sometimes three, feet below the banks or terraces surrounding it, which are sometimes two, one above and behind the other, and are formed of earth cast out of the area at the time of its formation; these banks or terraces serve the purposes of seats for the spectators. In the centre of the yard there is a low circular mount or eminence, in the centre of which stands erect the *chunky-pole*, which is a high obelisk, or four square pillars declining upwards to an obtuse point, in shape and proportion much resembling the Egyptian obelisk. This is of wood, the heart or inward resinous part of the sound pine-tree, and is very durable; it is generally from thirty to forty feet high, and to the top of this is fastened some object to shoot at with bows and arrows, the rifle, etc., at certain times appointed. Near each corner of the lower and further end of the yard stands erect a less pillar or pole, about twelve feet high: these are called the *slave-posts*, because to them are bound the captives condemned to be burnt, and these posts are usually decorated with the scalps of their slain enemies; the scalps with the hair on them, and strained on a little hoop, usually five or six inches in

[96] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 265.

[97] "The chunky yards are of different sizes, according to the largeness and fame of the town they belong to; some are 200 or 300 yards in length, and of proportionable breadth."—Bartram.

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width, are suspended by a string six or seven inches in length round about the top of the pole, where they remain as long as they last. I have seen some that have been there so long as to lose all the hair, and the skin remaining white as parchment or paper. The pole is usually crowned with the white dry skull of an enemy. In some of these towns I have counted six or eight scalps fluttering on one pole in these yards. Thus it appears evidently enough that this area is designed for a public place of exhibition of shows and games, and formerly some of the scenes were of the most tragical and barbarous nature, as torturing the miserable captives with fire in various ways, and causing or forcing them to run the gauntlet naked, chunked and beat almost to death with burning chunks and fire-brands, and at last burnt to ashes.

"Inquired of the traders for what reason this area was called the *Chunky-Yard;* they were in general ignorant, yet they all seemed to agree in a lame story of its originating from its being the place where the Indians formerly put to death and tortured their captives—or from the Indian name for it, which bears such a signification.

"The Indians do not now torture their captives after that cruel manner as formerly; but there are some old traders who have been present at the burning of captives.

"I observed no Chunky-Yards, chunky-pole, or slave-posts in use in any of the Cherokee towns: and when I have mentioned in my journal, chunky-yards in the Cherokee country, it must be understood that I have seen the remains or vestiges of them in the ancient ruins of towns; for in the present Cherokee towns that I visited, though there were the ancient mounts and signs of the yard adjoining, yet the yard was either built upon or turned into a garden spot or the like.

[171]

"Indeed, I am convinced that the Chunky-Yards now, or lately, in use amongst the Creeks, are of very ancient date—not the formation of the present Indians. But in most towns they are cleaned out and kept in repair, being swept clean every day, and the poles kept up and decorated in the manner I have mentioned."[86]

A footnote by Squier gives the true origin of the term chunkey, viz, from the name of a game to be explained elsewhere and common throughout the Southern States in primitive times.[86a] Bartram seems to have seen a chunkey-pole compounded of four pieces, an unusually elaborate construction. Nothing of the kind is known at the present day.

After describing the Atasi square in his Travels, Bartram goes on to tell us that "in the midst of a large oblong square adjoining this town (which was surrounded with a low bank or terrace) is standing a high pillar, round like a pin or needle; it is about forty feet in

[86] Bartram, in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, pp. 34-35. [86a] See p. 428.

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344 height, and between two and three feet in diameter at the earth, gradually tapering upwards to a point; it is one piece of pine wood, and arises from the centre of a low, circular, artificial hill, but it leans a little to one side."[88] He adds that the Indian traders knew nothing about this and the Indians themselves claimed to have found it in that same situation when their ancestors arrived in the country.[89] There can be no doubt, however, that this was nothing more than a chunk yard with its ball post, although it is possible that it belonged to an older town and was not in use in Bartram's time. It is at least interesting to note that according to our author's statement there was no pine of the kind used for this post then growing within 12 or 15 miles of the place.

The pole (Muskogee pokábi) is a simple straight stick, tapering to the top and about 30 feet high, at the summit of which is hung the skull of a cow or horse. In the Fish Pond towns a wooden fish is used, the idea being derived from the town name, and in Eufaula there is a wooden bird. The last is said not to have any particular significance unless it be that it is the American national emblem. The slave posts are barely remembered by the oldest people, but it is believed that they were made in the shape of atásá or "war clubs." The chunkey game is played no longer. Except during the busk this ground is employed by the Indians mainly in playing a game between the men and women which will be described later. During the busk, however, its bounds are within the sacred area, and some of the dances take place there. The Okchai town has two pokábis, one to the east and one to the west. At Hilibi there are two, one, the pokábi proper, within the prescribed bounds and the other beyond, to the south. The latter is used for purely social purposes, the situation of the former not being so well suited to the game. The fact that the latter is maintained distinct shows that there was a sacred character appertaining to the chunkey-yard and also that it was considered proper that it occupy a certain position. The ridges of earth to which Bartram refers as furnishing seats for spectators were made by successive cleanings, or rather scrapings, of the surface of the yard. At the present day these ridges (tádjo) are difficult to distinguish in some grounds, but in a few, such as those of Tukabahchee and Okchai, they have almost the appearance of earthworks. In some an inner and an outer tádjo may be distinguished, the former just outside of the four beds that form the square. This feature is, however, said to be purely accidental, due to cleaning out under the beds. Piles of trash are also left about the roots of trees and other obstructions.

Around the edges of each busk ground were a number of camps occupied by the families participating in the ceremony during the period of its continuance. The permanent parts of two of these are shown in Plates 4, *a*, and 6, *c*.

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[88] Bartram, Travels, p. 455.

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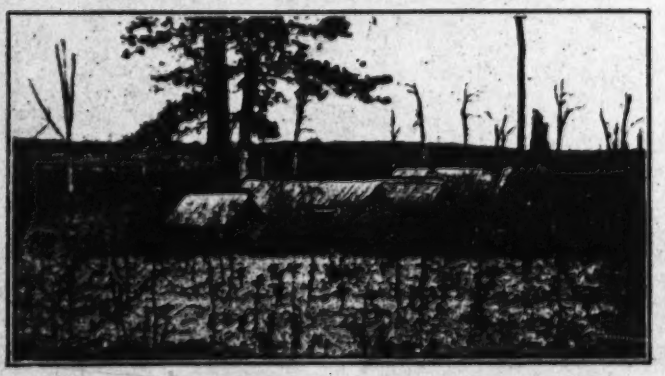

CREEK CHURCHES AND BURIALS

[facing p. 190]

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344 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have
346 been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

177 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks
171 have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those
344 above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

344 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa),
554 usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The
621 names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tàstánágálgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibánágálgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihálgi intupa) and was known

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 302.

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344 554 621 to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihâlgi always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[a] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). 614 622 For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the mikâlgi or chiefs, and the henihâlgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tástánágâlgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Talladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[3]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-testi	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Lutcapoga	do	Bird [4] (Beaver, second chief).
Okfuskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tcatokaofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutcf	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutcasi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee	(1) Aktayatci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis).	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktayatci	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Lálogaga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [6]	Bear or Wind.[3]
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[6]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 287.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tcloki clan, perhaps the Aktayatci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasihta yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

[a] See pp. 293-295

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Town	Chiah	Henihas
Łapłiko	(1) Bear	(1) Bird (second chief).
	(2) Raccoon	(2) Bear or Wind.
Łiwahali	(1) Panther	(1) Deer.
	(2) Panther	(2) Aktaystci or Fox.
Hilibi	Aktaystci	Alligator, Turkey, and Tàmi.
Upper Eufaula	Aktaystci (anciently Eagle)	Do.[8]
Alabama	Bear [9]	(1) Aktaystci.
		(2) Alligator, Bird, etc.
Kasihta	Bear [10] (Alligator—Gatschet)	Wind (Istani—Hawkins); (Alligator, second chief).
Hitchiti	Bird (Tàmi—Jackson Lewis)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (Deer, in last organization)	Bear (Bird, in last organization).
Yuchi	(Passes from father to son irrespective of clan.)	
Coweta	Fish [11] (Wind)	Bird.[12]
Łikatcka	Alligator	Wind (Bear, second chief).
Eufaula Hobayi	(1) Kapitca	(1) Deer (?).
	(2) Bear (second inf.)	(2) Wind (second inf.)
Chiaha	(1) Raccoon, Potato, or Fox	(1) Bear or Deer.
	(2) Bear	(2) Bear.
	(3) Wind	(3) Aktaystci, Potato, Alligator, Tàmi, Raccoon, Fox.
Ocochi	(1) Fox (Jim Sapulpa)	(1) Wind (Jim Sapulpa).
	(2) Potato (Tob Tiger)	(2) Panther (Tob Tiger).
Ocheese	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee Seminole	do	Bird (second chief).
Tallahassutci	do	Bird.
Hitchiti Seminole	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula Seminole	Kapitca	Panther.[13]
Łiwahali Seminole	(1) Bird	(1) Bear.
	(2) Potato	(2) Bird.
Chiaha Seminole	Bear	Wind.[13]
Mikasuki	(1) Alligator	(1) Alligator (Panther, second chief; Potato, third chief).[14]
	(2) Snake (anciently); Panther (later)	(2) Panther (anciently); Alligator (later).

[8] According to Jackson Lewis. Later the Bird clan seems to have occupied this position, though according to some Hilibi people the Wind ones performed the function.

[9] One of the last chiefs belonged to the Wind clan.

[10] According to three different informants.

[11] Hawkins and Ispahihica (fide Gatschet) both give the Fish, which we may therefore assume to have been the chief's clan in ancient times.

[12] According to both my own informants and those of Doctor Gatschet (Creek Ms. vocab.).

[13] These clans are called tiستانگلگی but take the place of the henihâlgi.

[14] See Fig. 90.

Regarding the Texas Alabama I learned the following facts. Within the memory of living Indians the chieftainship has not passed down in a single clan. The first head chief held in remembrance was leader of the tribe before they came to Texas. His name has not been preserved but he was the grandfather of John Scott, the late chief, and he belonged to the Daddy-longlegs clan. The second head chief is remembered as "old man Antone." He belonged to the Bear clan, and the second chief under him was a Tawasa Indian of the Beaver clan named Celestine. Antone was succeeded by the late chief, John Scott, who was of the Deer clan. The second chief under him was formerly John Walker, a Bear.

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By eliminating the Texas Alabama and the doubtful and less well-authenticated material in the above data and reducing all of the towns of each group under one head we obtain the following summary result. Alternative possibilities are in parentheses.

Town	Chief	Henihá
Abihka	Bear	Raccoon.
Tulsa	Beaver	Bird (or Wind).
Okfuskee	Bear	Wind (or Bird).
Pakan tallahassee	Aktayatci (or Bear)	Do.
Wiogufki	Aktayatci	Wind.
Okchai	Bear	Do.
Wiwohka	Panther (or Bird)	Do.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear	Bear or Wind.
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind.
Tukabahchee	Eagle (or Raccoon)	Do.
Atasi	Bear	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.
Łapłáko	Bear	Bird (or Wind).
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator.
Eufaula, Upper	do	Do.
Alabama	Bear	Aktayatci.
Kasihta	do	Wind (or Tàmi).
Hitchiti	Bird (or Tàmi or Raccoon)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (or Deer)	Bear (or Bird).
Coweta	Fish (or Wind)	Bird.
Eufaula Hobayi	Kapitca	Deer (or Wind)
Chiaha	Fox or Potato	Bear.
Osochi	do	Wind (or Panther).
SEMINOLE TOWNS		
Ochesee	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee	do	Do.
Talla hasutci	do	Do.
Hitchiti	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula	Kapitca	Panther (tástánągi).
Liwahali	Bird (or Potato)	Bear (or Bird).
Chiaha	Bear	Wind (tástánągi).
Mikasuki	Alligator (or Snake)	Panther (or Alligator).

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A study of this table yields certain very interesting facts. Taking the henihálgi clans first we find that with few exceptions these come from the White side. The Deer occurs twice, once in Hitchiti and once in Eufaula Hobayi, but in the latter case there is an alternative possibility, while the former applies simply to the last organization of the Hitchiti square. Nevertheless this clan is said to have been used at Tukabahchee as henihálgi during the women's dance. The old woman who gave me the data for Apalchicola said that anciently

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the Hitchiti square was the same as in the Apalchicola town. On the other hand the Seminole Hitchiti had the Toad clan, generally considered akin to the Deer, as their henihâlgi. The Deer was, however, considered a White clan in Chiaha, and Chiaha anciently spoke the Hitchiti language. It is therefore possible that the Deer was once a White clan among Hitchiti-speaking people. Again, the Alligator and their allies were the henihâlgi at Hilibi and Upper Eufaula, perhaps also in the Mikasuki town; indeed an old Mikasuki Indian told me that the Alligator were considered the henihâlgi among all Seminole. While this does not seem to agree with the statements of other Seminole Indians there may nevertheless have been truth in it, since the clans given as henihas among the Seminole are often those which furnished the second chief, and the old organization appears to have fallen to pieces. Possibly the position of the Alligator as henihâlgi may have resulted from the influence exerted by the Eufaula band who formed a considerable body among the Seminole. The Alligator, like the Deer, was also sometimes a White clan, and much more frequently. The Aktayatci are given as henihâlgi among the Alabama by one informant, but the Alabama town is small and the organization badly broken down, and, besides, another informant stated that the Alligator or Bird were the only henihas. Moreover, the Aktayatci in Alabama were said to form part of the same phratry as the Deer which is sometimes White. Only in the Abihka towns have we a well accredited case of a clan of henihas never reckoned among the Whites. But although the Raccoon clan there plainly performed the functions of the henihâlgi one of the very men who gave me the information stated that the south bed was called "bed of the henihâlgi" because the Wind clan sat there, and he added that "it was understood that in every town the Wind clan were the henihâlgi." The chief of the Mikasuki said the same thing. This, of course, can only mean that in the Abihka town there has been a dislocation of the older usage.

An inspection of the table shows the Wind clan mentioned as henihas seventeen times, eight times without qualification. Next stand the Bird, mentioned ten times, and the Bear four times. There can be little doubt that it was the general opinion that the Wind should be henihâlgi, and I am inclined to believe that anciently they were so to a greater extent than at present, but as far back as Hawkins's time we know that they were not henihâlgi in a town as important as Kasihta; perhaps their enjoyment of this dignity was partly theoretical and never carried out in all cases. Nevertheless it is certain that almost invariably the henihâlgi were a White clan, and this I believe once to have been universally the case, for the henihas were associated with peace and sometimes their bed was called the "white or peace cabin."

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Turning to the chiefs, we do not find such a simple proposition. The chief was selected from the Bear clan in 8 and possibly 11 cases, from the Beaver in 4, from the Aktayatci in 3 and possibly 4, from the Raccoon in 2 to 4, the Bird in from 1 to 4, the Fox or Potato in 2 to 3, the Wind in perhaps 3, the Kapitca in 2 cases, and the Fish, Eagle, Panther, Tâmi, Deer, Alligator, and Snake in single cases. The Beaver clan furnished the chiefs in the Tulsa towns and in three Seminole towns which had probably drawn most of their population from the Tulsa towns. The Aktayatci led in Hilibi, Upper Eufaula, Wiogufki, and possibly Pakan tallahassee. The Raccoon is found in two towns traditionally related or closely connected, Tukabahchee and Kealedji, and in Koasati, a near neighbor. The Bird occurs in this position principally in Hitchiti and Hitchiti Seminole, the Wind in the Lower Creek towns, particularly Coweta, and in Tuskegee, the Fox and Potato in the related towns of Chiaha and Osochi, and the Kapitca in Lower Eufaula and in Eufaula Seminole. Of the isolated cases the Eagle is already explained as a branch of or now incorporated with the Raccoon, and in the same way the Fish was an old branch of, or has been incorporated into, the Wind.

The other single cases are all reported from towns that have long given up the busk or which are known to have been reduced very much in numbers and otherwise disorganized. They also occur sometimes where there is disagreement. The Bear clan is the only one that by the number of cases and their distribution suggests a position for the chieftainship similar to that of the Wind for the henihâlgi. This is brought out more strongly by the discovery of several cases in which the Bear has been superseded by some other clan only in recent times. By several early writers we find it stated that the White towns were governed by chiefs and the Red towns by warriors. It is evident that tâstânâgis were never chiefs of towns; therefore all this statement could mean is that the chiefs of Red towns were drawn from Red clans. Examining our lists we find that, in fact, with two exceptions, all of the White towns about which there is unanimity of opinion were ruled by chiefs drawn from White clans. Of the two exceptions one, Wiogufki, claimed relationship with Eufaula and Hilibi, and is said to have been originally a Red town, while the other, Koasati, has long ceased to have busks, and the organization that is remembered is probably one that was adopted after the older form had been partly given up. There are a few other White towns which some hold to have been ruled by Red clans, but one of them, Wiwohka, was thought to be composed of refugees from all quarters, and it early became reduced and disorganized. Another, Pakan tallahassee, which now has the same head clan as Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula, has in late years been closely associated with those towns. Finally, Gatschet was told that the miko of Hitchiti was a Raccoon,

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and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łapłáko, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łapłáko, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck. 614 622

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[3] tookofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable. 344 554 [614] 621

[3] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. 380.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Talladega	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka-in-the-West	W	E	S	N (for visitors).
Kan-tcati	W	S (west end)	E (north end)	N (wanting).
Otciapofa	W	E	N	S (wanting).
according to Swan	W [1]	S	N	E.[1]
Tulsa Little River	W	N	S	E (for visitors).
Tulsa Canadian (?)	W	S [2]	S [2]	N.
Lutcapoga	W	N [3] (S)	S [3] (N)	E.
Okfuskee	N	W	E	S.
Tcatoksofka	W	E [3]	E [3]	N and S.
Abihkutci	N	W	E	S.
Nuyaka	N	W	E	S.
Talmutcasi	N	E	W	S.
Pakan tallahassee	N	W	S	E (wanting).
Wiogufki (1)	W	S	(wanting)	E.
(2)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Tukpafka	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Asilanabi	W	N	S	E.
Okchai	W	N	S	E.
Łálogálga	W	N	S	E.
Wiwohka (1)	W	E	N	S (wanting).
(2)	W		S	N (wanting).
Tuskegee	W	E [4]	N [4]	S.
Koasati No. 1	S	E(?)	?	?.
Koasati No. 2	W	N	S [5]	N (wanting).
Tukabahchee	SW	NW	SE	NE.
Atasi (1)	N	W	E	S.
(2)	N	S	E	W.
Kealedji	W	N	E(?)	S(?).
Łapłáko	W	N	S	E.
Łiwahali	E	S	?	?.
Hilibi	W	S(?)	E(?)	N.
Upper Eufaula	N	S	E	W (wanting).
Alabama	E	W	S(?) [6]	N(?).[6]
Kasihta [7]	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Hitchiti	W	N	E	S.
Okmulgee	W	N	S	E.
Apalachicola	W	N	E	S.
Yuchi	W	N and S [8]		

[1] Actually Swan transposes these two but, as I have already said (p. 182), I think we may fairly assume a mistake in the notes or in the transcription made from them.

[2] The warriors and the henihas occupied different parts of the same bed. There was no East bed in Tulsa Canadian.

[3] According to two informants.

[4] Speck, on the authority of Leslie Cloud, places the warriors in both the North and East beds, and it is true that the fusala or warriors of the second class sat in the North bed.

[5] In modern times the henihas actually sat with the chiefs in the West bed.

[6] These two beds are now entirely wanting.

[7] All authorities, including Hawkins, agree.

[8] There was no East bed.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Coweta (1)	W	E	N	S.
(2)	W	S	N	E.
Łikatcka	W	S (east end)	S (west end)	E.[9]
Eufaula Hobayi	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha (1)	S	N	W	E.
(2)[10]	W	S	N	E.
Osochi [10]	W	N	S	E.
Ochesee	W	N	S	E.
Okfuskee Seminole	W	N	S	E.
Tallahasutci	W	N	S	E.
Hitchiti Seminole	W	N	S	E(?).
Eufaula Seminole	W	N (?)	S (?)	E (wanting).
Łiwahali Seminole	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha Seminole	W	S (?)	N (?)	E.
Mikasuki	W	N	S (?)	E.

[9] There was no name for the North bed. [10] According to two informants.

The chiefs' bed we find almost always to the west, and, excepting in one case, always to the west among the Lower Creeks and the Seminole. The town square which Adair describes, whether it was Creek or Chickasaw, also had the chiefs' bed to the west, and he tells us specifically that it lay to the west in the old town of Coosa which has long since vanished. The exceptions are in the cases of the Okfuskee towns,[20] Pakan tallahassee, Atasi, and Upper Eufaula, in which it was north; Łiwahali and Alabama in which it was east; and "Koasati No. 1" and the early Chiaha square in which it was south. I do not feel thorough confidence in the data from Atasi, Łiwahali, and Koasati No. 1, but the cases for the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, Upper Eufaula, and Alabama are proved by the existing squares. Chiaha and Koasati No. 1 may perhaps be explained by Tukabahchee in which the bed lies southwest and is said sometimes to lie west and again to lie south. Possibly the peculiar reverse arrangement among the Alabama is due to the fact that the Alabama were at one time adopted by the Okchai who told them that they might "sit on the other side of their fire." At that time, therefore, their chiefs may have occupied the east cabin, and they may have retained the same position after separating from the Okchai. In the case of the Okfuskee I can only say that, as their towns lay well to the north and east, they may have desired to face somewhat inward toward the rest of the nation. But this is purely conjecture. Turning to the warriors' bed we find that in about 23 cases it was to the north, in 12 to 16 south, 6 to 11 east, and 5 or 6 west. In Hawkins's description of

[20] Tastokofka, which seems to constitute an exception, has long been abandoned and information regarding it is somewhat doubtful.

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a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihas is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihas' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihas themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihas, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihas' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

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The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihas, warriors, or youths.

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Abihka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Abihka-in-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kan-tosti	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tulsa Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutcapoga	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Tostoksofka	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutci	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka	E(h)	N(c)				
Talmuscusi	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wiogufki	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka	S(h)					W(c)
Asilanabi	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Eliogtiga	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S(h))
Tuskegee	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c)(E(w))	N(h), W(c)(—)	
Kosati No. 1	S(c)	S(c)(?)	?	?	?	?
Kosati No. 2	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabatchee	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h)(S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&(E(h))	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kialedji	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Eapitka	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Liwahali						
Hilibi	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)		W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)		E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w)(N(w)	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W(c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Eliatoka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha	(W(c))	W(h)(B(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N?(h))
Cusabi	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Oakasee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Oktulusa	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahassee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)(?)		N(w)
Eufaula	S(h)					N(w)
Liwahali	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayutci	Snake	Potato	Tami
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-tesli	S(w)	E(h)				
Otciapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tulsa Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Lutcapaga	(N(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S (h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Oktushka	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tustoknofka	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Talmuteusi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wiogufki	S(w)W(c)	E(y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W(c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asilanabi	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Łikogilga		W(c)				
Wiwohka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h)) (E(w))	E(w)(—) N(h)(E(w))	W(c) ?	E(w) N(h)	N(h)
Tuskegee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))					
Koasati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Koasati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukabahchee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kealedji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Łapiłko	S(h)	S(h)	W(c) (S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Ziwhali	E(c)					
Hilili		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c)) (N(h))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobayi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))			
Alabama			E(c)			
Kasihta	N(w)	S(h)(and N (w))	N(w)(and S (h))		S(h)	N(w)(S (h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w) (W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Łibatcka	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Osochi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochese	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Okfuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahassee	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Ziwhali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

[1] The mating is not by clans.

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Town	Turkey	Fuhcus	Kapitca	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Tallisdega						
Abihka						
Abihka-to-the-West						
Kan-tasi						
Ocalagulu		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Lutcapuga						
Orfuskee	S(y)					
Tuckabatchee	N, S					
Abihkatci				S(y)		
Niyaka						
Tukasteni						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(r)		
Wiogufki	S(w) W(s)					
Tulepafka						
Asfaunki	S(h)					
Okfuki						
Liliegiga						
Wiwohka		W(s)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Kasati No. 1						
Kasati No. 2						
Tukabatchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kaskaski	S(h)				E(h)	
Kapitca	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Liwahali						
Hilili	W(s)					
Upper Eufaula	E(h)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kaulita				N(w)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(s)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(h)(W(c))
Tuskiegi [1]						
Cowetas						
Eufaula						
Chiaha						(S(w))
Osuchi			(N(w))	N(w)(S(h))	N(w)(S(h))	
[illegible]						
Coloson			S(h)		W(c)	
Okfuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahassee	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(s)			
Liwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chiaha						
Mikasuki						

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Skunk	Fox	Eagle	Wolf	Miscellaneous
Talladega					
Abihka					
Abihka-in-the-West					
Ken-tosti					
Otciapofa					
Tulsa Little River			S(h)		
Lutcupoga			S(w)		N(h) (Towanta)
Oktuskee					
Tostoksofka			W(c)		
Abihkutci	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka					
Talmutcusi					
Pakan tallahassee					
Wiogufki					
Tukpafka					
Atfamahi					
Okchai					
Ishogiga					
Wiwohka	N(h)				
Tuskegee					
Kasati No. 1					
Kasati No. 2					
Tukabahchee	W(c)(?)				
Atasi					
Kaledji		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Ládjimi)
Zapáiko					
Liwahali					
Hilibi					
Upper Eufaula					
Eufaula Hobeyi		(N(h))			
Alabama		N(w)			(W(c)(B(h)) (Fish)
Kaslita					
Hitchiti					
Okmulgee		S(h)			
Apalachicola					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi [1]					
Coweta					
Likatcha					
Chisha	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Coweta		W(c)(—)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Ochasse					S(h) (Otter)
Oktuskee					
Tallahassee					
Hitchiti					S(h) (Toad and Tookola)
Eufaula					
Liwahali					
Chisha					
Mikasuki					W(c) (Otter)

[1] The seating is not by class.

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The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

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number of different informants; in others we are dependent upon the testimony of only one or two of the oldest people and not much reliance can be placed upon it. I give the Lower Creek square first, then the Upper Creek squares, and finally the Seminole squares, the squares in White towns having precedence in each case. Names of White clans have been underlined when the native responsible for the plan in question furnished information on the subject.

The first plan (fig. 6) gives the square of Talladega.

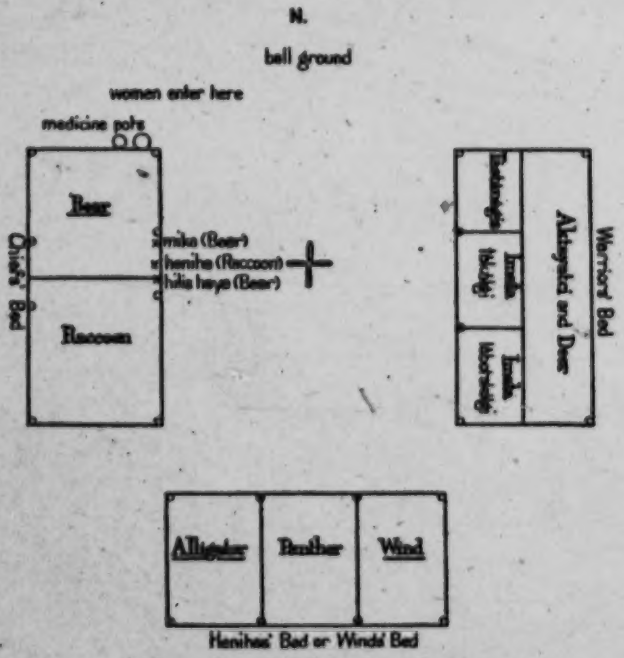

FIG. 6.—Plan of the Talladega Square Ground

This represents the proper theoretical arrangement. Actually the Bear and Raccoon people were mixed somewhat indiscriminately in the west bed. Although the Raccoon people are now the henihâlgi it is understood that those of the Wind clan should fill that office, not only here but in every other town. The hilis-haya should be a Bear, as represented above, but in practice any qualified man might be selected, regardless of clan.

One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja, the other a mixture consisting of may-apple roots, wormseed, totka djuk-hisi ("fire-bed moss"), wio'fa fâ'ki saigi'ngi ("dirt snatched up"), tcato hâtkutci ("little white [granite] rocks"), and totka hi'liswa ("fire medicine").

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These were for the ordinary stomp dances. At the busk a pot of pasa was added. There were about three i'sti átca'gági in each bed. There was no head man among the tástánágis; all were called in council by the miko when it was necessary to remodel the ground or undertake any other matter of the sort. The accompanying plan of the entire Talladega ground (fig. 7) was made by the writer in 1912.

Figure 8 shows the old Abihka ground near Eufaula, Okla. The chieftainship in this town alternated between the Raccoon and Bear clans, the second chief being of the Bear when the head chief was from the Raccoon and vice versa. When the head chief died, the second chief took his place. This square ground was given up when my informant was a boy. He stated that here, or possibly at one of the other Abihka grounds, there was a tcokofa toward the east.

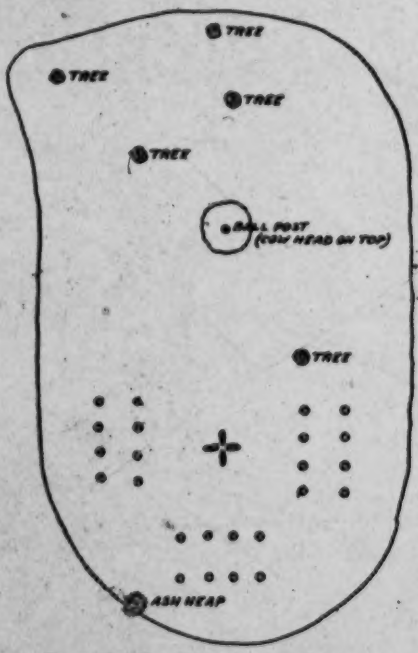

FIG. 7.—Talladega Ceremonial Ground (Including Square) in 1912

Figure 9 gives Abihka-in-the-West. There were two pots of medicine, one containing 10 different ingredients. The cold medicine was left just where it was first prepared; the other was moved over to the north side of the fire. There were three or four i'sti átca'gági in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the Winds' bed. The i'sti átca'gági decided where and when a ball game was to be played. The tástánágis and imalas, at least the big imalas, had their own chiefs distinct from the i'sti átca'gági. There were no tcukolaidji, male managers of the women's dance.

Figure 10 is Kan-tcati.

The only information we have regarding the square ground of the ancient Coosa town is given by Adair, who says in a footnote: "I remember, in Koosah, the uppermost western town of the Muskohge, which was a place of refuge, their supposed holiest consisted of a neat house, in the centre of the western square, and the door of it was in the south gable-end close to the white cabbin, each

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on a direct line, north and south." [3] The passage to which this is appended contains the description of a square ground so generalized that it is impossible to say to what town or towns it applied specifically. Possibly it gives the old order of the Chickasaw square, but it is probable, in any case, that the Coosa square agreed with it, since that was one of those with which Adair was most familiar. It lay upon the trail between Augusta, Ga., and the Chickasaw country. His remarks are as follows: "Those of them [the American aborigines] who yet retain a supposed most holy place, contrary to the usage of

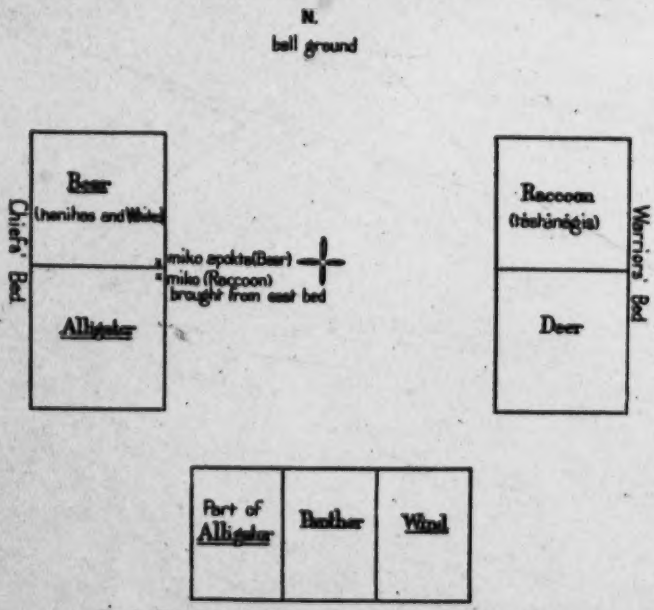

FIG. 8.—Plan of the Abihka Square Ground (near Eufaula, Okla.)

the old heathen world, have it standing at the west end of the holy quadrangular ground: and they always appoint those of the meanest rank, to sit on the seats of the eastern square, so that their backs are to the east, and faces to the west. The red square looks north; and the second men's cabbin, as the traders term the other square, of course looks south." It is to be noted that Adair uses the word "square" for each cabin or bed. Accepting this as the arrangement at Coosa, the square would be about as in Figure 11.

It is possible that Adair means by "looks north" and "looks south," "lies north" and "lies south," in which case the relative positions of the henihas' and warriors' beds would have to be trans-

[3] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 112.

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posed. Be that as it may, the description shows that the Coosa square was very similar to those of the Coweta and Kasihta, the other principal towns of pure Muskogee stock, and it seems to be confirmed by what we know of the daughter town Otciapofa. The inclosed place where the sacred vessels and other objects were kept may not have extended to the very front of the west bed as I have represented, but such a position is plainly indicated by the wording in Adair.

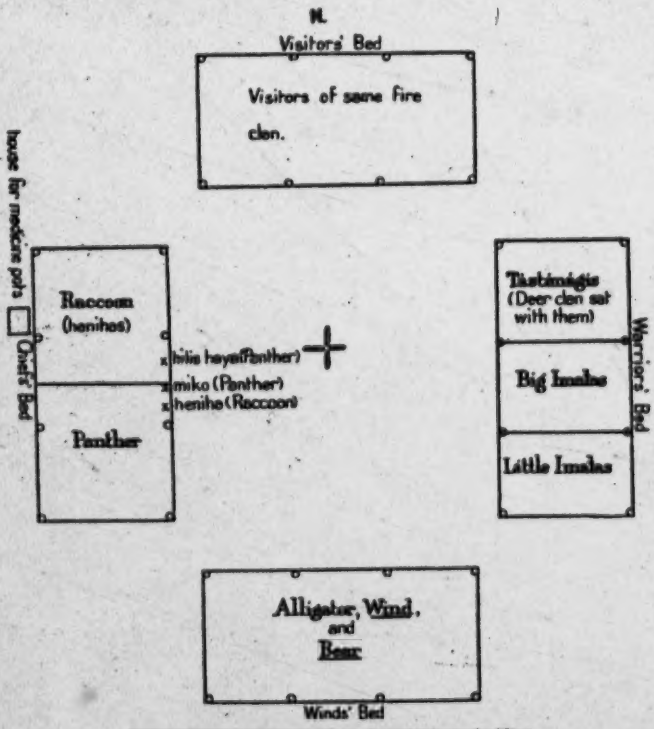

FIG. 9.—Plan of the Square Ground of Abihka-in-the-West

In Figure 12 is what is probably the Otciapofa ground, reproduced from Swan. Figure 13 shows the later plan of Otciapofa as described to me personally. Four isti átcagágis sat in each of these three beds; there was no south bed as far back as my informant could remember. The plan of the Otciapofa busk ground (fig. 14) was made by the writer in 1912.

In Figure 15 is shown the Tulsa Little River square.

There were very few of the Panther clan in this town, and but one or two belonging to the Kapitca. The old tcokofa is said to

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have lain to the west, probably in the same situation as that of Lutcapoga.

Figure 16 shows the square as it existed in 1911.

Figure 17 is from a rough native description of Tulsa Canadian.

Figures 18 and 19 show the arrangement of Lutcapoga according to two different authorities. The data for the first were given me by Legus Perryman, except that the east bed and the tcokofa are added on the authority of his brother. The latter also stated that

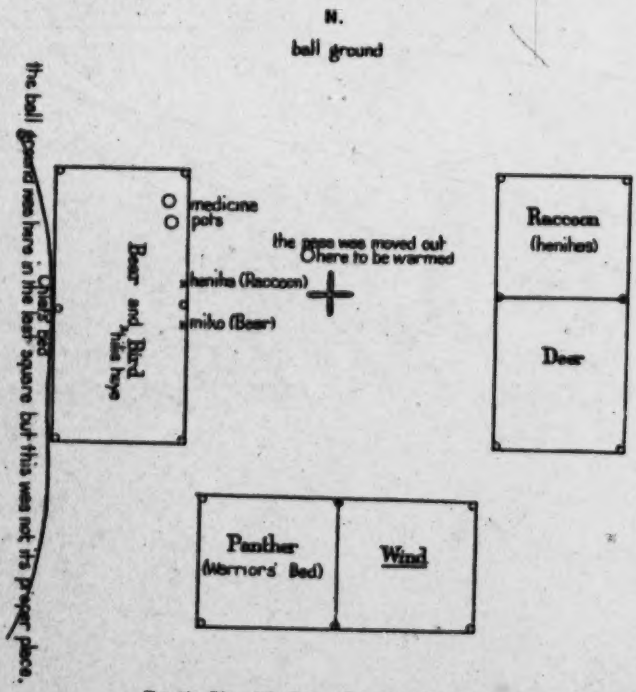

FIG. 18.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kan-tsali

the Aktayatci were the tástánágis here, and that the hilis-haya sat in the front seat in the Bear's bed.

This town was founded because the Tulsa people had become so numerous that their square was overcrowded. The tástánági was speaker for the miko, and the words "he says so and so" occurred over and over in his discourses. The itálwa miko was assistant to the miko. The táski heniha was a leader in the women's dance, a "white dance" called itchs obánga.[8a] There was another women's dance at the end of the ceremony which was a war dance danced by the Potato

[8a] See p. 609 in following paper. Originally it seems to have been a war dance.

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people (Ahalâgi). The Aktayatci had charge of and distributed the medicine, although the hilis-haya himself could belong to any clan.

The old tcokofa was provided on the east side with a special seat for the women. It had a smoke hole.

The chief of Lutcapoga about 1852 was a man named Hadji yâhola, who was succeeded by Tciyâha. This man died about 1857 and was followed by Tâlsi fiksiko, who died in the winter of 1862.

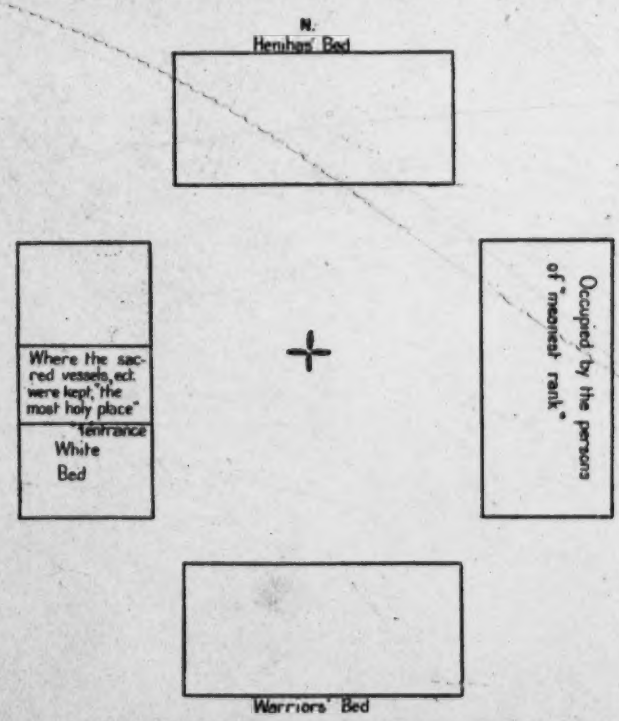

FIG. 11.—Conjectural arrangement of the Coosa Square Ground

Next came in succession Miko fiksiko and Itchâswa (Beaver). The last was living in 1912.

Figure 20 is Nuyaka. My informant stated that there were only two individuals belonging to the Panther clan in this town, and that no especial place was provided for the Deer clan. Figure 21 is a plan of the entire busk ground as it appeared in 1912.

Figure 22 is from a native description of Okfuskee.

There were very few in this town belonging to the Potato and Raccoon clans and they probably sat in the south bed. Besides the two isti âtcagâgi in the east bed there was one in each of the others.

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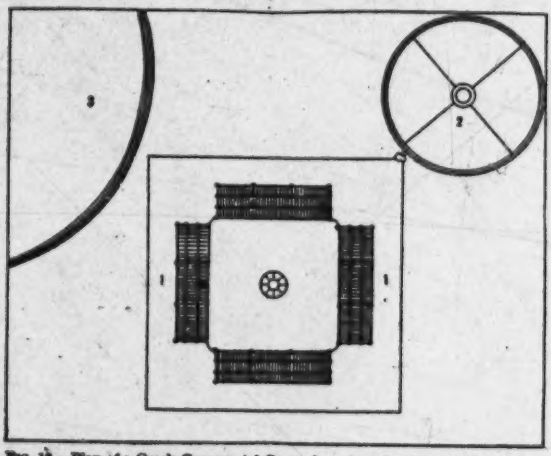

FIG. 12.—Plan of a Creek Ceremonial Ground as given by Swan. The top of this illustration is west instead of north. 1, Square; 2, Tcokofa; 3, Chunkey yard

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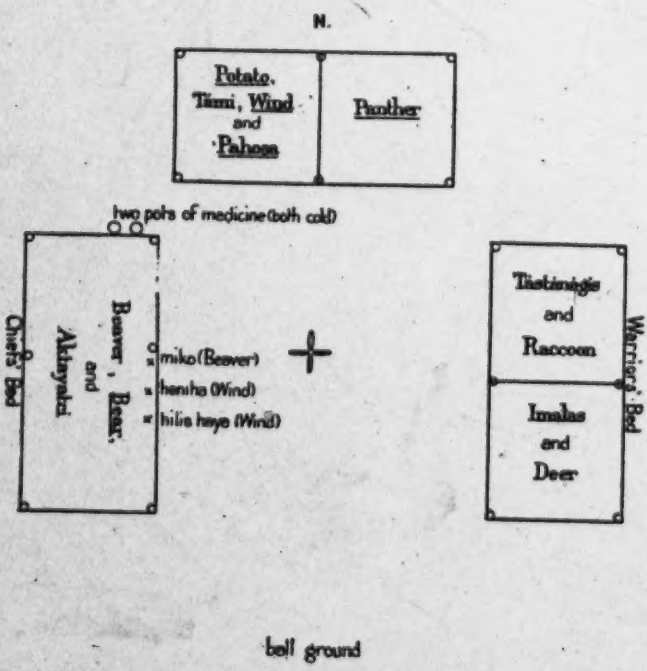

FIG. 13.—Plan of the Otciapofa Square Ground

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a. General view of the Busk Ground of Chisha Seminole, Seminole County, Okla., in 1912

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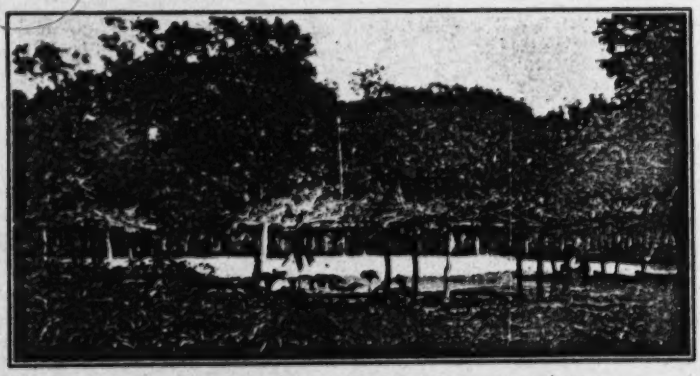

b. The Square Ground of Pakan tallahassee near Hanna, Okla., in 1912

c. The North or Chiefs' Bed of Pakan tallahassee

CREEK CEREMONIAL OR BUSK GROUNDS

[facing p. 212]

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In the adiloga medicine they used maypop root (obaha), totka hiliswa, wilana (wormseed), and totka djukhisi (fire bed moss). The miko hoyanidja did not go in with these.

Figure 23 is Abihkutci and Figure 24 contains all of the information I could obtain regarding Talmutcasi.

The younger brother of the woman from whom this information came gave a different description of the square, but it was so close to that of Tukabahchee that I believe it can not be relied upon, and that it was a deduction from the belief that all of the other squares were modeled on that of Tukabahchee.

The next (fig. 25) shows Tcatoksofka. The rank of clans in the west bed is said to have been as follows: Bear, Beaver, Bird. Visiting chiefs were seated in the same beds as the chiefs of the town, visiting warriors in the same beds as the warriors, and so on. The occupants of the Chiefs' bed took their medicine first, then those in the east bed, and finally those in the north and south beds. The two common medicines, miko hoyanidja and pasa, were used.

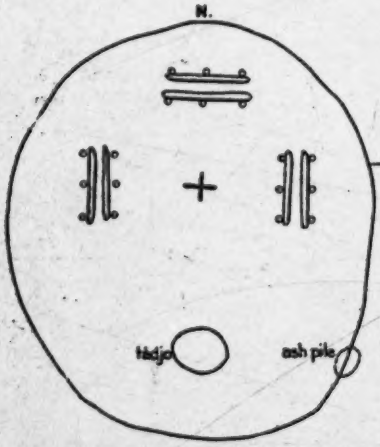

FIG. 24 —Otciapofa Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figures 26 and 27 give the plan of Pakan tallahassee as recorded from two different informants. The numbers back of the beds indicate the order in which their occupants came out to take the medicine. According to one informant the third and fourth chiefs belonged to the Bear clan instead of the Panther clan as here given; another stated that the Panther people were not confined to a particular part of the Chiefs' bed but could sit anywhere. The bearers of the medicine consisted of two of the Bird clan, one of the Deer, and one of the Bear. The four leaders of the women were taken, one each, from the Wind, Deer, Bear, and Bird clans. They took their medicine at the northeast corner and fasted one day and one night.

My authority for the second plan stated that the people of the Bird clan were called isti àtcagàgi, and that imalas are not used any more.

The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 28) is from data obtained in 1912.

Plate 2 is shown the Pakan tallahassee busk ground looking east (b) and the north or Chiefs' bed (c) as they appeared in the summer of 1912.

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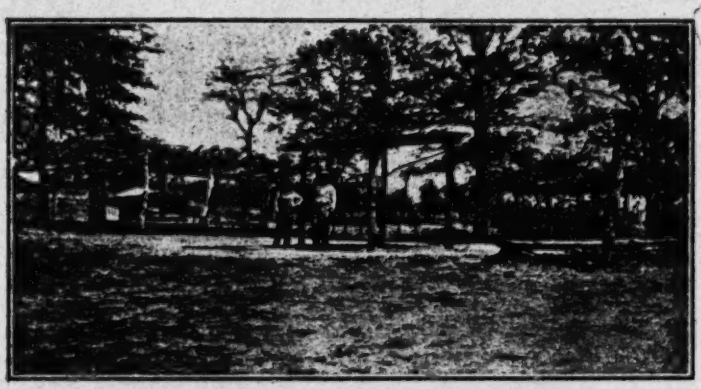

a. The Square Ground of Eufaula (1912)

b. The south (or southeast) bed of Tukabahchee

c. Tukabahchee Square Ground from the west entrance

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

[facing p. 213]

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Figures 29 and 30 show the organization of Wiogufki according to two different informants. In later times the Alligator people became first henihas and then mikos. There is now but one tástánągi, who is seated as indicated in the first plan. When the former hilis-haya was about to die he taught the proper formulae to a boy of the Deer clan who happened to be the best fitted for this office. There were no isti átcagągi in recent times, the tástánągi being used as a "choice man." In this town a new seat was made for the hilis-haya every year.

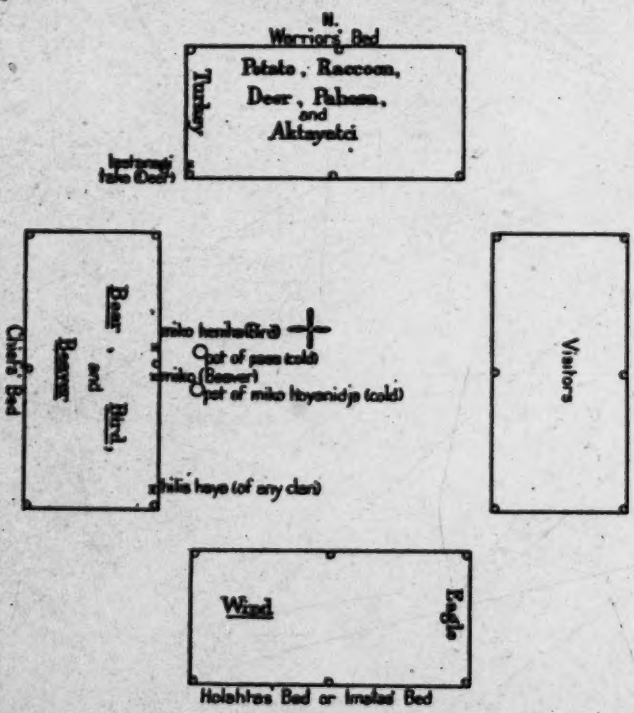

FIG. 1A.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Little River

The subjoined plan of the Wiogufki square ground (fig. 31) is from data gathered in 1912.

The next sketch (fig. 32) contains all that the old men could remember of Tukpafka.. This square ground was given up many years ago. My two informants agreed very well regarding most of the details of the plan, except that one of them thought the medicine pots were placed at the north end of the west bed and the other believed they were at the south end.

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Besides the clans enumerated above there were some Raccoon and Potato and in ancient times some Beaver. There were never any Alligator, Bear, or Bird. Two men sang for the women when they danced, one man carrying a white gourd rattle, the other a blue one.

Figure 33 is a rough diagram based on a study of the site of the last Tukpafka square ground. We now come to the Fish Pond Towns. Figure 34 shows Asilanabi.

Besides the clans given there were a few individuals belonging to the Aktayatci clan, but these sat anywhere. The Raccoon clan were leaders of the Tcilokis and were followed in order of rank by

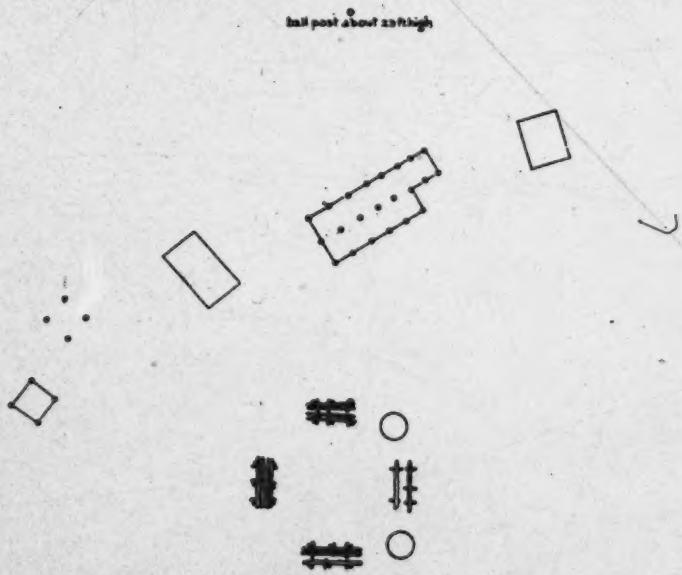

FIG. 16.—Tulsa Little River Ceremonial Ground in 1911

the Panther, Deer, Beaver, Aktayatci, and Alligator in succession. The old tcokofa was placed as in the plan, to the northwest of the square, but after they returned at the conclusion of the Civil War, an old man who had preserved ashes from the tcokofa throughout that contest said that it would not be good to use the old place again, so he deposited the ashes just east of the east bed. It does not appear, however, that a new tcokofa was erected over them. It is said that in reality there ought to be three beds, each having eight posts, instead of the four with six posts. The one left out was probably that on the east. The accompanying plan of this square (fig. 35) is from data gathered in 1912 by the author.

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Figure 36 is Okchai. According to my informant, the Wind clan were known as isti àtcagàgi. He stated that the tàstànàgis could overrule the miko sometimes on the ground that a thing was unconstitutional.

The plan shown in Figure 37 represents the square ground as it existed in 1911–12.

Figure 38 is Łàłogàlga or Fish Pond proper. According to another informant—in whom I do not, however, place unlimited confidence—the east bed was used for visitors, and the north bed occupied throughout by the Deer clan. He placed the Aktayatci and Tàmi in the northern compartment of the west bed, the Pahosa and Potato in the middle section, and "old people" in the southern. The medicine pots were at the north end of the same bed, and the pot of medicine for the women and children was at the south end of this bed; the women also entered to dance at the latter place. In the south bed were the rest of the clans, the henihas being in the easternmost section. In Figure 39 is a plan of the Łàłogàlga square as it existed in 1912.

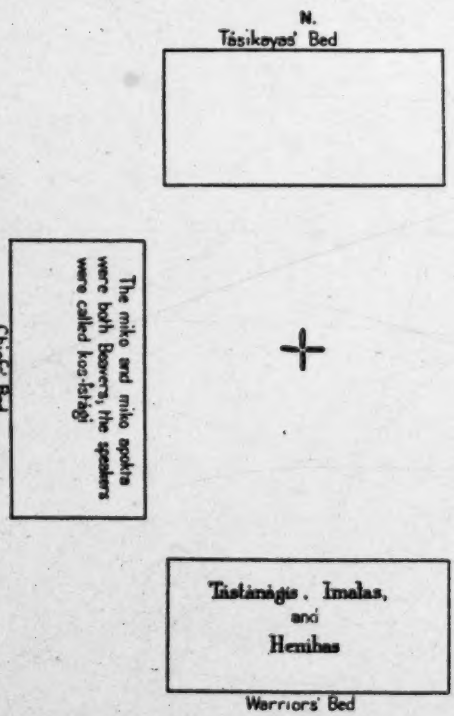

FIG. 37.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Canadian

Figures 40 and 41 show Wiwohka. The essential differences between these two plans of the square may be explained if we suppose that the second informant, or my interpreter, misunderstood the location of the north bed and placed it on the south side. The correctness of the first plan is confirmed by a third account which in other respects is inferior to either of those given. The only other discrepancy is in the position of the Wind clan which the first informant placed in the north bed and the second in the west bed. This was perhaps due to an assumption on the part of the second informant

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that the henihas would be seated in the same bed as the miko's heniha. My third informant also committed an evident blunder in placing the Chief's bed to the east instead of the west. All three agreed in giving the Panther clan as that of the chiefs and the Wind clan that of the henihas.

In Figure 42 is a plan of Tuskegee by one of its former chiefs. One informant thought that the Potato were the henihas, but I

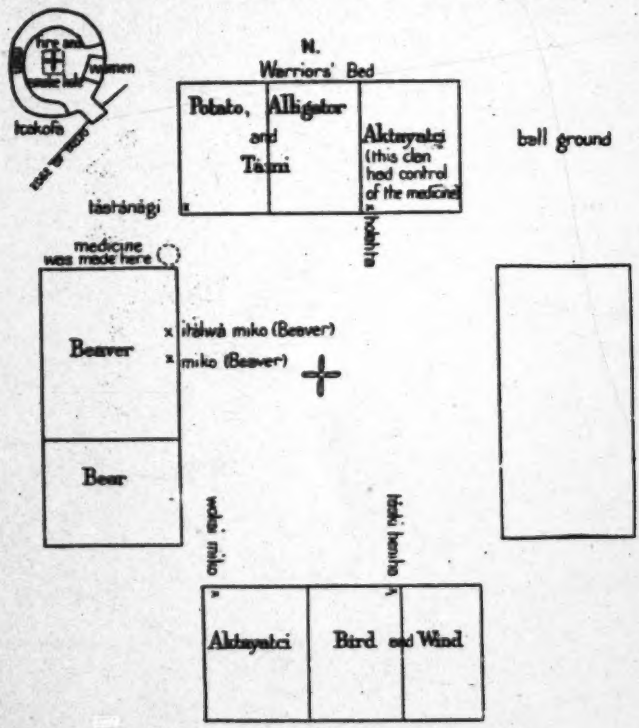

FIG. 18.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (I)

believe this to have been a mistake. It is probable that the Wind clan originally constituted the henihas but subsequently came to furnish the chiefs.

Figure 43 is the square ground of the same town as remembered by another informant. The plan given by Doctor Speck on the authority of Laslie Cloud confirms both of the preceding in the main in regard to the uses to which the various beds were put, and it confirms that of the first informant, Silas Jefferson, in regard to the position occupied by the medicine pots.[4]

[4] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

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There were two groups of Koasati Indians in Oklahoma, each with its own square ground. The square of the first, called Koasati No. 1, was given up so long ago that not much can be recalled regarding it. David Cummings, who attended the busks at this ground when he was a boy, although he was not a Koasati himself, stated that there were four beds, and that the open space between them was entirely covered with an arbor. The Chief's bed, as he remembered, was on the south, and the miko himself of either the

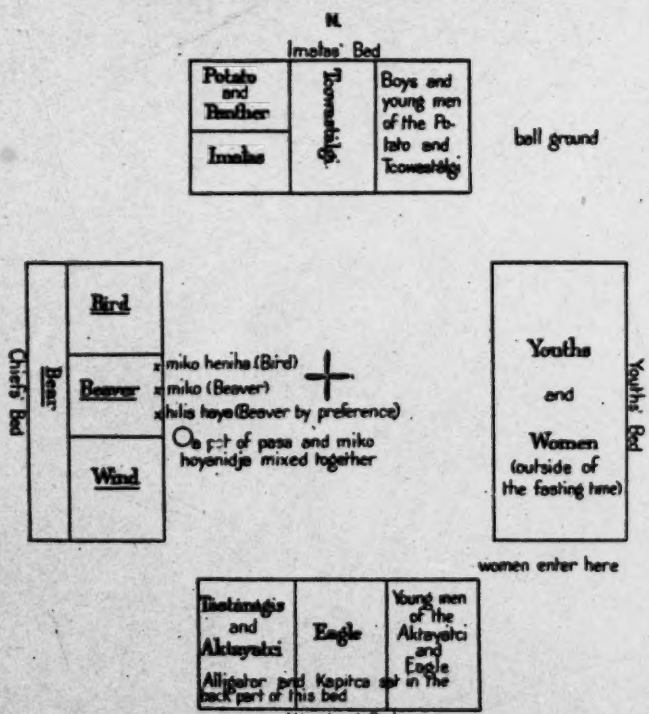

FIG. 19.—Plan of the Lutcapuga Square Ground (II)

Bear or the Panther clan. The Wind clan sat at the east end of the Chief's bed and were probably the henihas, though of this he was not certain. The ball ground was on the east and the women entered at the southeast corner. The Warriors' bed was probably on the east.

The later square, Koasati No. 2, is shown in Figure 44.

Figures 45–47 are plans of the Tukabahchee square ground from as many different informants. The first said that if it were possible the hilis-haya was selected from the Raccoon clan; if that position is

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filled from any other clan, the man so chosen is seated at the west end of the north bed. The tcunuk hadjo and the holahta in the Youths' section are the only officers who do not have henihas. One of the tàstànàgis was known as Kosa Tàstànàgi. He belonged to the Wind clan, and his mate was a Raccoon called Tukabahchee Tàstànàgi. The Youths prepared the feather wands for the feather dance just back of the central portion of the Chiefs' bed.

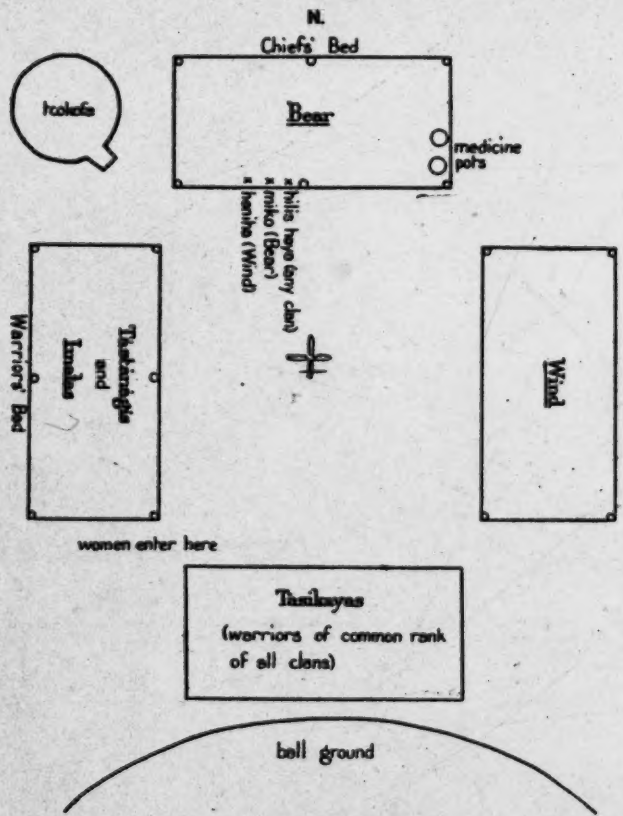

FIG. 20.—Plan of the Nuyaka Square Ground

According to the second informant the clans might change their positions in a bed but not the bed itself, and according to the third all of the clans in the north, east, and south beds were Tcilokis.

Figure 48 is a plan of the busk ground made in 1912.

Figure 49 gives the arrangement of the old busk ground near Melette, Okla., as nearly as it could be made out in 1912–1914. Plate

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3, *b*, shows the south or southeast bed of Tukabahchee and Plate 3, *c*, the square looking through the western entrance, between the beds of the Chiefs and Warriors. Plate 5, *a*, shows the mound where the buffalo and war dances were performed.

Figures 50 and 51 are based on the recollections of two of the oldest and best informed Atasi Indians. The father of the man who furnished me with the information on which the first is based was chief of Atasi; his war name was Fus hàtci miko.

Still another informant said that the Chiefs' bed was in the west and the Warriors' bed in the north, and that the medicine pots were

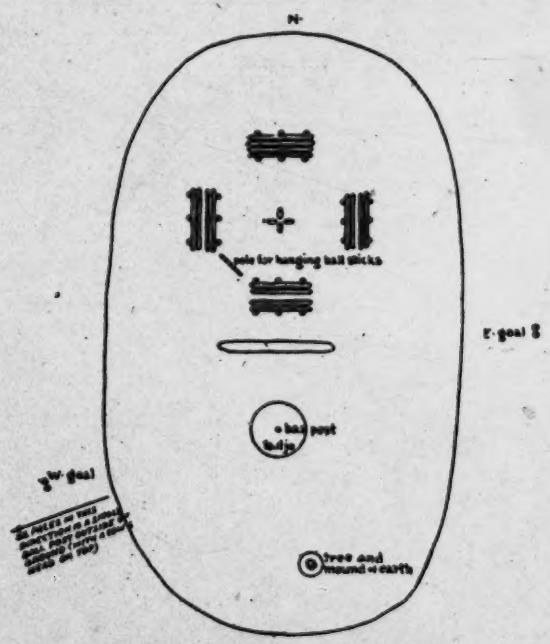

FIG. 21.—Nuyaka Ceremonial Ground in 1912

at the north end of the former. The details given thus agree exactly with the arrangement of Tukabahchee with which I believe the informant had confused it, since Atasi is supposed to have been a branch of that town. He said that the medicines were like those used at Tukabahchee, and that the last chief was of the Bird clan, the one before him of the Bear clan. According to another informant the last chief was a Raccoon, the one before probably a Bear; and he added that the last chief's heniha was a Bear, the one before a Deer.

Figures 52 and 53 embody two descriptions of the square of Kealedji. The isti àtcagàgi sulga sat at the south end of the Chief's bed.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Accompanying is a rough sketch (fig. 54) of the first square ground used by the people of this town after they moved across the Mississippi River as it appeared in 1912 after having been abandoned a great many years.

The Łapłàko square is shown in Figures 55 and 56. There were a few isti àtcagàgi in the west bed.

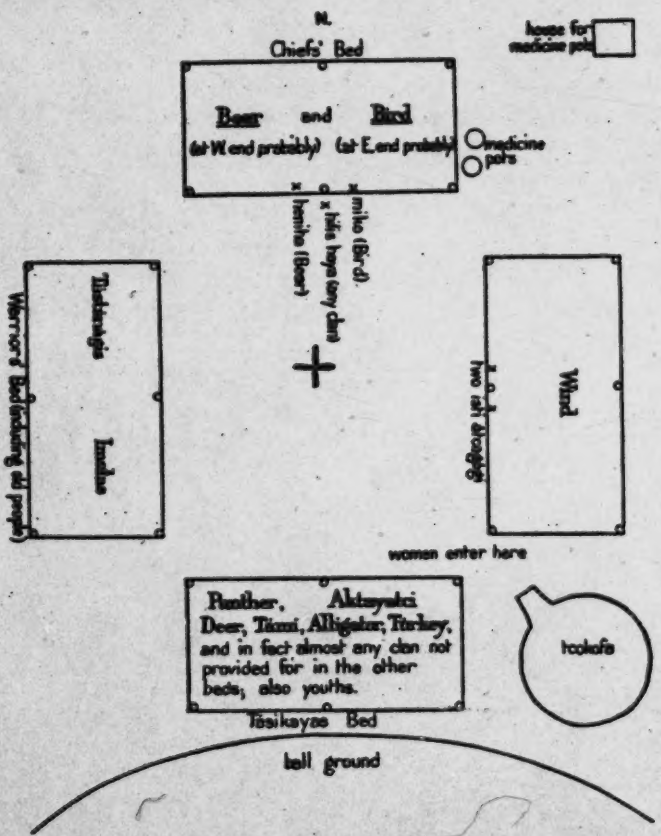

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Okfuskee Square Ground

According to my second informant eight men belonging to the Wind and Raccoon clans were appointed to procure the medicines and bring the water.

The discrepancies between these two plans may be accounted for largely by the fact that my second informant was a Tukabahchee who seems to have confused the Łapłàko square with that of his own town to some extent. However, the arrangement of the Tukabah-

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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chee square was considered "standard" by many people, and it is probable that that of Łapłáko was modified in later times to agree with it. The second informant also stated that the Chiefs' bed was on the south, again in agreement with the Tukabahchee plan, although in fact the latter is rather southwest, the entrances between the beds being directed toward the cardinal points. Accompanying (fig. 57) is a rough plan of the ground where the people of this town met before a ball game.

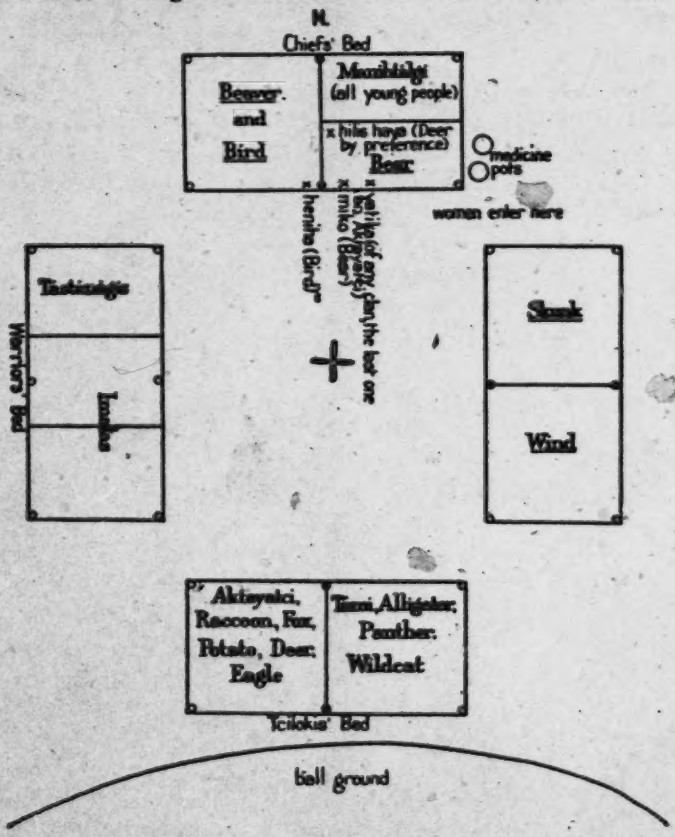

FIG. 58.—Plan of the Abihintsi Square Ground

Figure 58 shows the last organization of the Łiwahali square just before it petered out. The hilis-haya was always of the Deer clan and sat with his own people. This ground, as here represented, was in the last stage of decline, and not much can be inferred from it. The old man who furnished me with the best data regarding Łapłáko,

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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a comparatively late offshoot from Łiwahali, stated that the latter ground was originally identical with that of Łapláko except that the miko was a Panther and the heniha a Deer.

This town used several squares in succession before the Civil War, and two afterwards. My informant stated that the tástánágis were appointed from any clans occupying the south bed. If the miko had to leave the square for any reason the miko apokta took charge.

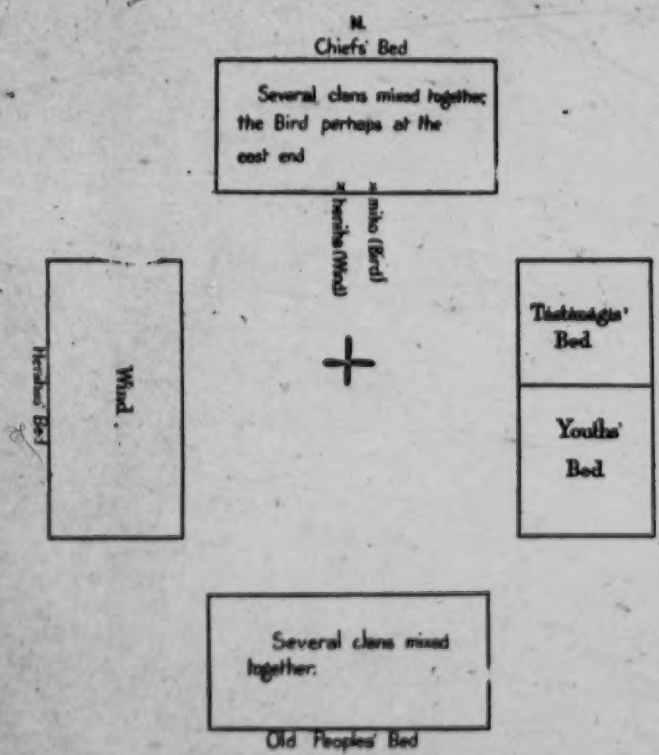

FIG. 58.—Plan of the Tukabatchi Square Ground

The ball ground was not close to the square but at some distance from it. He stated that the clans ranked thus: Deer, Aktayatci, Panther, Bird, Bear, Wind, Alligator. There was only one individual of the Wind clan and there were but few of the Bird, Bear, and Alligator.

The Hilibi square is given in Figure 59. Anciently there were eight posts to the bed instead of six. When I first visited the Hilibi square the north bed had not been built; it was put up last. The old men who sing for the women during their dance sit at the west

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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end of the Raccoon's section of the south bed. In taking medicine the west bed goes first, then the south, and then the east, but some men in the back part of all the beds go last of all. The accompanying plan (fig. 60) is from data collected by the writer in the winter of 1912 before the north bed was erected.

There were some eight camps about this ground. It was too new to have developed a tâdjo of any size, but that of the ground occu-

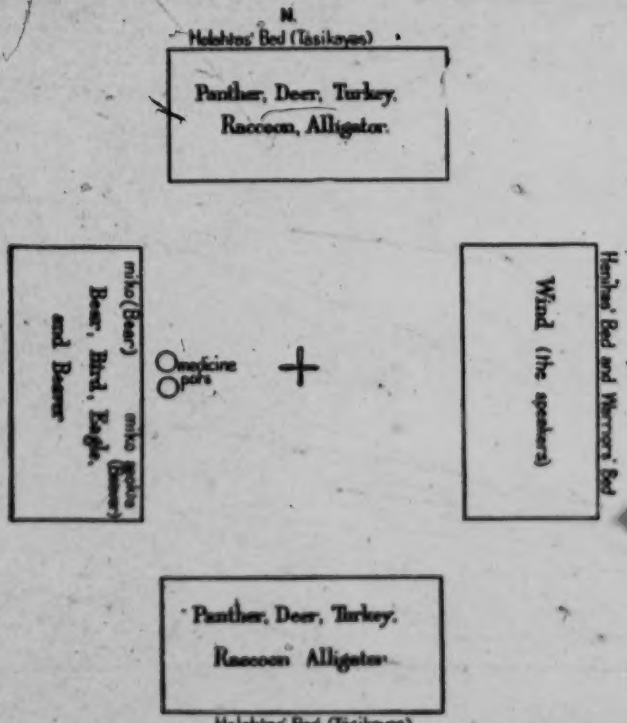

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Tustunnuggee Square Ground

pied immediately before this was about 220 paces in circuit. If a tcokofa were to be erected it would be toward the east. Plate 4, *b*, shows the Chiefs' bed in 1912.

Figure 61 represents the Eufaula (or Upper Eufaula) square as it is supposed to have appeared anciently, my authority being Jackson Lewis.

Figure 62 shows the actual arrangement in modern times as explained by the hilis-haya.

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There were said to be only seven Tàmi and three Turkey people in this town. The imalas should be of the Raccoon clan but there never were any in Eufaula, according to the second informant. He probably meant that there had been none there within his recollection. The Hathagàlgi included the Wind, Bear, Bird, Turkey, and Tàmi. There is one of the isti àtcagàgi belonging to the Bear clan in the north bed, one belonging to the Deer clan in the east bed, and one belonging to the Aktayatci in the south bed. These men give new

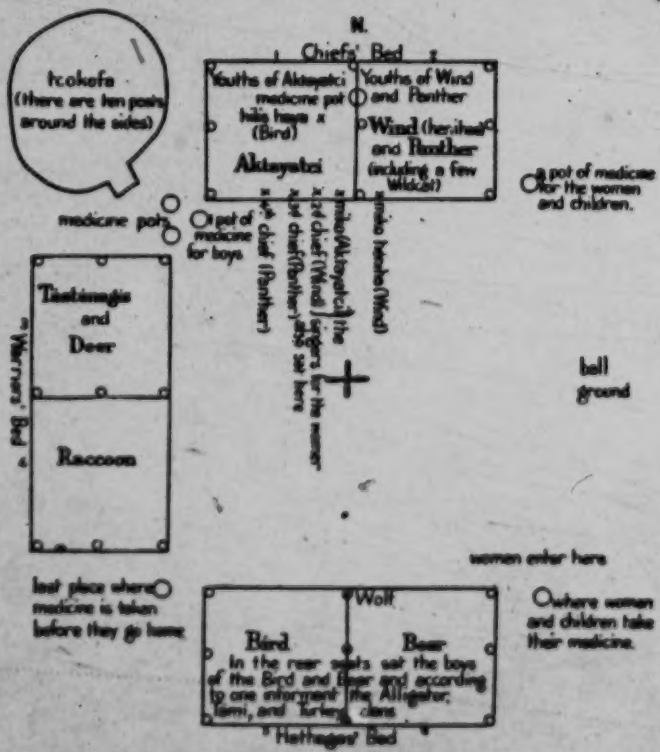

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Pukàn tallahassee Square Ground (I)

nacuse to boys. A different authority from any of the above stated that the Eufaula chief was anciently taken from the Eagle clan. This might well have been, since the Eagle was reckoned a branch of the Raccoon which, as appears from these plans, sat in the bed of the chiefs. The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 63) represents it as it existed in 1912.

Plate 3, *a*, gives a general view of the ground, looking from the southwest, and Plate 4, *c*, is a nearer view of the small house in which the implements used in the annual ceremony were stored.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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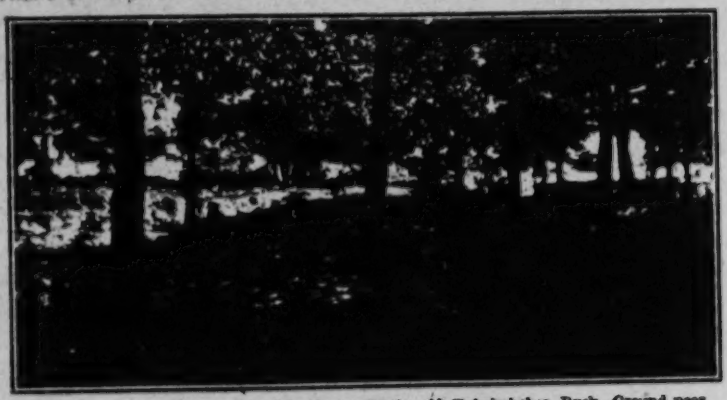

a. Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabahchee Pusk Ground near Melette, Okla.

b. The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912, looking northwest

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c. The Square Ground of Eufaula Seminole in 1912, looking northeast

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

[facing p. 224]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Muskogee

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Figures 64–66 illustrate three descriptions of the Alabama square ground. There were no isti átcagâgi, the tástánâgis taking their places. The medicine pots were kept outside of the grounds; ten different medicines were put into one of them.

The accompanying outline of the Alabama busk ground (fig. 67) was made from data collected in 1912.

In Plate 5, *b*, the Alabama square is shown looking from the southeast.

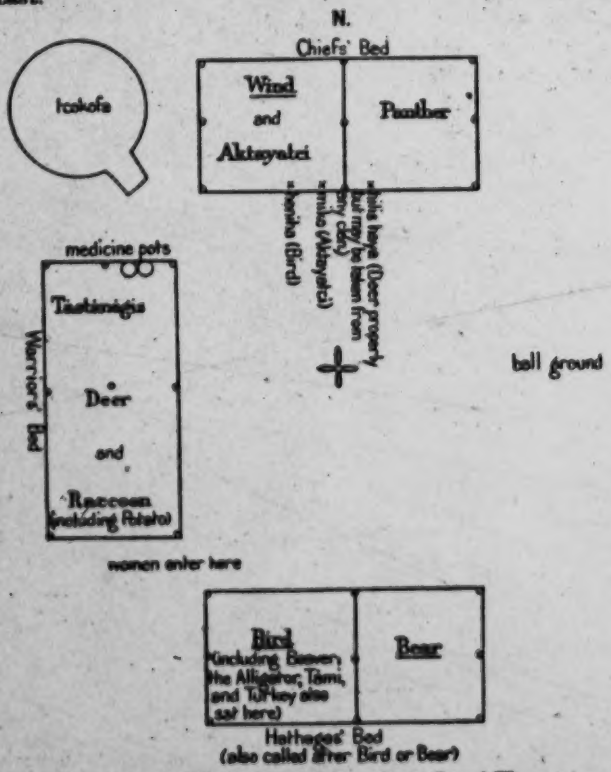

FIG. 67.—Plan of the Pakan Iallahassee Square Ground (II)

Figures 68–71 show the Kasihta square on the authority of Hawkins, Gatschet, and two of my own informants. Gatschet's informant was probably the Kasihta chief, Ispahihtca. In the origin legend which Ispahihtca related to Doctor Gatschet he calls the west bed Mikâlgi intcuka, Chiefs' House, the east bed Hoktâgi intcuka, Women's House, and the north bed Tástánâgâlgi intcuka, Warriors' House. Those who sat in the south bed he calls Hátki iputcasi, "the owners of the white."[46]

[46] See p. 50.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN110

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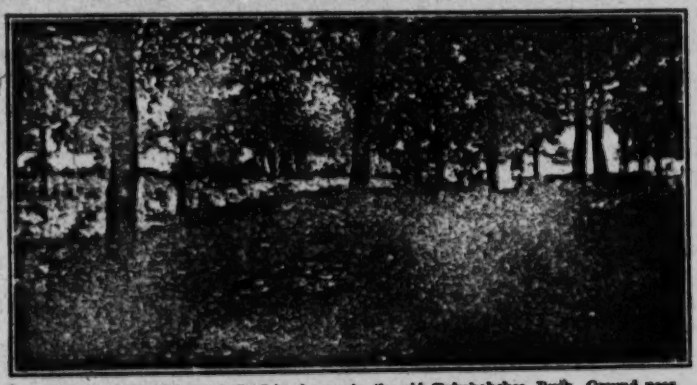

a. Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabatchee Buck Ground near Melette, Okla.

b. The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912, looking northwest

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c. The Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole in 1912, looking northeast

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

[facing p. 225]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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The seat of the hilis-haya was not fixed; he sat with his clan. The two bearers of the medicine belonged to the Alligator clan. The official called halisi tástánągi made arrangements for the ball games.

The plan of Okmulgee (fig. 72) is from information furnished by Judge James R. Gregory. He added that there were two rows of seats in each bed. Legus Perryman remembered some facts regarding this town which agree for the most part with those here given. He thought, however, that there were only three beds, and that the ball ground was to the northwest. The speechmaker (yatika ?), a man of the Aktayatci clan called Woksi miko, sat at the northwest corner of the south bed.

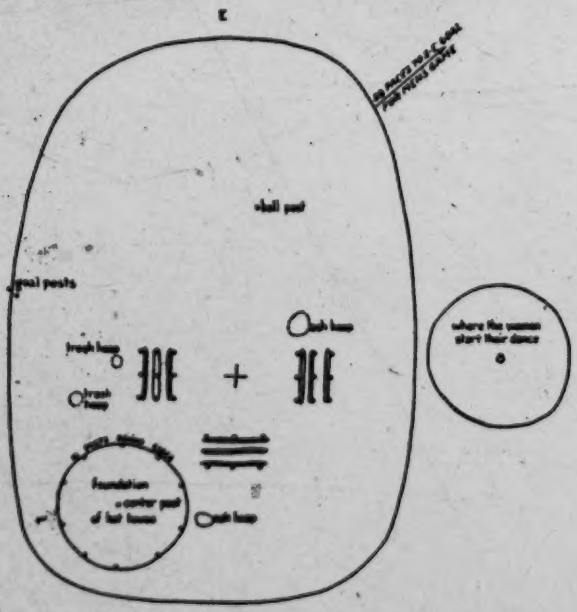

FIG. 72.—Pakan tallahassee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figure 73 gives the oldest remembered organization of Apalachicola. My informant, one of the oldest women of this town, added that the Alligator and Beaver shifted about somewhat from one bed to another, while individuals made imalas or tástánągis moved into the Warriors' bed if they were not already there. She asserted that this was the "original foundation" (or plan) of Hitchiti, Sawokli, and the Lower Creek Hâtci tcâbâ, as well as of Apalachicola.

In Figure 74 appears the last organization of this town.

Figure 75 is Hitchiti. In an emergency the Deer heniha could be made miko and the Bird miko heniha. This was the last Hitchiti

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Muskogee
Yuchi 227
NN20

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square, and the plan was furnished to the Indians by my oftmentioned informant Jackson Lewis. The Deer and Bird clans were actually mixed together considerably, although the theoretical arrangement was as above. There were no women's dances on this particular ground. One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja; the other wilánà (wormseed) and "oktcun utcka," the last perhaps a Hitchiti term. The pots were not removed from the place indicated, though one might have been heated there. The tástánàgis and imalas were used instead of isti àtcagàgi.

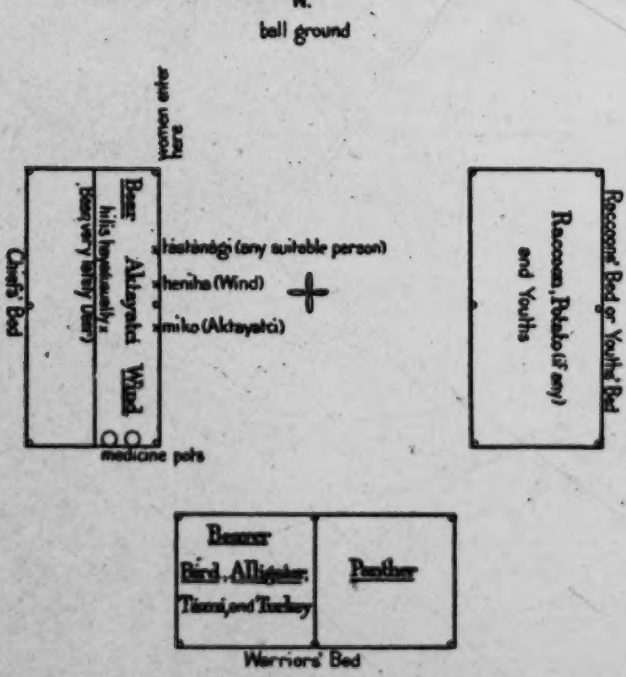

FIG. 76.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (1)

Figure 76 gives the Yuchi ground as described by Dr. Frank G. Speck.

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The information which I myself obtained agreed in almost every particular with that of Doctor Speck. Seats passed from father to son and in consequence the clans were mixed up in these beds indiscriminately. My informant added that the bearers of the medicine sat at the south end of the west bed, and that on the ball post were two cow skulls at different heights, the lower as a target for the women. He said that if there was no person in the west bed fitted to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

000 to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

344 621 Figures 77 and 78 give plans of Coweta, the second in this case probably representing the older organization. The main outlines of the first were confirmed by another old man. He added that two of the medicine bearers were selected from the Hathagas and two from the Tcilokis; they were usually two Bears and two Panthers. That the Panther was an important clan in this town is vouched for by another informant, who declared it was the "leading clan." To it, it may be remarked, the late Creek chief, G. W. Grayson, belonged.

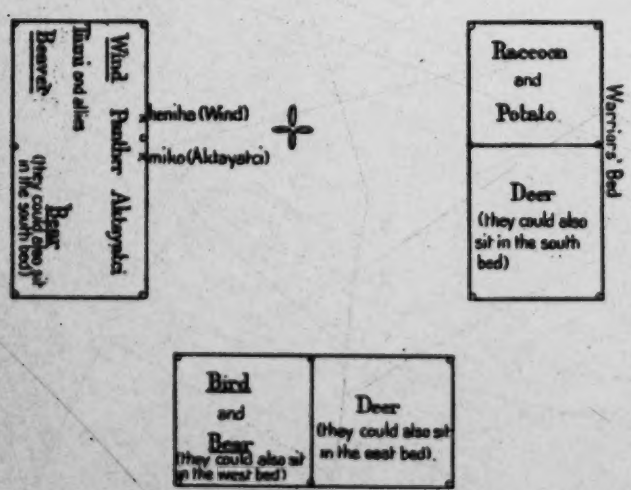

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Wizard Square Ground (II).

According to the Indian through whom I obtained the second plan the duty of the Holahta was to see that the bearers prepared and distributed the medicines.

The leader of the henihas was known as the Heniha łáko. The three officials in the north bed attended to the medicines and other matters connected with the square. When visitors came they went over to the beds occupied by their respective clans and left the north bed vacant for the strangers. One of the two pots of medicine was warmed, the other cold. The former contained both pasa and miko hoyanīdja, the other only pasa.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Hitchiti229

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In one place Milfort gives a description of a square which he represents as that in which the great assemblies of the nation were held, and this would probably be Coweta or Tukabahchee, but from the context it would appear rather to have been the former. What he has to say concerns the grand council of the nation more than the town council of Coweta and it will be inserted when we come to speak of that.[5] It is of interest to know, however, that the cabins on the west, north, and south were painted red, indicating a Red town like Coweta and Tukabahchee. That on the east was painted white, which seems rather surprising if my first informant is right in stating that it was occupied by the tástánágis. Milfort, however, gives this as the cabin of the old men, and it is possible that it was set aside for the isti átcagágí, particularly since we know that some of the functions of these officials were later taken over by the tástánágis. Milfort appears to locate the tcokofa just where my informant indicated that it should be.

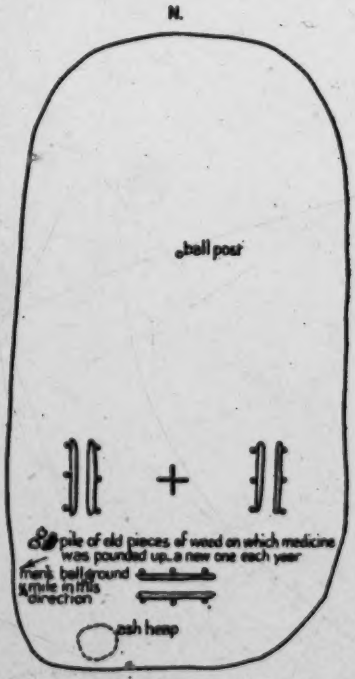

FIG. 81.—Wiogufki Ceremonial Ground in 1912

The square ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow is given in Figure 79. The hilis-haya was chosen from the Wind clan and his tenure was for life. The medicine was carried around by three persons, one of whom was chosen from each of the beds, omitting that on the east. There were officials named Holahta and Táski heniha like those in Coweta. In practice games of ball the Bear and Deer took opposite sides and the others joined one or the other of these clans as they chose. Probably this was a very late arrangement.

Figures 80 and 81 show the Square of Eufaula Hobayi (Lower Eufaula). This town branched out from the town of that name above given. It is said that the Wind clan and those who sat in the north bed were considered the same as tástánágis.

The older plan of Chiaha is given in Figure 82. According to another informant "old Chiaha was just like Coweta." It had a tcokofa before the removal west but not afterwards. The Deer clan was classed as Hathaga because it was considered almost the same as the Bird.

[5] See pp. 311-313.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Muskogee

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Figure 83 is from a description by Ellis Childers, who explained that the town organization as he gave it was the last and was made when a man of the Bird clan named Pibi'ska was miko, although later the miko was taken from the Wind clan as here shown. The reorganization was effected under the direction of Ayima'ha, an Osochi born in Alabama. At that time at least a part of the Osochi busked with the Chiaha, though the towns had separate officials. There was some controversy over the right of the Bird clan to a

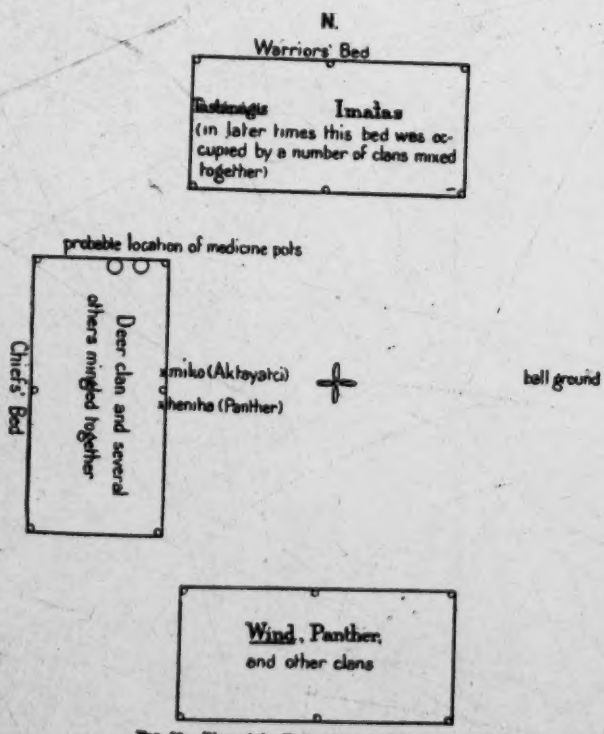

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Tukpafka Square Ground

position in the west bed, but Ayima'ha ruled that it should sit there, and he also placed the Skunk and Fish there. All of the clans in the north bed are said to be henihas except perhaps the Deer. Anciently this town had the same three officials as those who sat in the north bed of Coweta, but on the reorganization they were dropped. The holahta is said to have made arrangements for ball games, and he and the táski heniha together took up a challenge to play (apai'h-kita).

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Muskogee 231
Osochi
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In its main outlines this arrangement was confirmed by another informant. However, he stated that the miko and his heniha were both of the Bear clan, that the young boys were in the north bed, that the various clans were mixed together in the south and west beds, that the women entered at the southwest corner instead of the southeast, and that there was a shelter over the fire. The first of these statements may be explained only by supposing that this man meant the yatika or miko apokta instead of the heniha or that the organization was broken down.

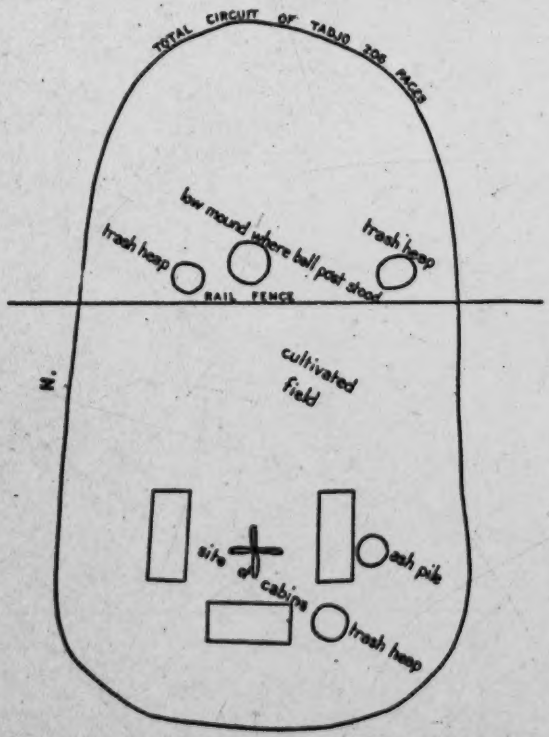

FIG. 32.—The old Tukpafka Ceremonial Ground as it appeared in 1912

Figure 84 gives what was probably the older organization of Osochi. There were also some representatives of the Beaver clan in this town but my informant did not know where they sat, and he was unable to tell which clans were reckoned as Hathagas and which as Tcilokis.

The plan given in Figure 85 shows the arrangement of the square ground before it was moved from the Verdigris. The clans were scattered through the various beds, the latter not being divided

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi; Alabama
Seminole NN16

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into sections, but my informant affirmed that the Wind and Deer "always went together," which would be in line with the classification of the Deer as a Hathaga clan at Chiaha.

We now come to the Seminole squares.

Ochesee Seminole, a square which has now been given up, is shown in Figure 86. There was formerly a tcokofa, but my informant had

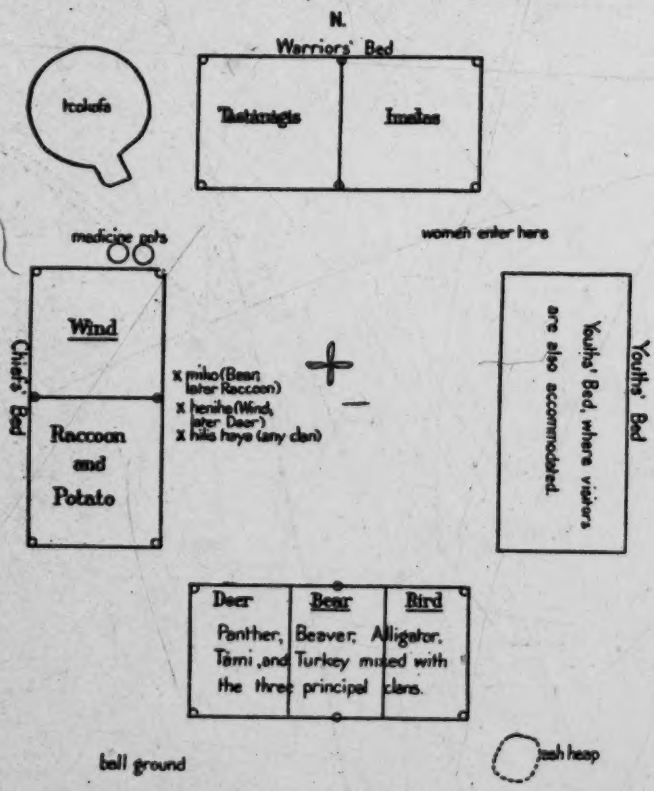

FIG. 34.—Plan of the Square Ground of Asfunahli

forgotten its location. Most of the warriors were in the north bed, and the hilis-haya sat with his own clan. The ashes were not removed from the center of the ground as was customary in the Creek squares.

Figure 87 is Okfuskee Seminole. The ball ground was located wherever it was most convenient, and the women danced into the square from any corner.

Figure 88 is a plan of the square made in 1912.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama
Seminole NN16

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The next plan (fig. 89) is of Tallahasutci. On the death of the miko the miko apokta took his place and a new miko apokta was appointed from the clan of the former miko.

The data for the accompanying sketch of this square (fig. 90) was obtained in the winter of 1911–12.

Figure 91 represents the square of Hitchiti Seminole, now abandoned. My informants stated that Toad and Tcokote were two names for one and the same clan. They added that the name of

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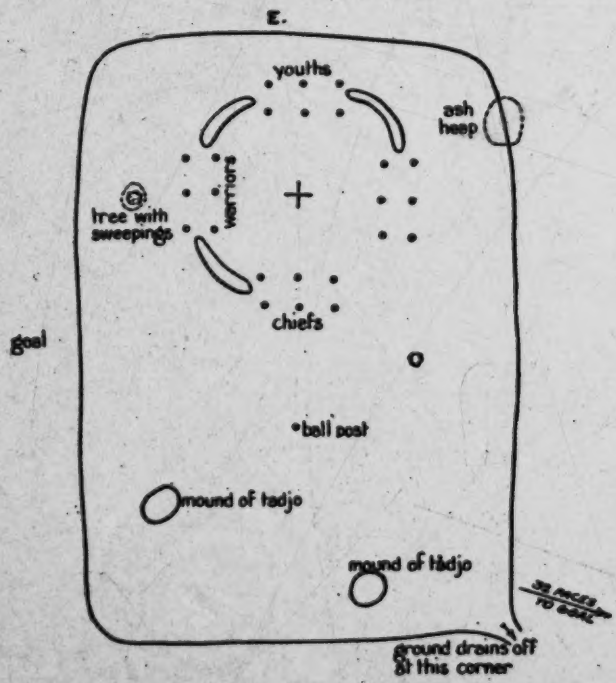

FIG. 91.—The Asilasabi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

the last miko of this town was Nokobàgi, and the name of his heniha Holahtàgi.

Figure 92 is Eufaula Seminole. The clans are not kept separate in the different beds. There were a few people of the Bird clan and one man belonging to the Bear who sat wherever they chose. There was also one of the Pahosa who sat with the Deer clan. There were no Beaver. It is said that the Wind clan is the only one which retains the taboo against endogamous marriages, but in the ball games each clan still hangs together. The distinction between the Hathagas and Tcilokis is no longer remembered.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Seminole NN16

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The accompanying sketch of the square ground (fig. 93) was made in 1912.

Figures 94 and 95 give Łiwahali Seminole. This square ground is said to be kept up merely for the medicine. The leaders were from Łiwahali, but the bulk of the people are said to have been drawn from the Upper Creek towns of Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki which migrated into Florida practically entire.

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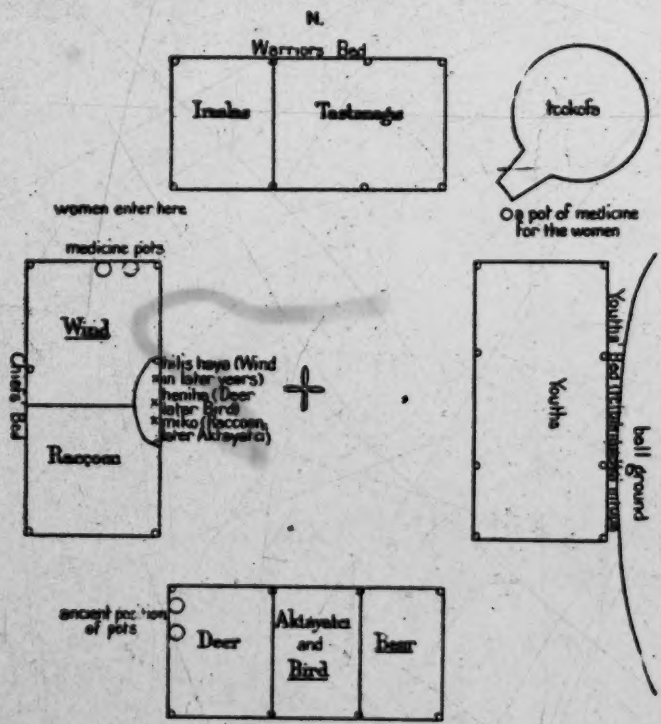

FIG. 96.—Plan of the Okchai Square Ground

Accompanying is a sketch of the Łiwahali ground (fig. 96), the data for which was obtained in 1912.

Plate 5, *c*, is a view of this ground taken from the west side and looking northeast.

Figure 97 shows Chisha Seminole. The officials given in the plan had served in their several capacities for a very long time. The present (1912) hilis-haya sits with the rest of his clan, the Potato, in the north bed. At the corners of the square logs were laid down for the accommodation of the women.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek
Seminole N.N16

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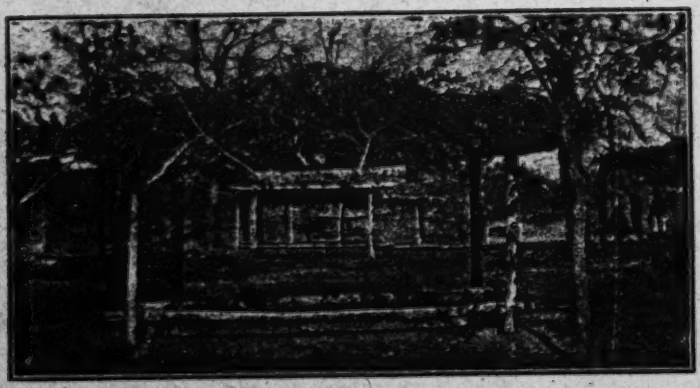
a. The Chiefs' Bed, looking north



b. A view through the Square, looking north

c. Camp sites near the Square

THE CEREMONIAL GROUND OF CHIAHA SEMINOLE

[facing p. 234]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Seminole NN16

Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

S. 344 621

Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the east, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

C. [344 621]

Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

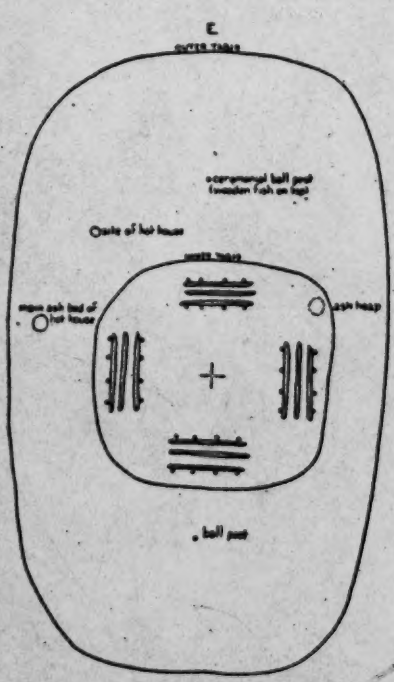

FIG. 37.—Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.[6] Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.[7] He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,[8] and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

C. 344 532 614

"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

[6] See p. 232. [7] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 15. [8] Ibid., p. 184.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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a. A Seminole home in Oklahoma

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b. Conjuring the medicine before a ball game

c. Ball players taking the medicine

CREEK CEREMONIALS

[facing p. 235]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344 raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their
532 red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the
614 deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering
[555] or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy

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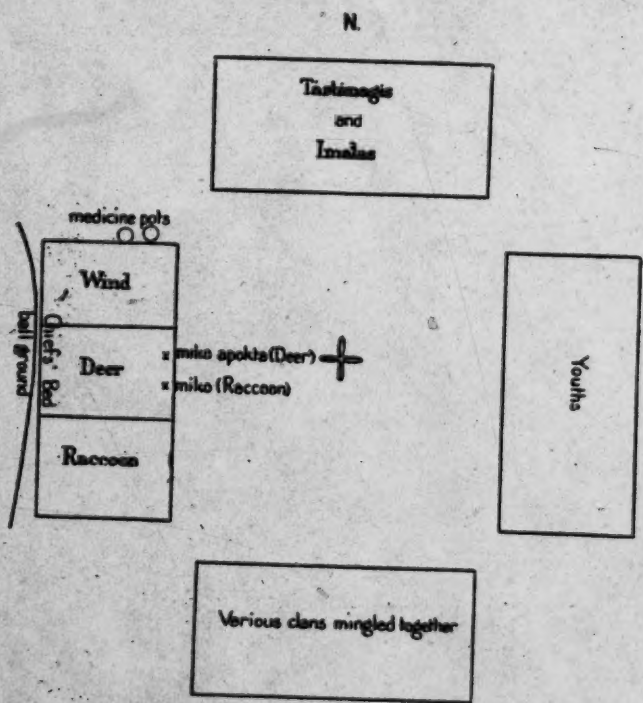

FIG. 38.—Plan of the Lilogiga Square Ground

ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, etc. . . .

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 99-91.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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We will now summarize the seatings of each clan:

Clan	Chiefs' bed	Henihas' bed	Warriors' bed	Youths' bed
Wind	22	20	4	1
Bear	30	11	8	1
Bird	22	12	6	1
Beaver	17	10	5	1
Alligator	11	18	5	5
Deer	10	11	15	3
Panther	10	12	16	3
Raccoon	13	8	11	1
Aktayatci	8	18	8	2
Snake	1	6	1	
Potato	9	9	8	4
Tàmi	2	10	3	4
Turkey	1	4	3	3
Pahosa	1	2	2	2
Kapitca	2	4	4	
Wildcat	3	2	3	1
Wolf	3	2	3	1
Mole	1	2		
Skunk	2	2		
Fox	2	3	2	1
Eagle	1	2		1
Wokai		1		
Tcowasta			1	
Fish	2	1		
Toad		1	1	
Otter	1	1		
Tcokote		1		
Reed (Cane)			1	
Lidjàmi			1	

The distribution of the smaller clans in the above table agrees very well with that of the larger ones with which they are linked. The principal discrepancies are due to the fact that when the chief was selected from a certain clan that clan moved over in a body into the Chief's bed, and therefore in some cases, in the Raccoon group for instance, the leading clan appears to have been seated in the Chief's bed many more times proportionately than most of the other clans of the phratry.

Turning to the nine first clans, which are representative of the leading Creek phratries, we find that the White clans are found oftenest in the Chief's bed, and next in frequency in the bed of the Henihas, while comparatively seldom are they seated in the beds of the Warriors or Youths. It is to be observed that both the Chiefs' bed and that of the Henihas are frequently spoken of as "White beds," but the former is occupied by White clans more often than the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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latter. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great reduction in numbers which the towns have suffered and the practical abandonment of the Youths' bed, making it necessary to find seats for all of the clans in the three remaining beds. The Warriors' bed, too, does not appear to have been occupied anciently by clans as such, except perhaps the rear rows. In front were the tástánágálgi and imalálgi, who originally owed their positions to exploits in war and were drawn from various clans. In later times these dignities became to a certain extent hereditary, associated with certain clans, and the bed was occupied by clans in the same way as the other beds. It may be said, speaking generally, that the clan of the chief sat in the Chiefs' bed, and when a chief was selected from a new clan that clan moved over into that bed. There are a few cases to the contrary but this is what usually took place. The natural position of a clan is therefore best determined by studying its position when the chief belonged to some other clan. Bearing this in mind an inspection of the arrangement of the square grounds shows plainly that the proper position of the White clans is usually held to be in the beds of the Chiefs and the Henihas. And it is worthy of remark that most of those towns in which these clans appear in the Warriors' bed were of the Hitchiti group, indicating that a somewhat different arrangement obtained there. The Beaver clan is usually identified with, and seated with, the Bird everywhere except in Otciapofa and the Tulsa towns where it was generally the clan of the chief. The Alligator and Aktayatci occur more often in the Henihas' bed than anywhere else. The former is sometimes White, which perhaps accounts in part for its presence here and in the Chiefs' bed; the Aktayatci, however, is always Tciloki and is so much associated with war that the clan is considered—probably as a later development—identical with the tástánágálgi, in Łikatcka and Łutcapoga. This accounts for some

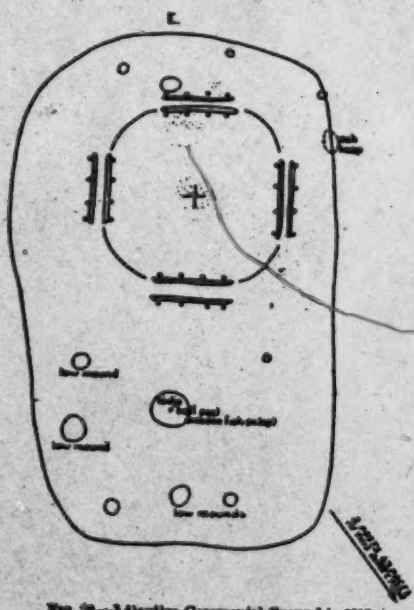

FIG. 28.—Łikatcka Ceremonial Ground in 1913

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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of the times when it appears in the Warriors' bed. It appears in the Chiefs' bed several times because the chiefs of the Eufaula towns, Hilibi, Wiogufki, and perhaps Pakan tallahassee, were taken from it.

The Alligator also appears many times in the Chiefs' bed. It is to be noted that when the Aktayatci were chiefs the Alligator were frequently henihas, and in consequence were sometimes taken into the Chiefs' bed. The Alligator were also henihas in Kasihta and were there taken into the Chiefs' bed for the same reason. In some other towns they were partly in the Chiefs' bed and partly in that of

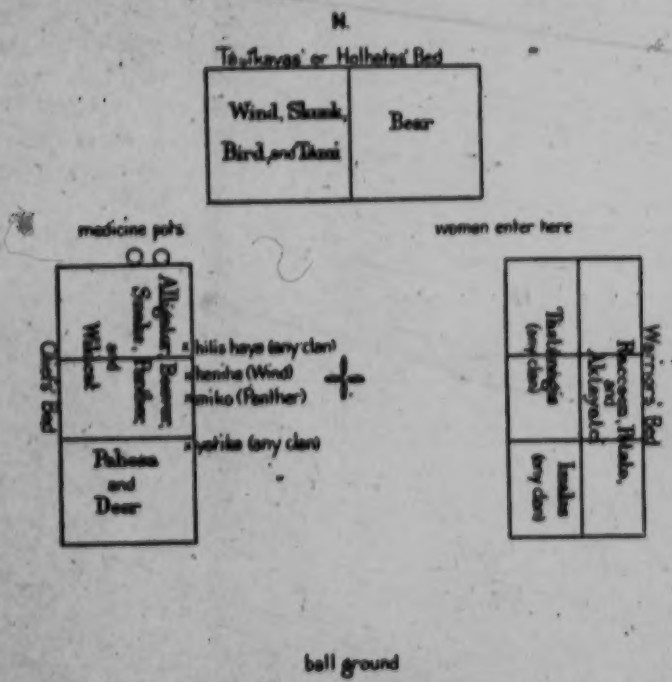

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (2)

the Henihas. The Raccoon clan is the only Tciloki clan found more often in the Chiefs' bed than in any other. This position it occupies in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, the Okchai towns, Upper Eufaula, two Seminole towns, Koasati, two Abihka towns, and, according to two informants, in Chiaha and Osochi. Its position in the last two was probably due to the fact that it is identified with the Potato and Fox, to which the town chiefs there belonged. The others are all Upper Creek towns, constituting two geographical groups, the Abihka and the towns on Tallapoosa River. These Raccoon people are

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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found more often in the Warriors' bed than in that of the Henihas or Youths, and that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clan is Red. In one or two cases it is said that the Raccoon clan were the tástánágis. They were in the Warriors' bed particularly in the Abihka and Tulsa towns. The only clans found oftener in the Warriors' bed than in any other are the Deer and Panther, rather singular companions one would think, but perhaps explacable on psychological grounds already given,[10] although it is more likely that the association has a

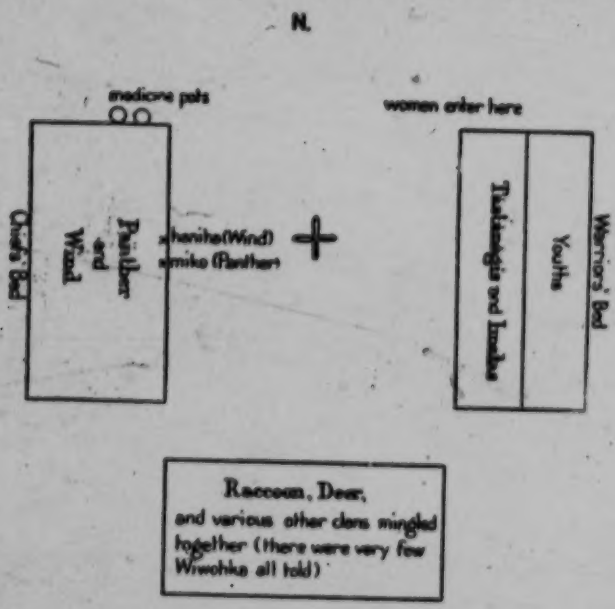

FIG. 41.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II)

historic basis now long forgotten. As in other cases the Panther and Deer sometimes furnish chiefs or henihas and are consequently found in the Chiefs' bed. They occur in the Henihas' bed more often. In the Okfuskee towns they are squeezed into the Youths' bed, owing to the large size of the White clans. In the Abihka towns, where the Warriors' bed is to the east, the Deer are uniformly placed there, while the Panther appear in the Henihas' bed. In Pakan tallahassee the Deer are again in the Warriors' bed and are specifically called tástánágálgi, while the Panther is taken into the

[10] See p. 149.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Tuskegee

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Chiefs' bed. In the Okchai towns, Tukpafka, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Koasati, Kealedji, and Hilibi these clans are found, however, either in the Chiefs' bed or in the bed of the Henihas. Often they are separated and sometimes one is placed in the Youths' bed. The separation occurs more often, however, when the Deer is placed in the Chiefs' bed, the Panther being in the Henihas' bed. The Deer are said to have been taken into the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee

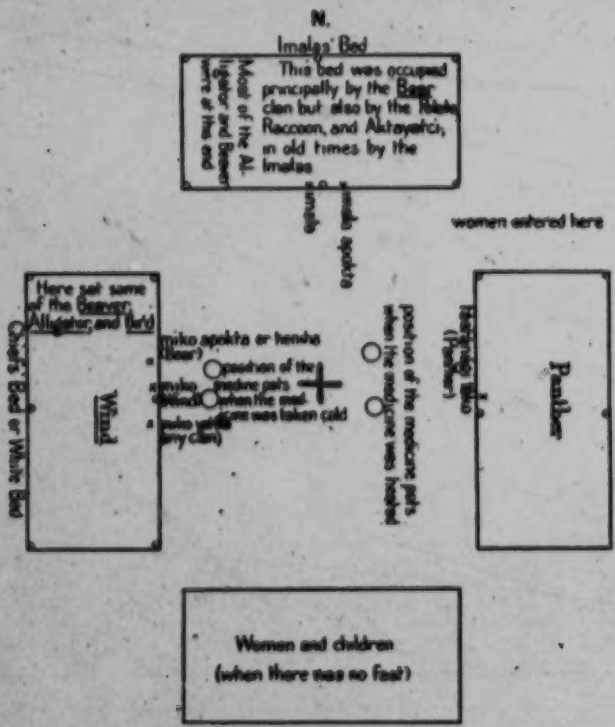

Fig. 41.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (C)

because they formed "a choice clan." In Seminole towns the Panther and Deer are almost always placed in the bed of the Warriors.

The important points regarding the nine leading clans brought out by this table are that the White clans—Wind, Bear, Bird, and Beaver—were seated most often in the Chiefs' bed and next to that most frequently in the bed of the Henihas; the Raccoon clan was seated oftenest in the Chiefs' bed and next to that in the Warriors bed; the Alligator and Aktayatci clans were seated most often in the Henihas' bed; and the Panther and Deer clans most often in the Warriors' bed.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Tuskegee

The Town

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Although the word tálwa is employed rather loosely for both a town and a tribe, its proper signification seems to have been rather tribal, a town or city in our sense of the term, a center of population, being indicated by the word talofa. A tálwa appears to have consisted of a body of people who had their own square ground and

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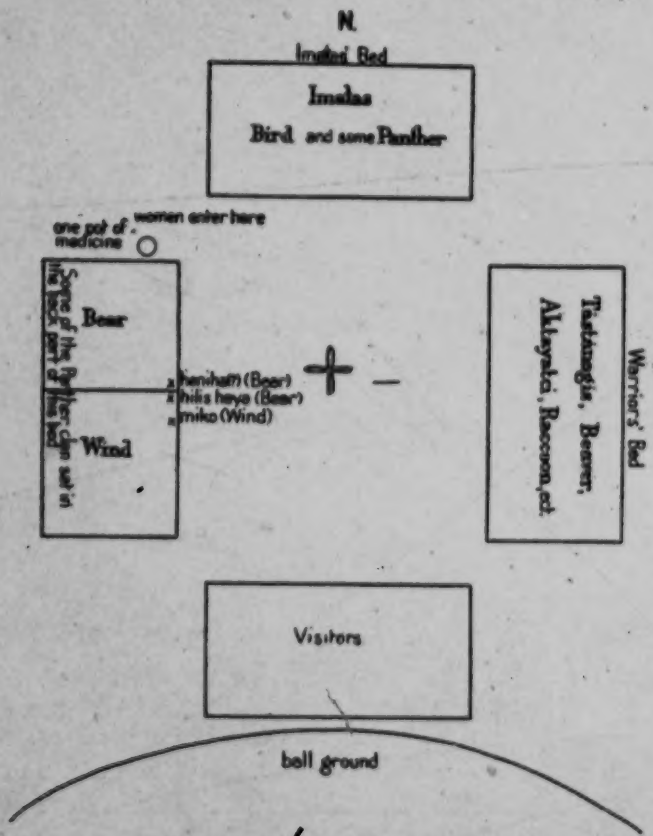

Fig. 62.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)

actually formed a little state. In later times many such tálwa were formed by segmentation and they were closely related, but the farther back we go the more distinct do the differences between the various tálwa appear to be. These tálwa might, of course, consist of a number of distinct villages, but, except that they were usually composed of knots of clan relatives, no permanence and no particular coherence attached to these latter.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama

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According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each tálwa, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the miko's seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the

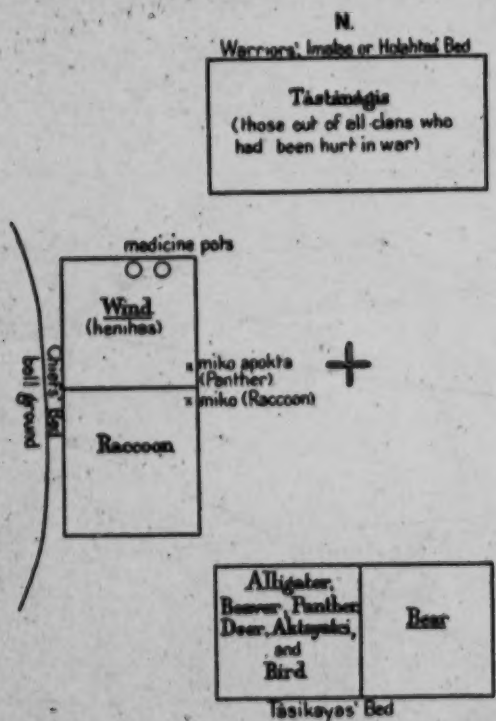

FIG. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kossati No. 2

four front posts of the miko's bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Koasati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the miko's bed in the Koasati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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This is both interesting and important, and it is in line with what we know regarding the tribes living along both the lower and the upper courses of the Mississippi River. At the same time I have so far been unable to obtain confirmation of this from other Creeks. Of course, Bartram tells us that in his day the posts of the Chiefs' bed at Atasi were carved to resemble snakes, but this can not be accepted as confirmatory evidence because Judge Gregory was perfectly familiar with the writings of Bartram and other early authors. The Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas claimed some particular right

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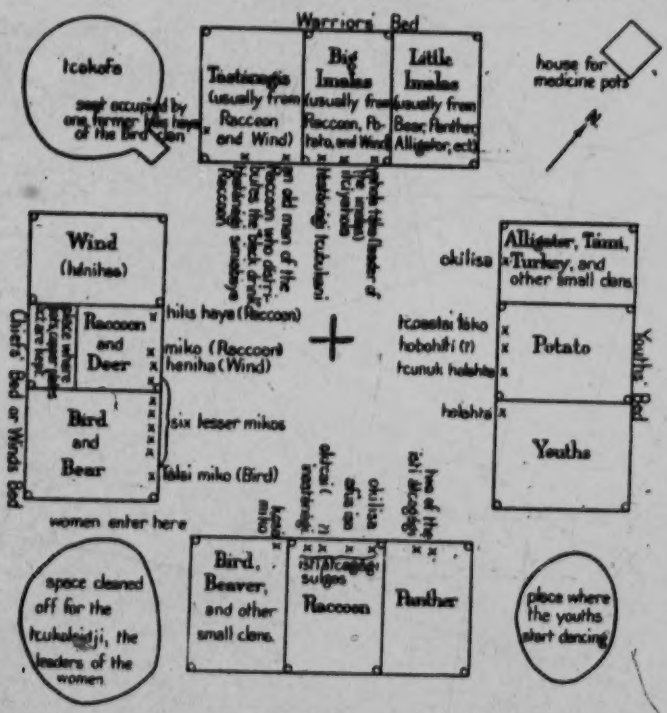

FIG. 45.—Plan of the Tukabatchee Square Ground (I)

to the garfish, but I have not secured sufficient evidence regarding this to be sure of the nature of their claim. On a previous page I have had occasion to note that the Indians of the Fish Pond towns place wooden fish at the tops of their ball posts, but according to their own explanation this mark is merely suggested to them by the town name. The Eufaula Indians have a wooden eagle in the same place, but they say that this is because the eagle is emblematic of the United States. The other towns all use skulls of horses or cows, which are said to be without significance of any kind.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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In line with the wooden eagle of Coweta mentioned by Judge Gregory is the wooden statue of a human being which Adair informs us existed in his day in "the head war town of the upper Muskohge country." Tukabahchee is the head war town of the Upper Creeks to-day, but in Adair's time it may have been Łiwahali or Atasi. Adair's words are as follows:

"There is a carved human statue of wood, to which, however, they pay no religious homage. It belongs to the head war town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed

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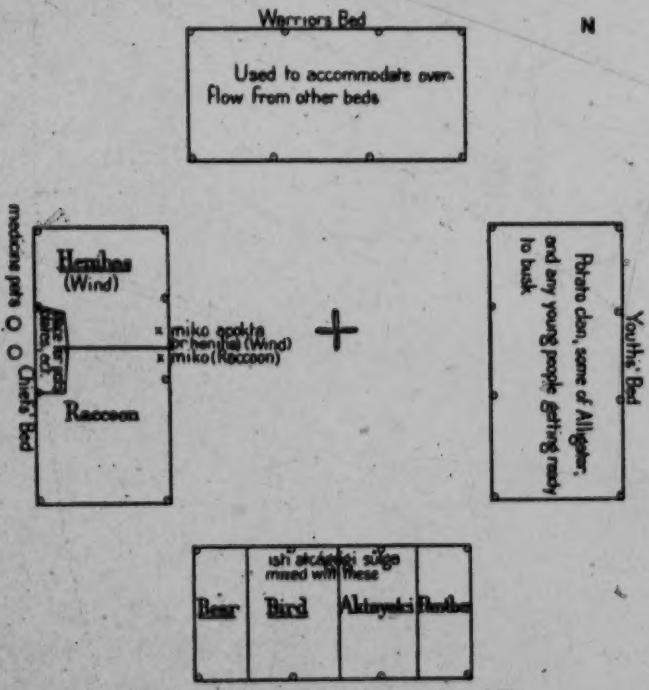

FIG. 46.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (II)

to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero, who deserved well of his country; for, when their *cusseena*, or bitter, black drink is about to be drank in the synhedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his coadjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

621 view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders
532 who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist." [11]

[302] According to some informants the people of each tálwa formerly had distinctive face paintings, and there were men in every town particularly skilled in applying these. The design for Tuskegee was as shown in the cut (fig. 102).

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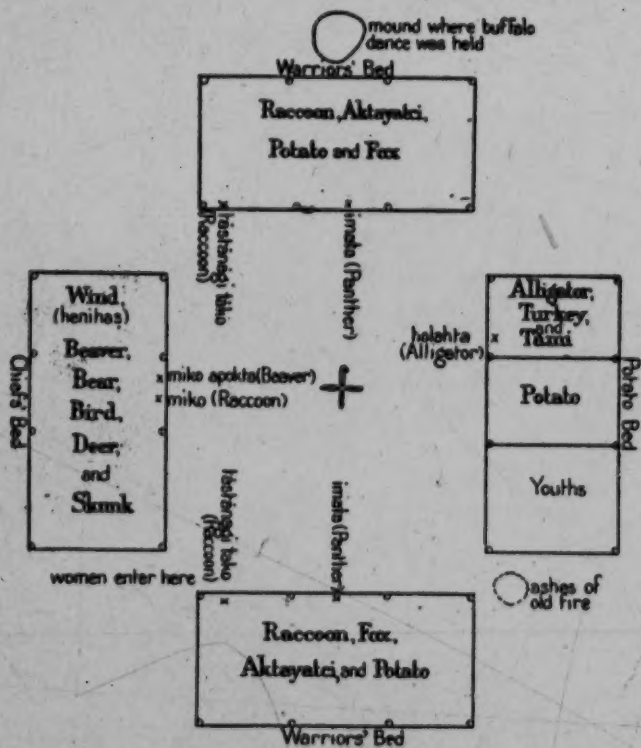

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Tukabatchee Square Ground (III)

621 A word may be quoted from Stiggins regarding the feeling of unity which subsisted within each town.

"The towns people were frequently assembled at their town house or square in order to keep them united, for the harmony subsisting among the people of a town is noted and seems to be cemented by an affection as strong towards each other as the sons of Jacob of old in their association. As the usages and customs of every town are similar and the men all know the unity and sympathy of a town

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 23-28.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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people, the men of one town will approach another town with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated, and as such is their practice in this their more enlightened time, their approaches toward each other's towns and towards strangers must have been with extreme timidity and caution in their natural and more savage state." [13]

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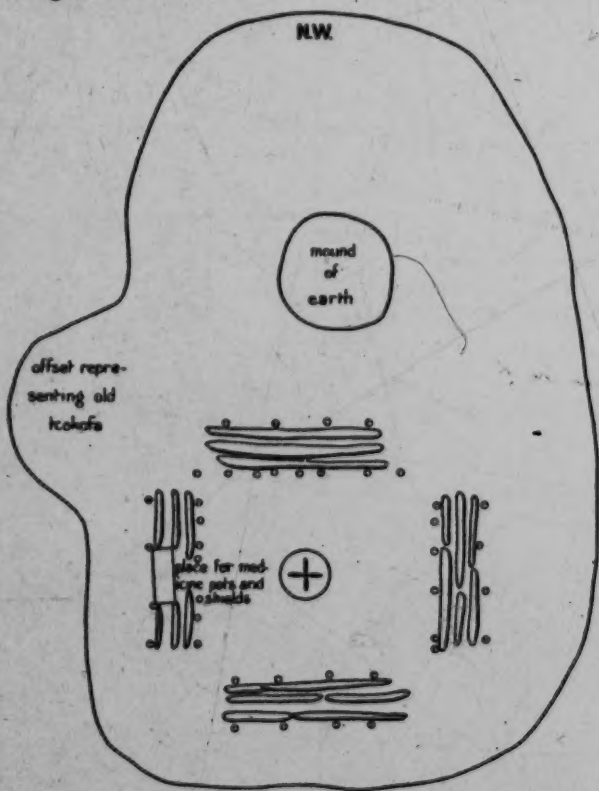

FIG. 48.—Tukabatchee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

In my historical account of the Creek Indians and their neighbors I have taken up in detail the various tribes which constituted the confederacy and the position occupied by each.[13a] It will not be necessary to go over this ground again, except to insert a classification of the tálwa which of itself will serve to recapitulate the points there brought out.

[13] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 19.

[13a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1922 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

NATURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CREEK TOWNS

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Muskogee tribes: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa (including (a) the Tulsa group and (b) the Okfuskee group), Abihka, Holiwahali (or Liwahali), Hilibi, Eufaula, Wakokai, several Muskogee tribes whose connection with the rest is uncertain, including Atasi, Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Fushatchee, Wiwohka, Kealedji, and tribes such as the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee, which seem not to have been constituted parts of the original body.

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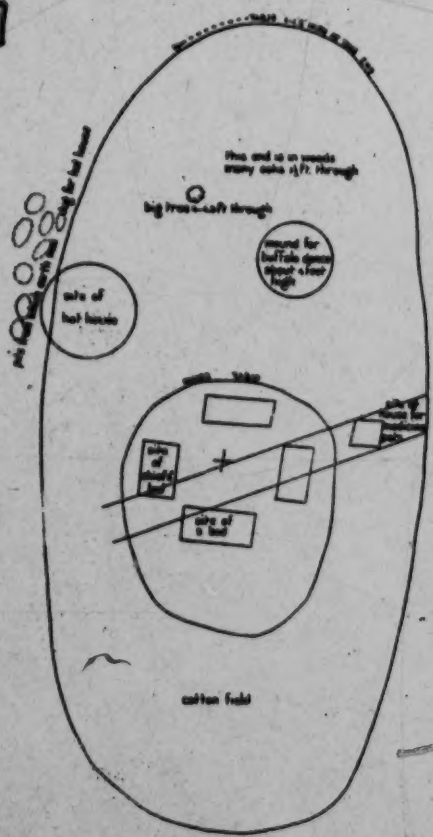

FIG. 48.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Melette, Okla., as it appeared in 1913-14

Atcik hata (Hitchiti speaking tribes): Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Tamali, Chiaha.

Alabama.

Muklasa.

Koasati.

Tuskegee.

Yuchi.

Natchez.

Shawnee.

Tribes of uncertain connection: Osochi.

To these might almost be added the Chickasaw, since one band of Chickasaw lived with the Creeks for several years and they were all held to be of one fire with the Kasihta. According to the traditions given above the Kasihta and Coweta resulted from the segmentation of one original body, and it is probable that these and the next five towns in the above list were the original Muskogee speaking peoples in the confederacy. It seems likely that the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee were Muskogee in language but were late in uniting with the others. The Koasati were closely related by language with the Alabama, as was probably the case

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13] 101 621

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace, 621 616 619 [344]

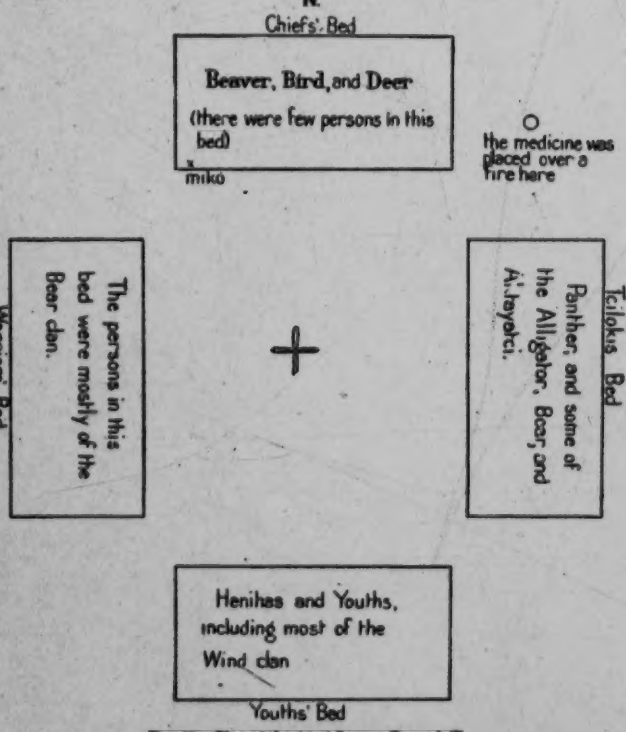

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to [614] 621 619 177

[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

621 619 177 [609] one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[14] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable

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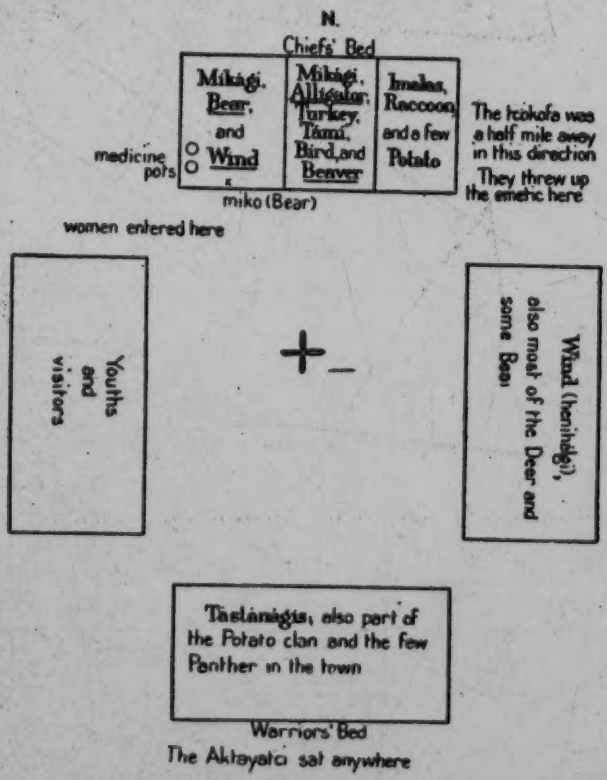

FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

621 619 Jackson Lewis used the name Tâlwa mikâgi for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 299.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also, in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfus-

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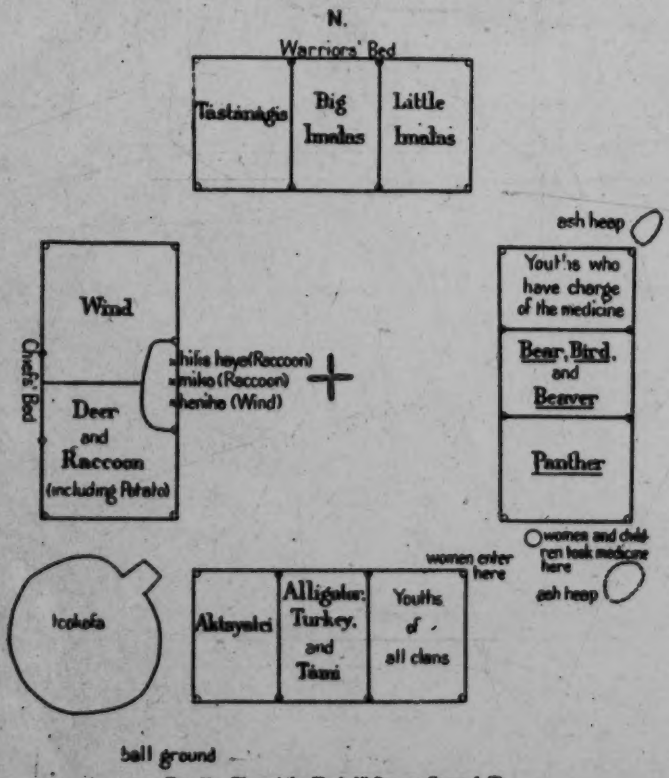

FIG. 52.—Plan of the Kasiedji Square Ground (I)

kee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered into against each other and their antithetical peace and war functions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

609 was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite
619 those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually
621 calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent. Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

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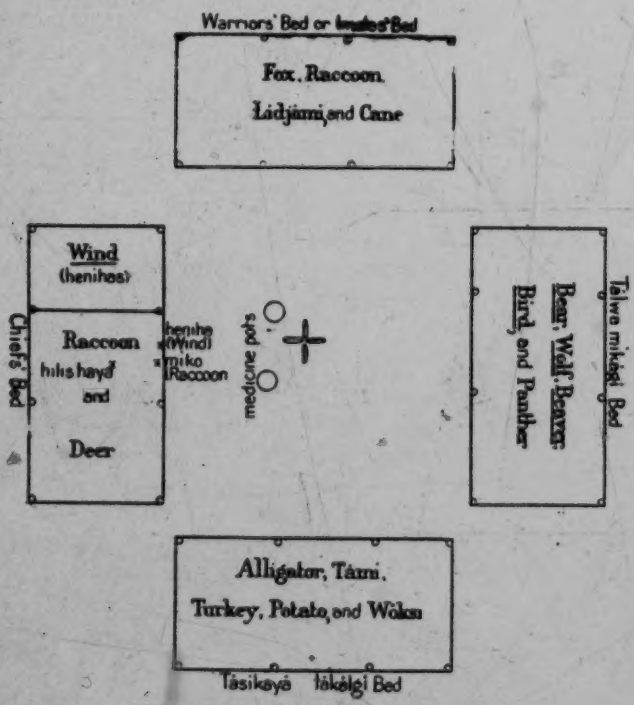

FIG. 53.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

609 Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were
619 known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bar-
621 tram,[17] and Adair[18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that
778 human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, pp. 51-52.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 367.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 155.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[188] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

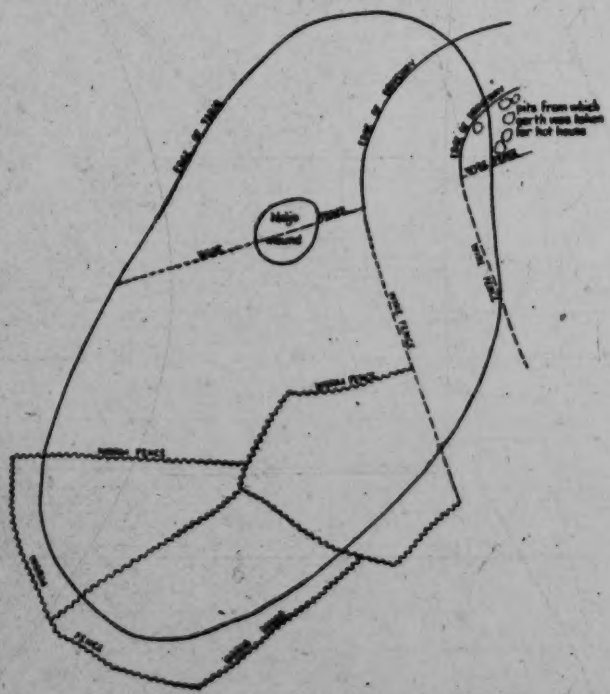

FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kaledji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly." [189]

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[188] Bartram, Travels, pp. 367-368. [189] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 158.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

619 621 [526] The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

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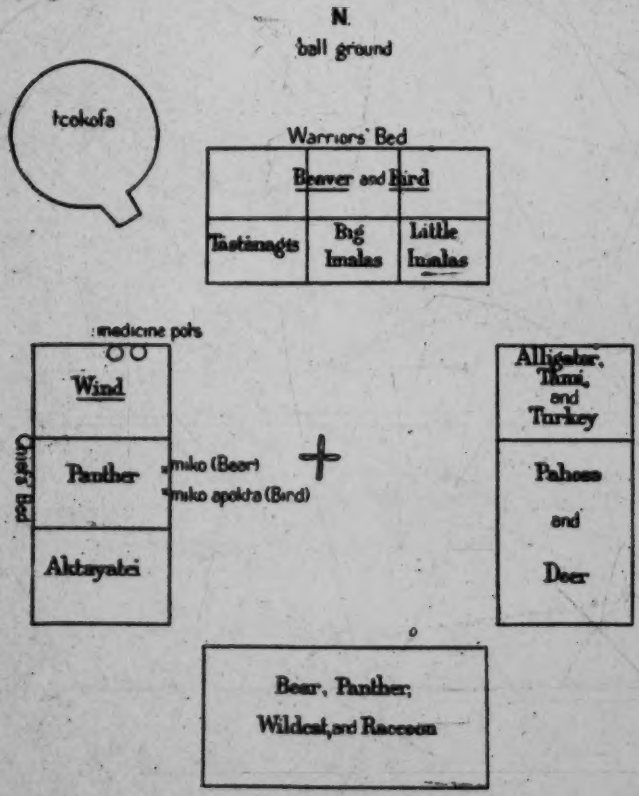

FIG. 35.—Plan of the Łapłáka Square Ground (I)

619 101 Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.
Apalachicola.
Hitchiti.
Sawokli.
Okmulgee.
Kawaigi.
Okitiyagana.
Yuchi.[29]
Coosa.
Otciapofa.
Tulsa Little River.
Tulsa Canadian.
Lutcapoga.
Okfuskee.
Tcatoksofka.
Abihkutci.
Nuyaka.
Abihka.
Abihka-in-the-West.
Talladega.
Kan-tcati.
Wakokai.
Wiogufki.
Tukpafka.
Wiwohka.
Pakan tallahassee.
Okchai.
Łálogálga.
Asilanabi.
Koasati (1 and 2).
Tuskegee.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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RED

Coweta.	Eufaula Hobayi.	Łapłáko.
Łikatcka.	Tukabahchee.	Hilibi.
Chiaha.[20]	Kealedji.	Kitcopataki.
Osochi.	Hatchee tcaba.	Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Hotalgihuyana.	Atasi.	Talmutcasi.
Eufaula.	Holiwahali.	Alabama.

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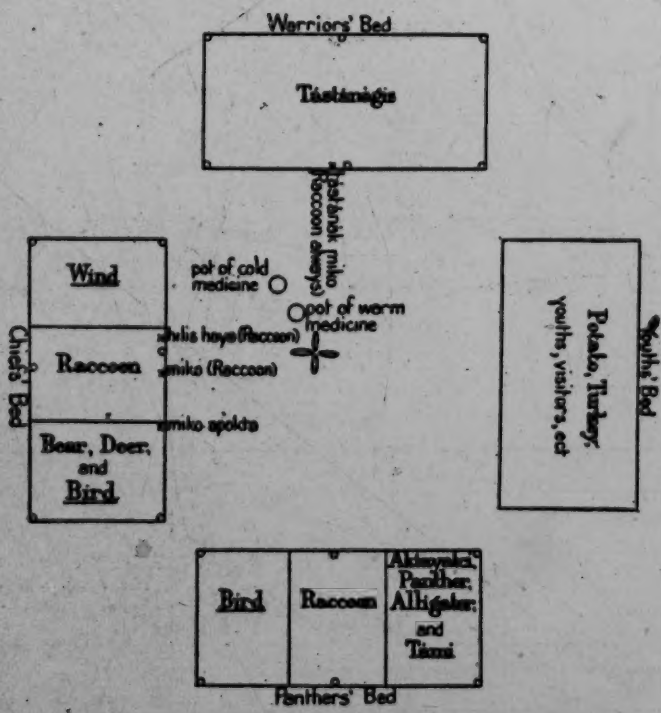

FIG. 24.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (II)

This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Koasati was a Red town, a conclusion which

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[20] The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Taitt who mentions a ball game May 3, 1772, in which the former defeated the latter (Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 380).

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

619 may have been deduced from the fact that in recent years the related Alabama town was on the Red side. From the evidence which I collected, however, it would seem that it is Alabama which has changed, and that only in late times owing to some difference with the Okchai Indians with whom the Alabama people had formerly been allied. Jackson Lewis in fact placed Alabama on the White side, but on the other hand he thought that Wiogufki and Tukpafka were Red.[21] Such a classification of these last two towns was concurred in by some other informants, and Eufaula hadjo told me that Wiogufki had formerly been Red and had become a White town very recently. As Tukpafka was a branch, or at any rate a coordinate part, of Wiogufki, it was probably classed with it. This shift was perhaps responsible for the confusion regarding Wiogufki in the mind of one old man who said that he believed Wiogufki played on both sides. Eufaula hadjo's statement was, however, confirmed by Big Jack of Hilibi who affirmed that at one time Wiogufki, Tukpafka, Wakokai, Sakapadai, Talmutcasi, and Pakan tallahassee were of the same fire clan as Coweta and Łapłáko but had gotten changed. I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this in so far as it applies to the last two towns. Possibly the social and political upheavals which accompanied the Civil War may have been responsible for some of the confusion. One of my best informants among the Okchai Indians thought that Wiogufki was really a White town, but that it probably had some agreement with Hilibi and Eufaula that, as good friends and neighbors, they would never play against each other. While Eufaula hadjo and Big Jack are probably right this is interesting as showing that agreements of the sort were not unknown, or at least not inconceivable. I am inclined to think that Talmutcasi was originally White, because it seems to have been a branch of the well-known White town of Okfuskee. An old Coweta Indian stated that some of the Abihka Indians were claimed by Coweta and some by Kasihta, but this confusion, as in the case of Wiwohka, was very likely due to marriages outside. The standing of Abihka on the White side was not questioned by anyone else.

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FIG. 57.—The Łapłáko "rallying ground" used before ball games, as it appeared in 1912

[21] The original position of Alabama as a White town is also indicated by what Bossu says regarding it: "The Alibamons have called their country the white ground, or country of peace, and rest on their mats, that is to say attack no one. A kind of allegory through which they seem to announce to all the nations of the earth, that the bloody hatchet is buried, and people can come and trade in all safety."—Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 47.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Seminole NN16

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According to Silas Jefferson the Chiaha were the chief opponents of the Tuskegee after they had removed to Oklahoma, but the latter played frequently with the Wiwohka, and sometimes with the Hihbi, and, in the old country, against the Alabama. The Hitchiti and Apalachicola were usually matched against the Atasi.

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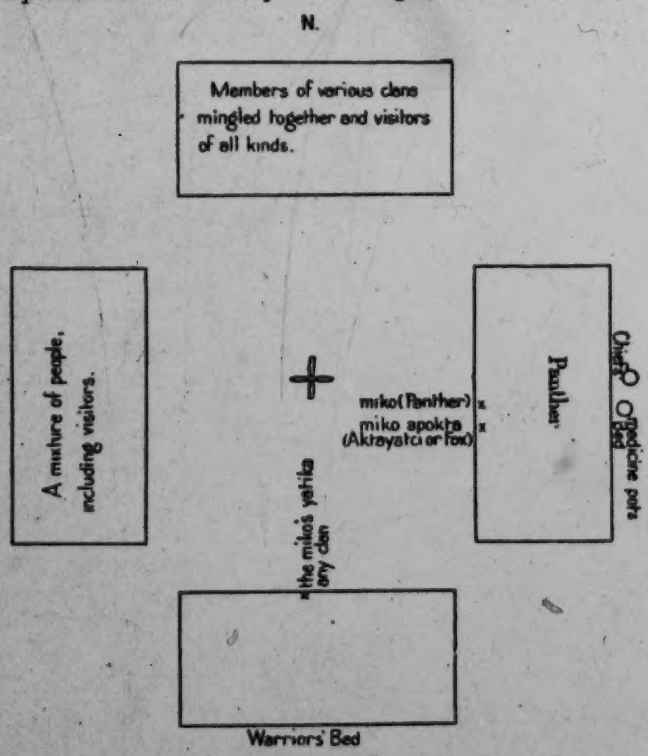

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Liwahali Square Ground

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The corresponding division among the Seminole in Oklahoma is said to have been as follows:

White	Red
Okfuskee	Eufaula.
Tallahasutci	Liwahali (including the Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki).
Ochesee	Chiaha.
Hitchiti	Mikasuki.

This agrees perfectly with the alignment among the Creeks if, as I now suspect, the Mikasuki were a branch of the Chiaha Indians instead of the Hitchiti proper.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opillako, and Łalogalga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

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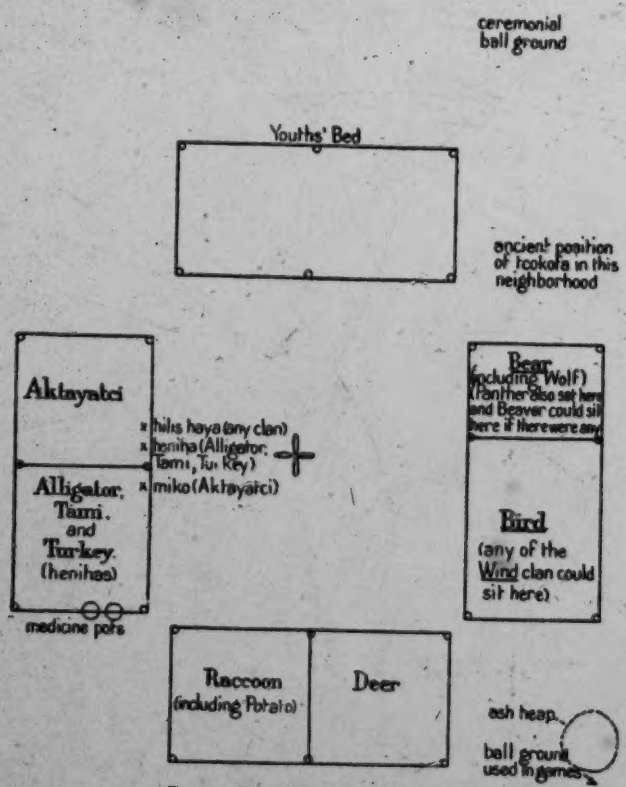

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Holiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Inukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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9. Okchaiyutci, Koasati, Kan-tcati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga. Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potcas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opillako in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."[23] In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

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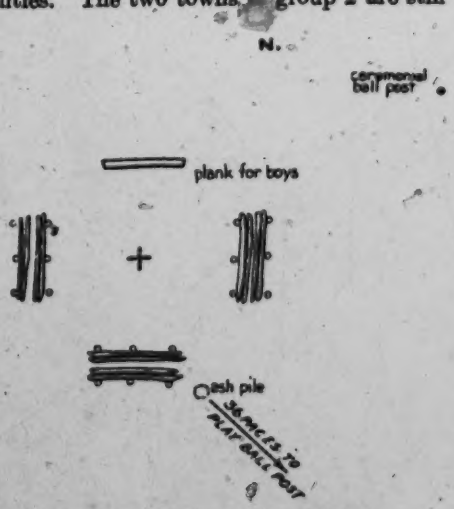

FIG. 60.—Hilibi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

EVOLUTION OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

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Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts.

[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 262.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN1 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names

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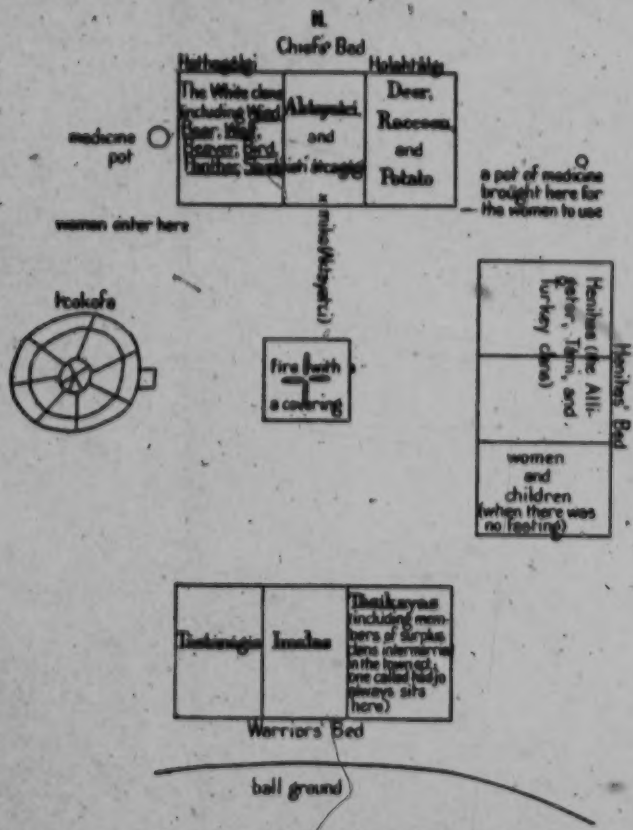

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Hilabula Square Ground (I)

of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe; that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

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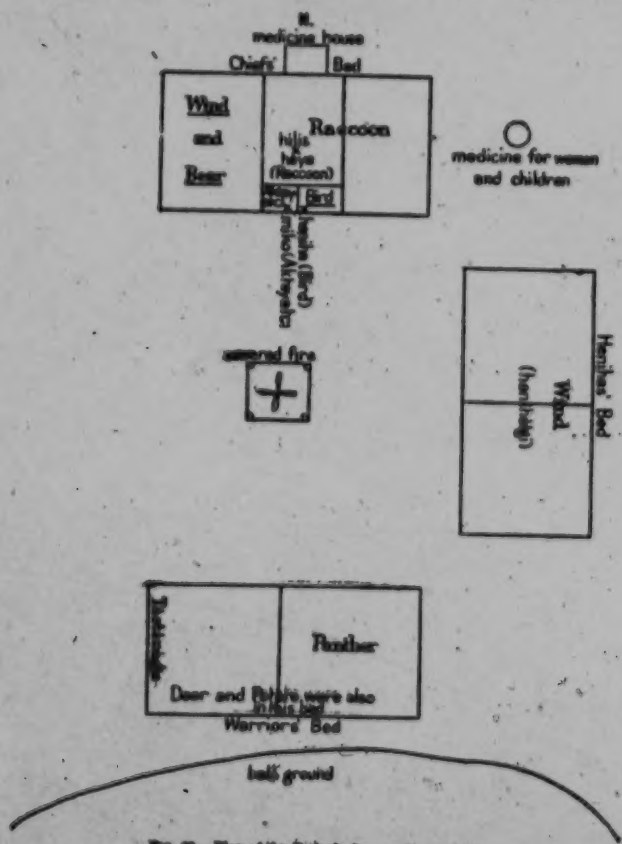

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Tukabatchi Square Ground (II)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Milfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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no tribe is except the Coosa and its later divisions. If we consider the traditions by themselves, then, we seem to find that one body of Muskogee came from the west and subsequently divided into two parts which came to be known as Kasihta and Coweta, and that they were early associated with another tribe, probably also Muskhogean, the Abihka. The Coosa, on the other hand, came from the west independently, and had no subdivisions until much later. The explanation of the two divisions of towns or "fires" is given in Judge Gregory's story, and there is reason to believe that they did actually originate with the division of the easternmost band of Creeks into Kasihta and Coweta, although the specific account of it is, of course, entirely mythic. This now seems plausible because, in the first place, these two towns are the only pair seemingly sprung from one stem, which are conspicuously set over against each other as leaders of the opposing sides, there being no such pairing of the Upper Creek leading towns. Moreover, Bartram records a traditional belief that the Creek confederacy had originated at the old town of Okmulgee on the river of that name—i. e., among the Lower Creeks. The later Okmulgee town was a Hitchiti settlement, but Muskogee lived along Ocmulgee River at an early date. In De Soto's time the people of Cofitachequi, which we have identified as Kasihta, knew Coosa well, and it is not improbable that the basis of the confederacy had already been laid. It is likely that it was in existence before the Tukabahchee united with the other towns, in spite of the later prominence of the former and in spite of the fact that some Creeks will tell you that the busk fire originated with the Tukabahchee and was by them distributed to the rest.

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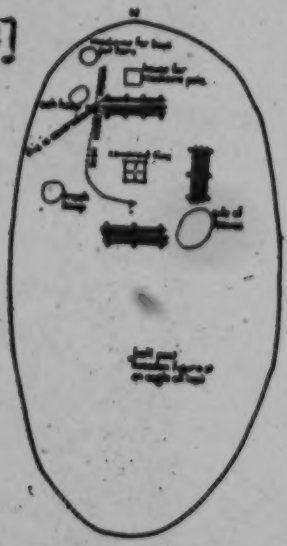

FIG. 68.—Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Woodward says it was a matter of dispute among the Creeks whether Kasihta or Tukabahchee was settled first, but it was generally conceded that Kasihta was first settled.[29] Unfortunately we have no record, mythic or otherwise, as to how the friendship between Kasihta, Abihka, and Coosa grew up other than the references in the stories already given, and these do not explain why the friendship was between Abihka, Coosa, and Kasihta, rather than Abihka,

[29] Woodward, Reminiscences, p. 32.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama

Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probaby Łiwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Łiwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that

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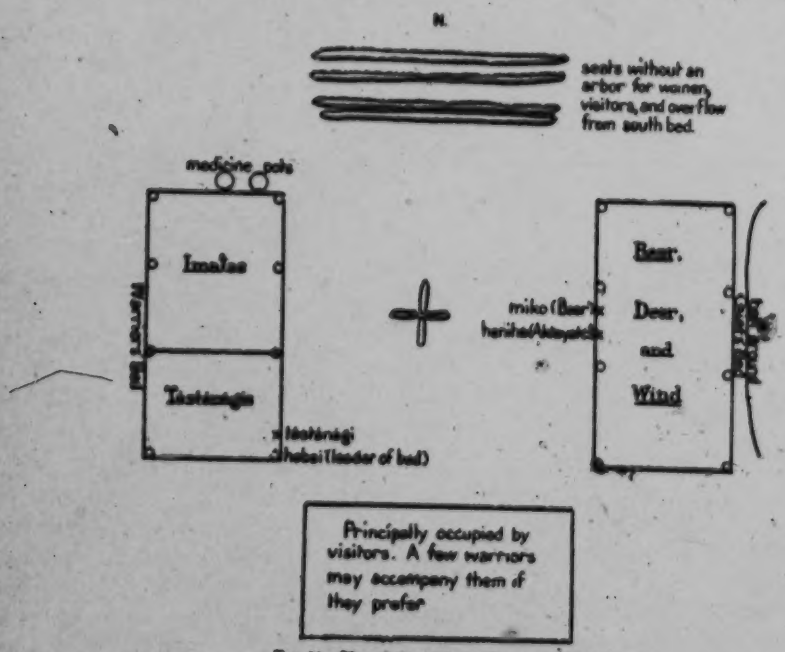

FIG. 64.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I)

the first was already a friend of Coweta, Łiwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.[24] From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hłłibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Łikatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee tcaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

[24] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 324-325.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama

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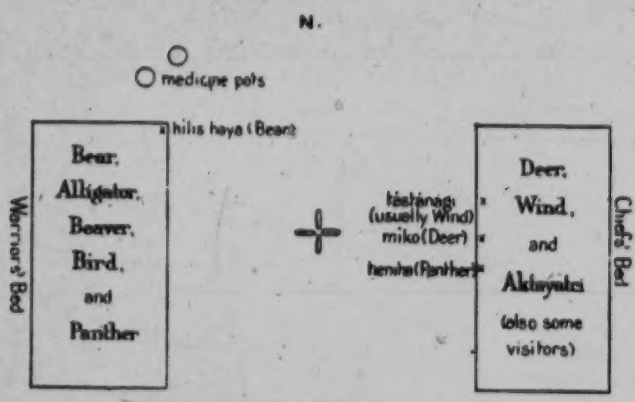

FIG. 65.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (II)

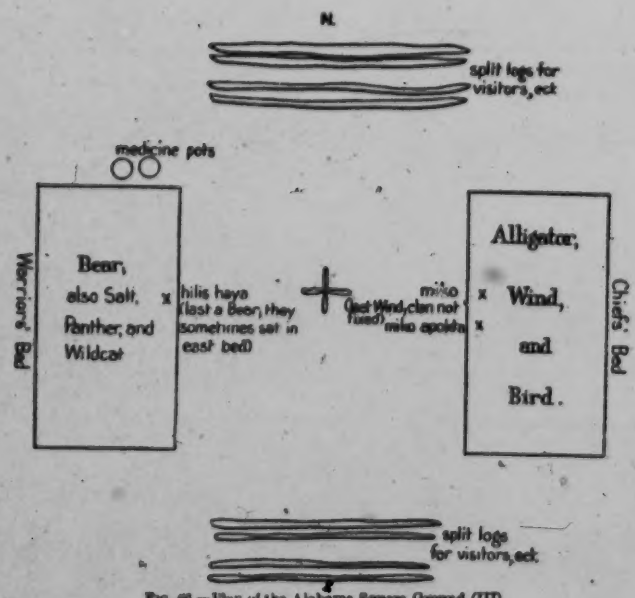

FIG. 66.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (III)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama
Muskogee

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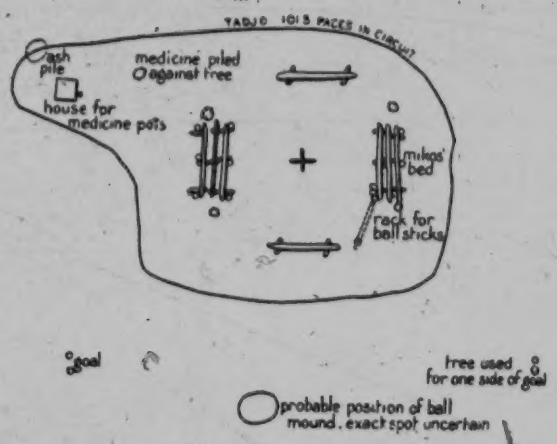

FIG. 67.—The Alabama Ceremonial Ground in 1912

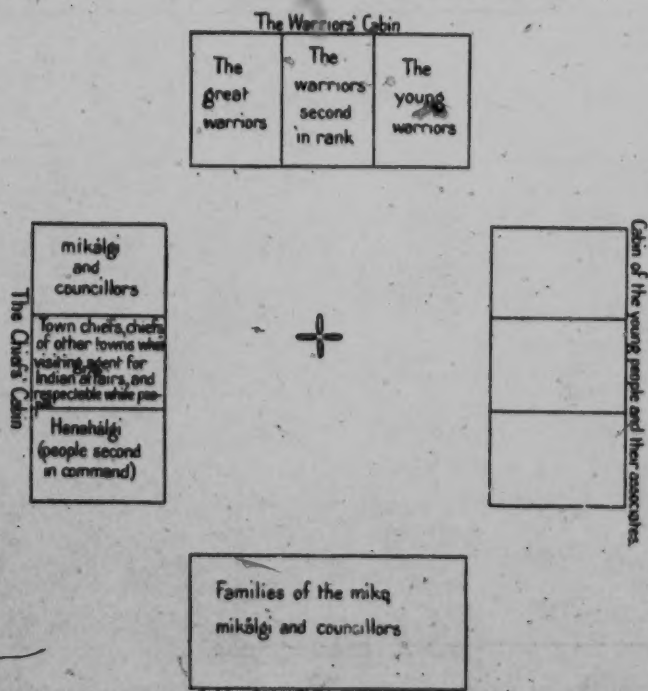

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Hawkins)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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groups. And with the exception of Tukabáhchee and its associates, which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy

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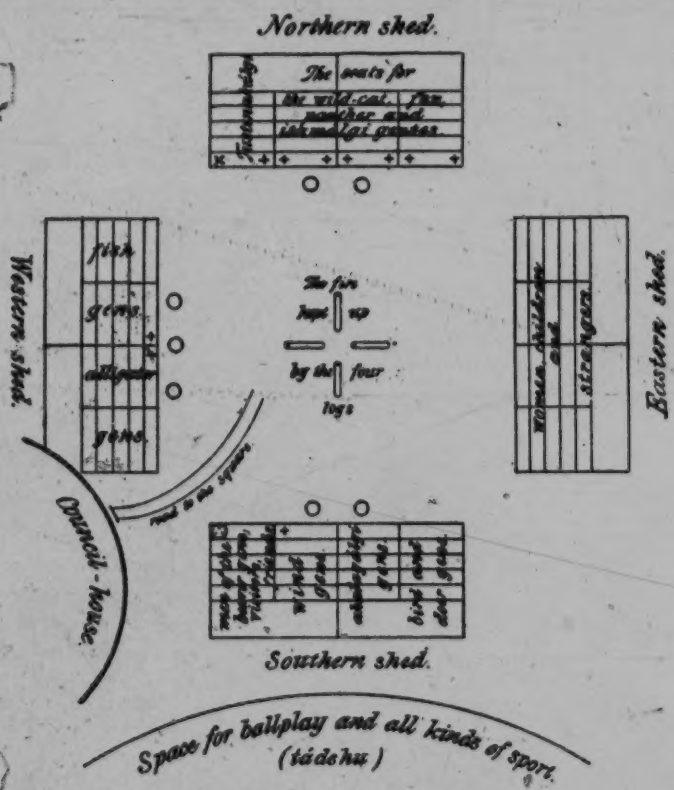

FIG. 69.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,[*] was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with

[*] See p. 256.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and

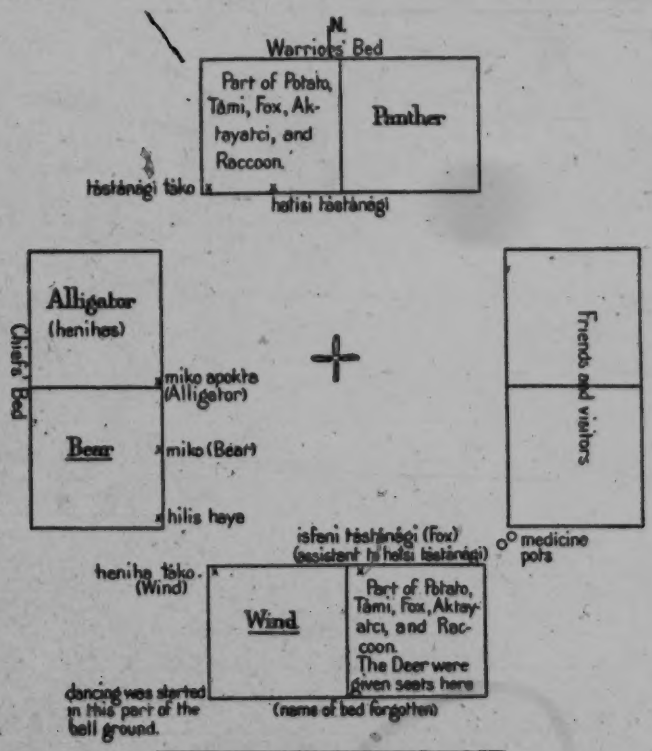

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Tcokote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitca and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Łidjami with the Tukabahchee and related towns and

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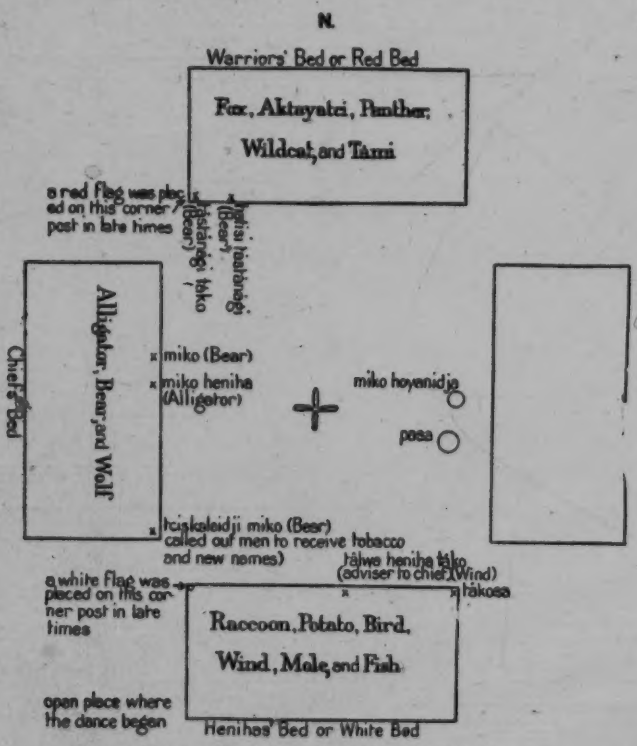

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

the Raccoon with the Tukabahchee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatci is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
269 NN3

factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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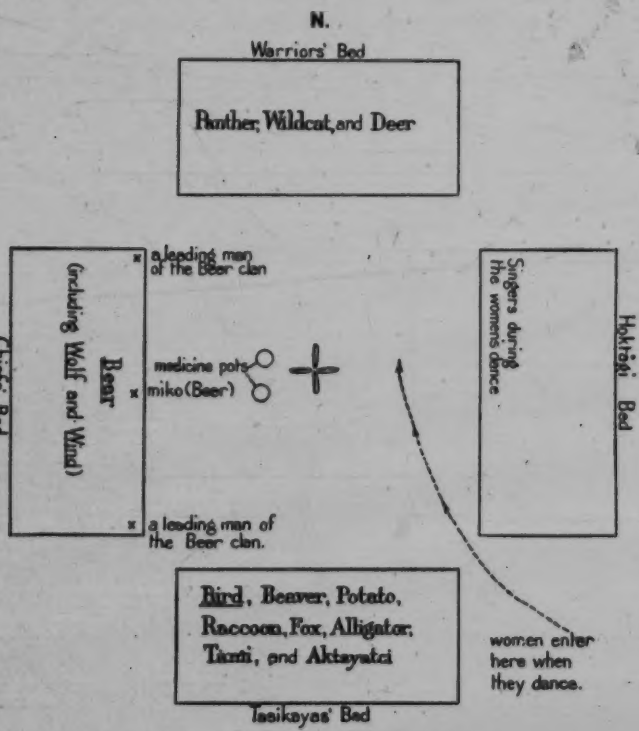

FIG. 73.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

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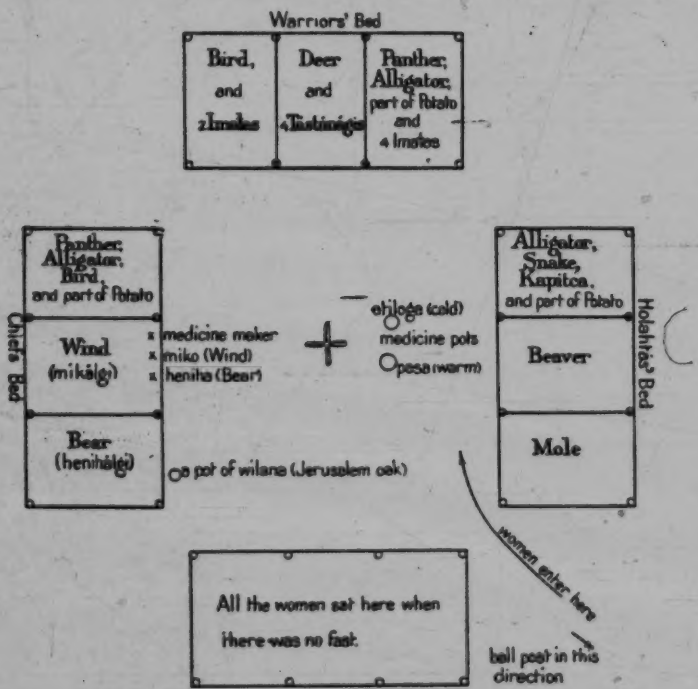

FIG. 73.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa Áko) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important

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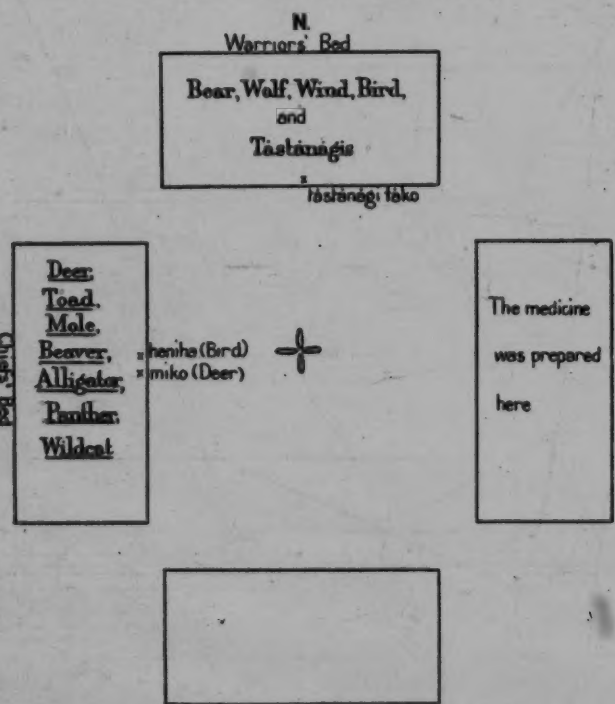

FIG. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa Iáko) (II)

part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Southeastern Indians
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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

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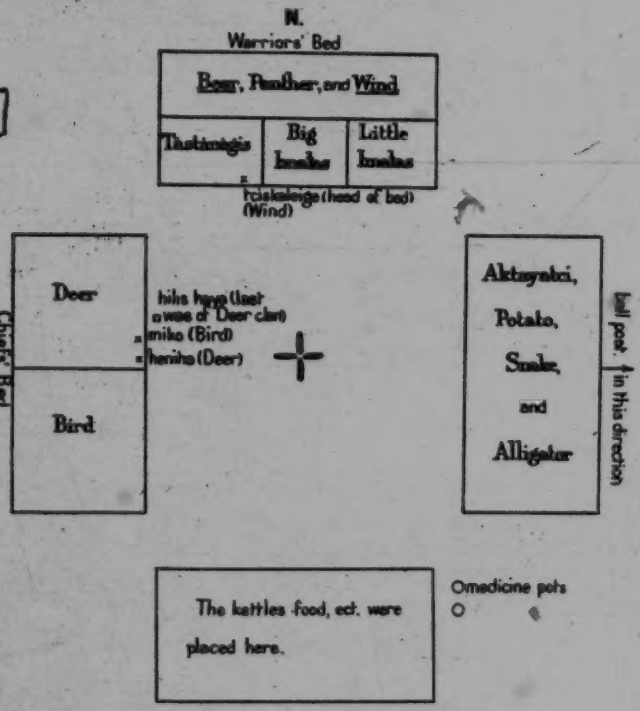

FIG. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Yuchi NN20
Southeastern Indians NN3

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use of bird feathers in peace-making ceremonies, and in corroboration of that suggestion it must be remembered that the Bird clan was reckoned a White clan among the Creeks and that it did not include the Eagle or the Turkey. It is interesting to note that in Florida the Bear and Bird clans were associated as they were among the Creeks. The Panther clan is almost as popular as the Bird and Deer, being wanting only from the Cherokee; the nature of the animal accounts sufficiently for this. Of the remaining clans the Wind, Beaver,

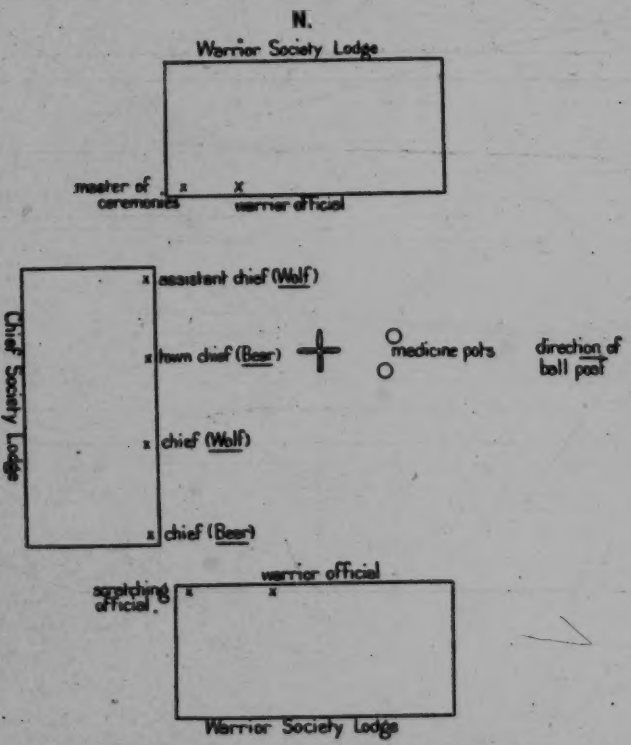

FIG. 76.—Plan of the Yuchi Square Ground. (After Speck)

Alligator, and Snake are most prominent among the Creeks and those tribes particularly influenced by them; the Wolf is most prominent among the Cherokee, and the Buzzard and Earth clans among the Timucua. It is rather remarkable that the Fish was less in evidence among the Creeks than among the Timucua on one side and the Chickasaw on the other.

Whether the clans actually originated with those tribes among which they were most prominent in historic times and spread from them to the others is a question to which no answer can be given

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Southeastern Indians NN3

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on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

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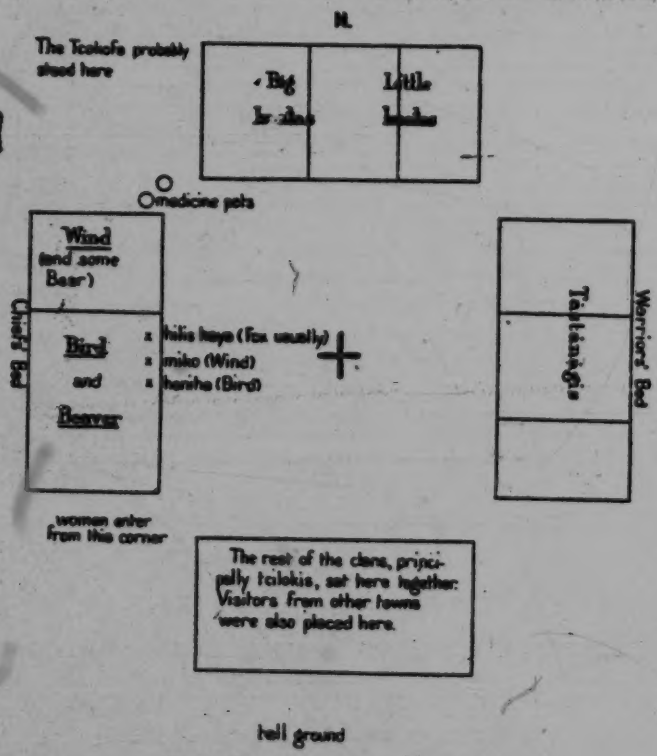

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Southeastern Indians NN3

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Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogálgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent

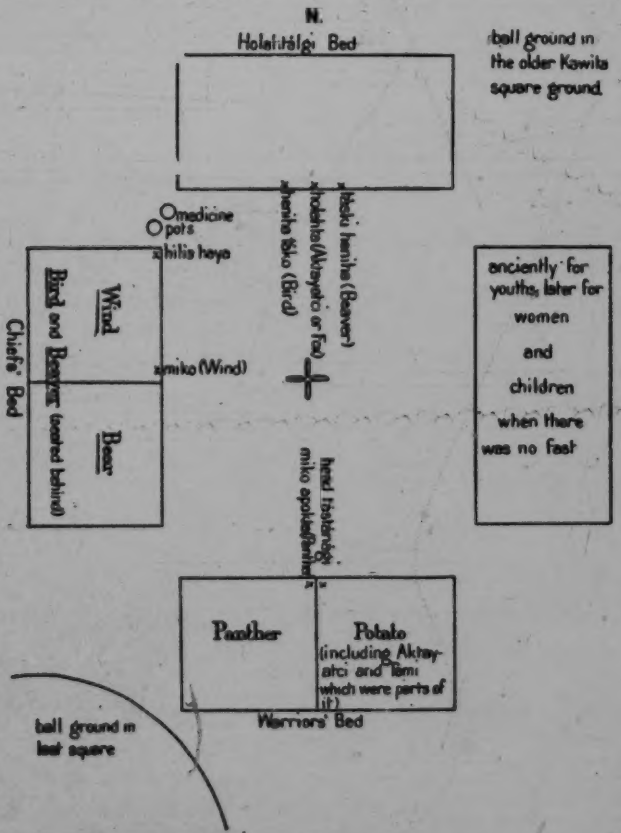

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II)

and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

1: Swantcn E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

GOVERNMENT

619 The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the
621 most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been
642 already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confedera-

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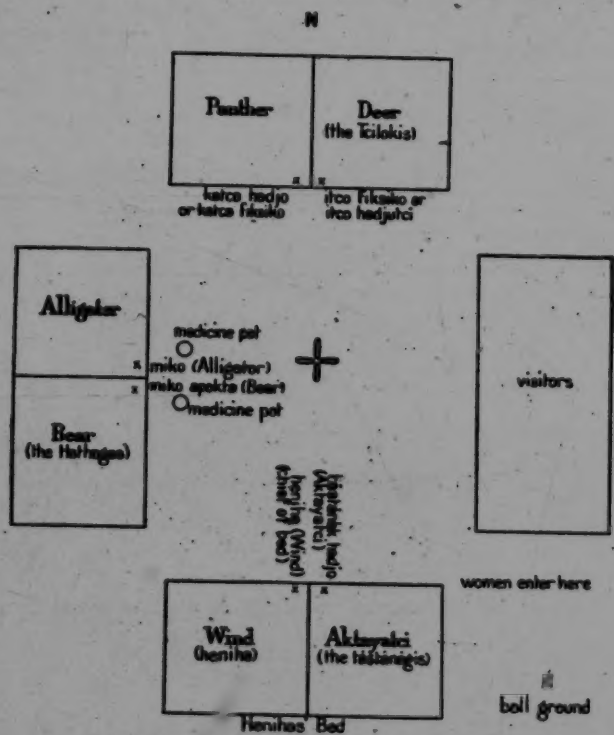

FIG. 79.—Plan of the Square Ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow

tion, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

towns alone being under mikos.[28] If he means by warriors men bearing the title tástánągi we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

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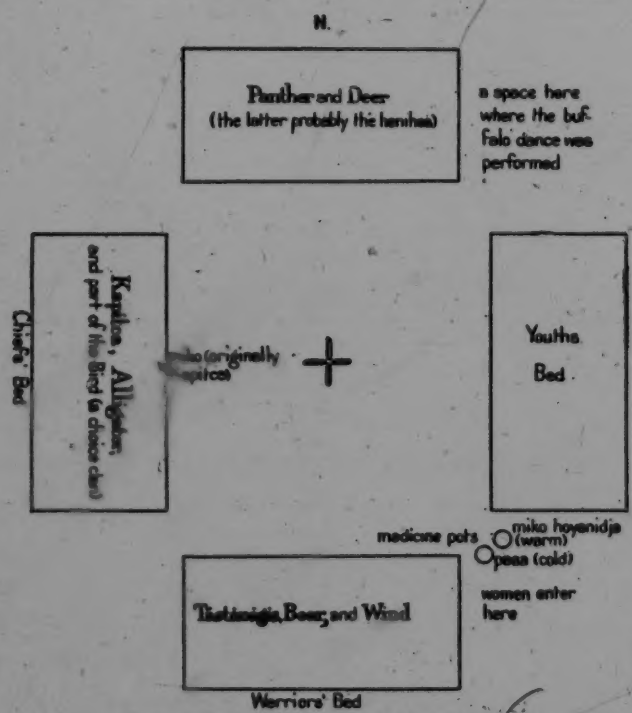

FIG. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobaya (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

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[28] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

[i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[27] Bartram remarks:

"He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, receives presents, etc. He alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's

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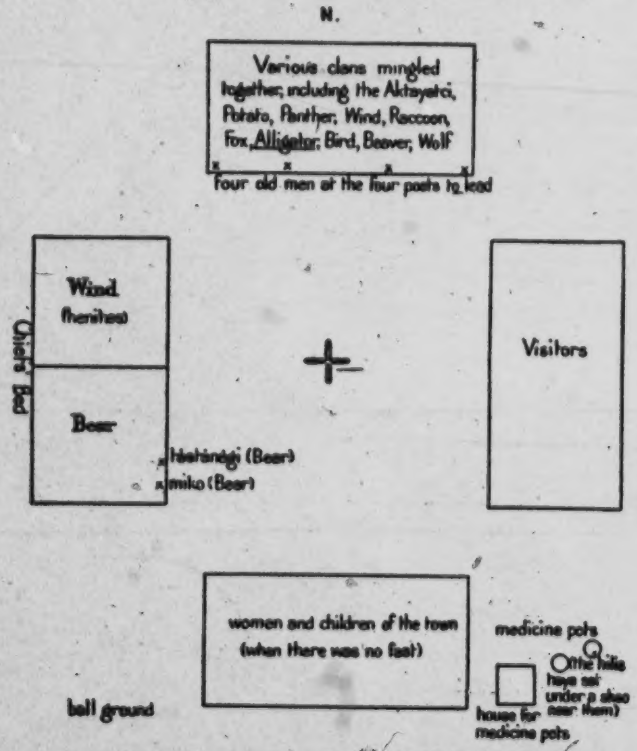

FIG. 11.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (II)

feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night."[28]

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[27] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 68.
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 34

1/4 [i.e., the miko. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti

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Speck says regarding the Tuskegee miko:

"The function of this dignitary, as the civil head of the town, was to receive all embassies from other tribes, to direct the decisions of the town council according to his judgment, and finally to stand as the representative of the town in foreign negotiations. . . . The town chief had also to appoint the time for the annual harvest ceremony. He had personal charge of the town square and the lodges about it, and it was his duty to distribute the broken sticks to the heads of families by which they were to number the days to elapse

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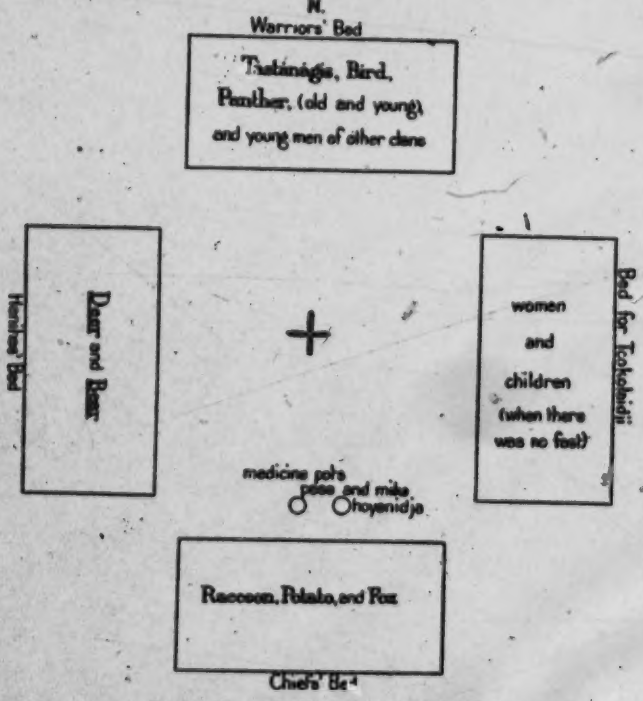

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Chisha Square Ground (I)

before the ceremony. The Taskigi have been known to depose their town chief on the ground of inefficiency and to elect another from his clan instead." [29]

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action with-

[29] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 112.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti

622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko łáko, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he

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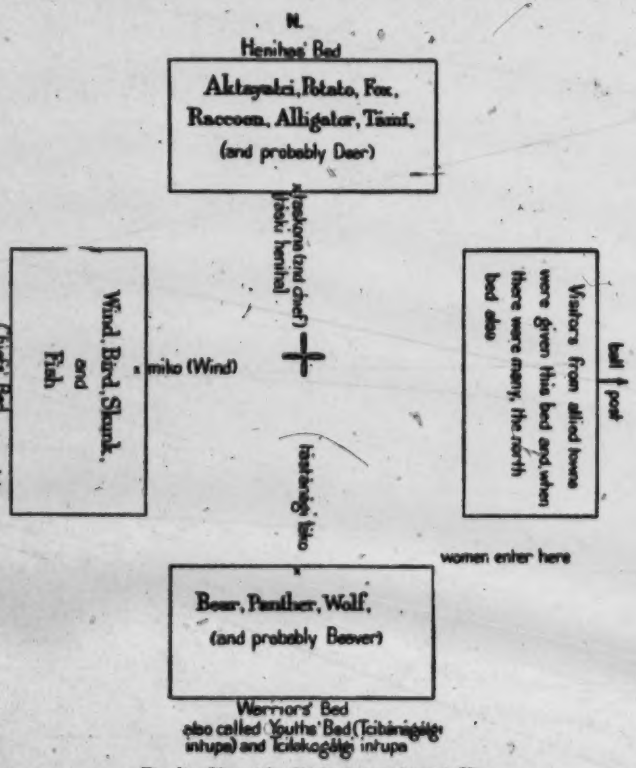

FIG. 12.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

614 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already
622 been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi

person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance."[20] As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on

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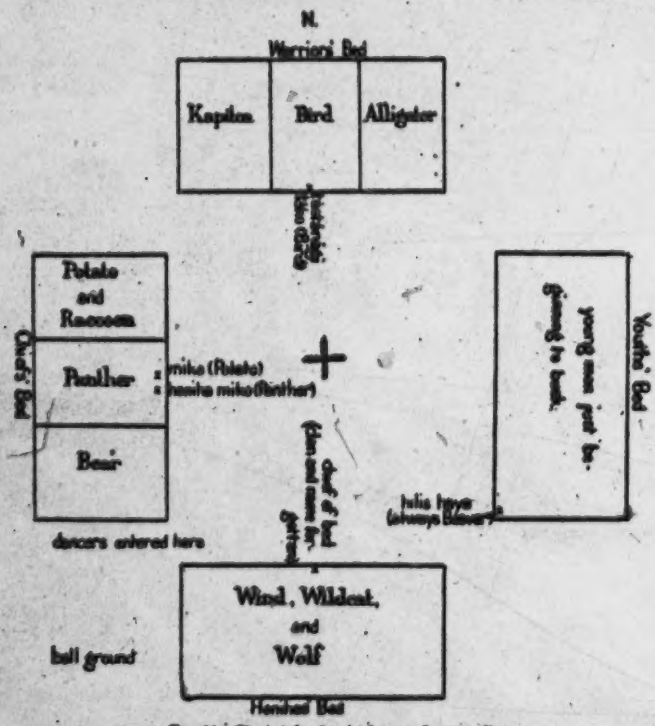

FIG. 84.—Plan of the Creek Square Ground (I)

the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtea told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.[21] According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtea himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

[20] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 21.

[21] Gatschet, Ms. notes; see p. 52.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi

622 According to Jackson Lewis, who was best acquainted with Upper Eufaula, the selection was made by the other members of the same clan, but this seems to have been unusual. According to a Hilibi Indian well versed in everything connected with the organization of a town, the miko was selected by three men, one taken from the clan of the former chief, one from the clan of his father, and a third who appears not to have belonged to any particular clan. My informant added that they uniformly selected the humblest person belonging

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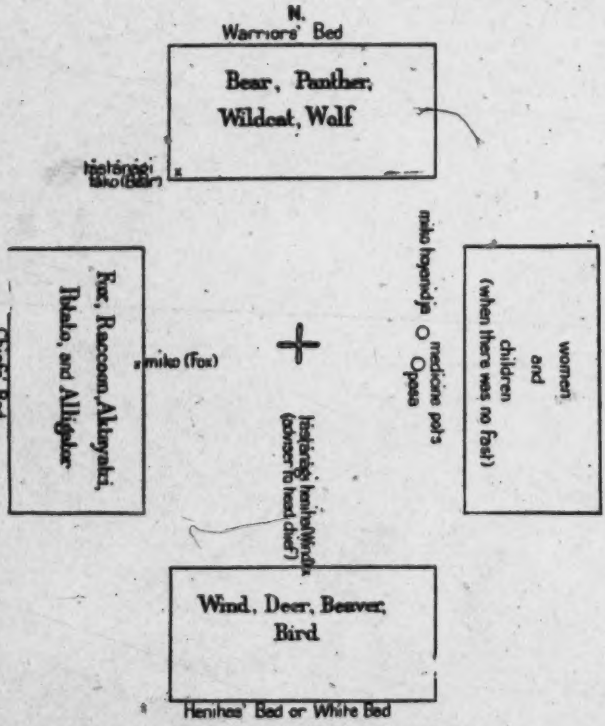

FIG. 85.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)

to the royal clan and those who picked him out always had to labor with him to induce him to accept. Some of this reluctance was no doubt a matter of etiquette, but the public and ceremonial demands of the position were so great and so much of the well-being or misfortune of the tribe was attributed to the incumbent that he may well have shrunk from the responsibility. The miko was, however, at liberty to resign. Some of those who selected the miko might belong to Red clans but he was always inducted into office by a member of one of the White clans. He was seated upon an unsmoked buckskin and

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622.

an address was delivered to him by a speaker appointed for that purpose in which his future duties and the expectations of the tribe regarding him were set forth. In 1912 the then chief of the Yuchi informed me that when he was installed he was placed upon a buckskin which had been dressed by a virgin, and in the speech which was made to him the other members of the tribe were called his "children" and his duties to them were set forth. He was told that all of the paths were white for him; that he was to be governed by that fact and shed

S. [344 621]

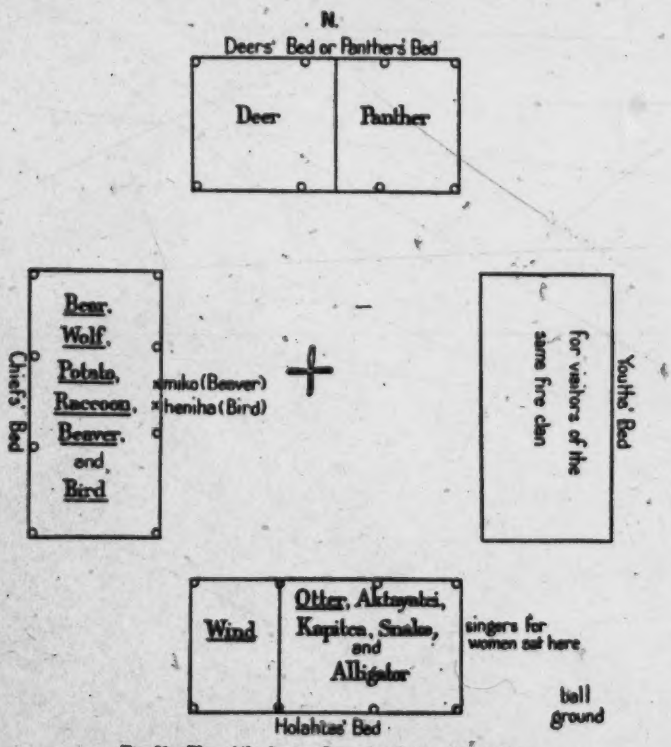

FIG. 88.—Plan of the Square Ground of Ochese Seminole

no blood. The ceremony was completed by all passing around behind him in single file. This ceremony seems to have been common to all of the towns of the confederacy. It emphasizes the miko's close connection with affairs of peace.

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In Tukabahchee the organization was somewhat different, there being seven principal chiefs (mikági) who sat in the front seat of the Chiefs' bed, extending from the center to the southern end. Each of them had an assistant or heniha (an official to be noted presently). If the head miko, who sat in the center of the bed, did not succeed—

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622 624

i. e., if the town did not prosper under him, whether he was responsible or not—or if his heniha died he had to surrender his place and move down to the foot of the row of mikos, the rest of whom moved up, and the man next to him took his place. Vacancies in the row of mikos were filled by the remaining mikos in consultation with the tástánágis, who were called over to the Chiefs' bed to confer about the matter. The man selected was escorted to his seat by another miko or by a tástánági. Mention has already been made of the anomalous

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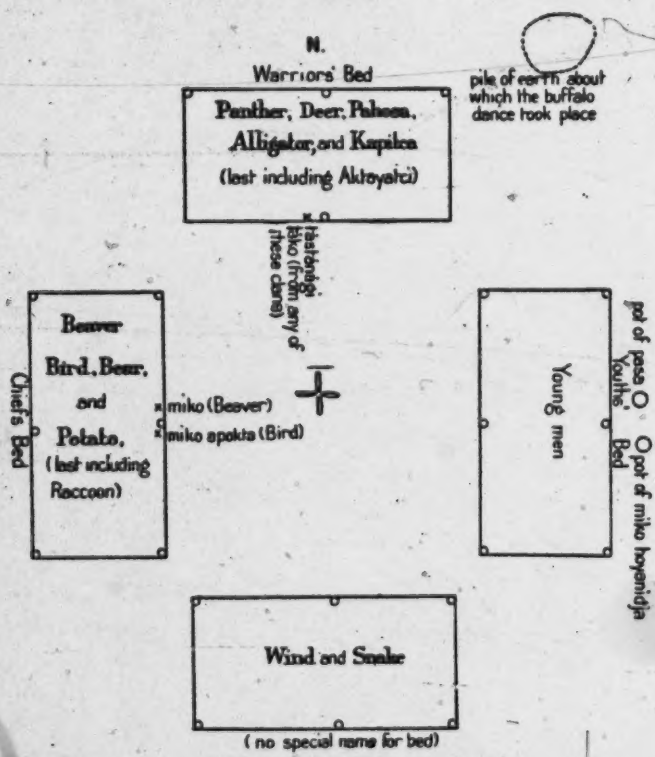

FIG. 57.—Plan of the Square Ground of Okfuskee Seminole

miko called Ispokogi miko, who perhaps enjoyed priestly functions, but of course nothing is known regarding the manner of his selection, the institution having died out too long ago.

C. 622

Tukabahchee preserves its old square organization very well and its system of government may be representative of that of other Creek towns, but I am inclined to think that considerable differences always existed. The Coweta head chief is said to have been elected at a meeting of the entire town, but the actual selection may have

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

been entrusted to the White clans (see p. 281). Probably he was chosen in the same way as the second chief who is said to have been nominated by the White clans, and the nomination confirmed, merely as a matter of form, by the Tcilokis. According to Legus Perryman, the chiefs at Lutcapoga, along with the other officers of each of the three beds, were chosen by the members of the other two, the only limitation being in respect to the clan from which they could be taken.

The chiefs of the Texas Alabama were elected at a general meeting of the tribe, but this statement applies only to recent times, and

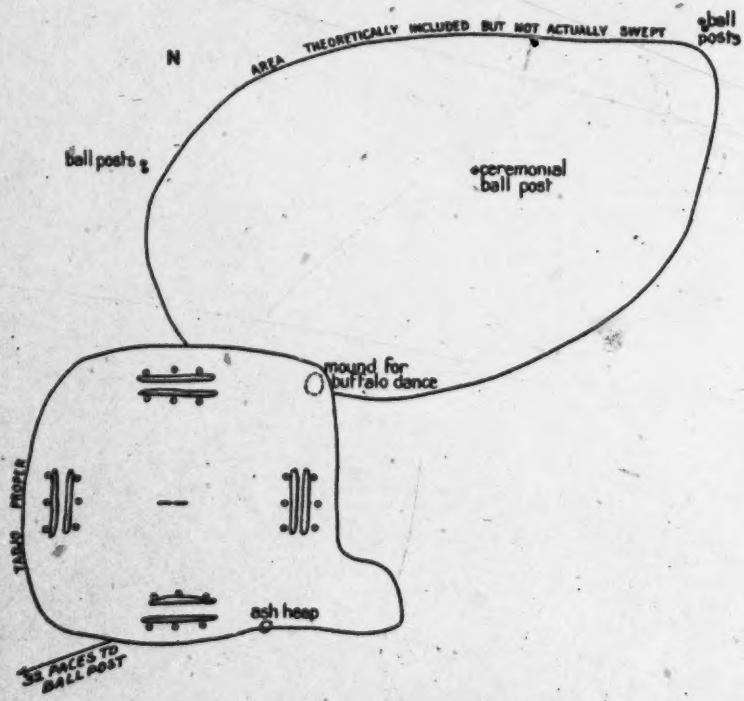

FIG. 88.—Okfuskee Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

before they left the other Creeks in Alabama their custom may have been different.

As we have seen in the case of Tukabahchee, there were sometimes assistant chiefs. At Tukabahchee they were all of one clan, but sometimes they were of different clans, perhaps in such cases the heads of their respective clans, for we know that the oldest or most influential uncle in each presided at clan councils and advised his fellows regarding their conduct. This has been spoken of already. At Pakan tallahassee the miko, who belongs to the Aktayatci clan, sits

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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in the middle of the north bed, on his left his heniha, and on his right, in succession, a second chief of the Wind clan, a third chief of the Bear (or Panther) clan, and a fourth chief of the Bird (or Panther) clan.

Usually, however, there was one principal subordinate chief, or vice chief, miko apokta ("twin chief") as he was called, and the customs regarding him seem to have varied considerably from town

S. [344 621]

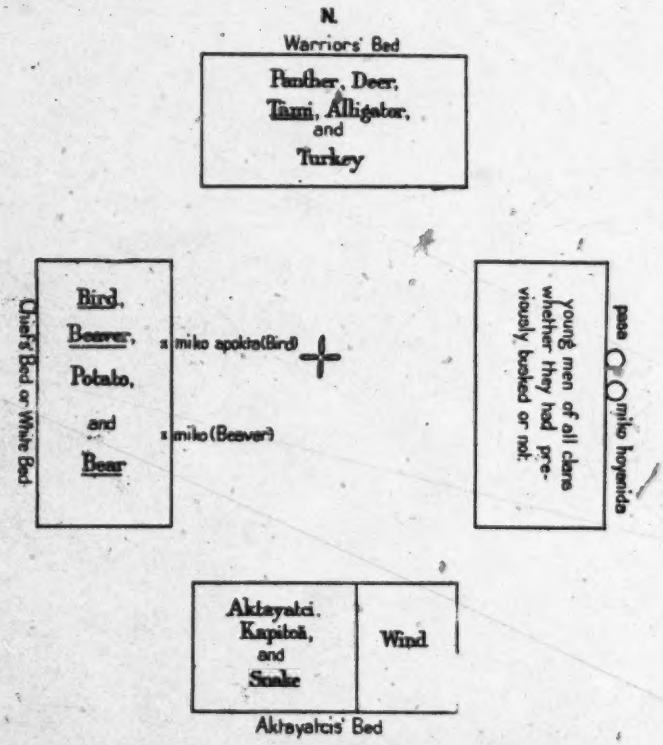

FIG. 69.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahassutci Seminole

to town. Hawkins says of this chief: "When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly." The second chief in Tulsa Canadian, Lutcapoga, and probably in the other Tulsa towns as well, belonged to the Beaver clan, the same as that which furnished the first chief. According to Legus Perryman, the second chief of Lutcapoga was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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called the ita'lwa mi'ko. He was assistant to the head chief and, while the authority of the latter extended over the town as a whole, he concerned himself with matters of a more local character, particularly those connected with the square. He might be called the "square chief." Similarly, the second chief of Coweta, who was taken from the Panther clan, is said to have been "chief of the square," while the head chief was "speaker for the other towns friendly to Coweta." This may refer back to the time when the Coweta chief was also chief of all the Lower Creeks. The second chief of Łiwahali is said to have been of the Aktayatci or Fox clan and to have taken charge if, for any reason, the miko had to leave the square ground. In Łikatcha the miko belonged to the Alligator clan and the miko apokta to the Bear. I was informed that at Chiaha the miko and heniha were both taken from the Bear clan, but the miko apokta must have been intended instead of the heniha. From Speck it appears that the position of miko apokta at Tuskegee was of a less permanent character. He says: "If the *miko* could not leave his town he appointed a delegate who bore his title to attend the councils of other towns or those of the Confederacy."[27]

S. [344]

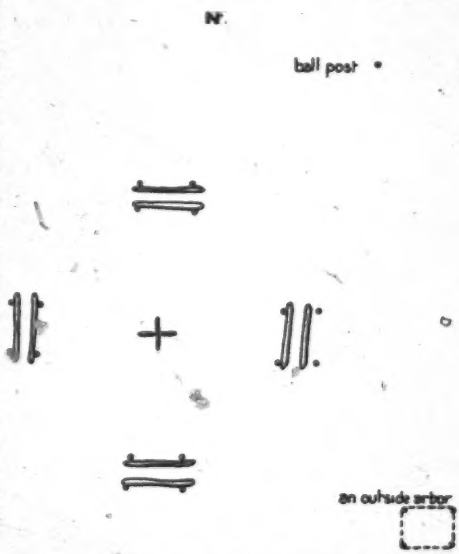

FIG. 90.—Tallahassutci Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Connected evidently with the institution of a miko apokta was a condition reported from several towns in which the chieftainship alternated between two clans. I was informed that in Tcatoksofka such an alternation took place between the Bear and Beaver clans. If the head chief belonged to the Bear clan and the second chief to the Beaver clan, and the former died the latter would become head chief, a member of the Bear clan being chosen as second chief. In Tuskegee a similar alternation took place between the Bear and Wind clans, and in the old Abihka town near Eufaula an alternation is reported between the Bear and Raccoon. This Abihka square has, however, long been given up and the other Abihka towns do not seem

[27] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 614 622 to have preserved the custom, although in two of them the chiefs are Bear and the henihas Raccoon. In the Seminole town of Talahasutci there is said to have been an alternation between the Beaver and the Bird clans. I was told that, after the last reorganization of the Hitchiti square in which the miko was taken from the Bird clan and the heniha from the Deer, in an emergency the latter could be made miko and the former heniha.

C. 624 In addition to the chiefs, second chiefs, and similar leaders there was anciently a considerable body of persons called mikâgi, or mikâlgi,

S. [344 621]

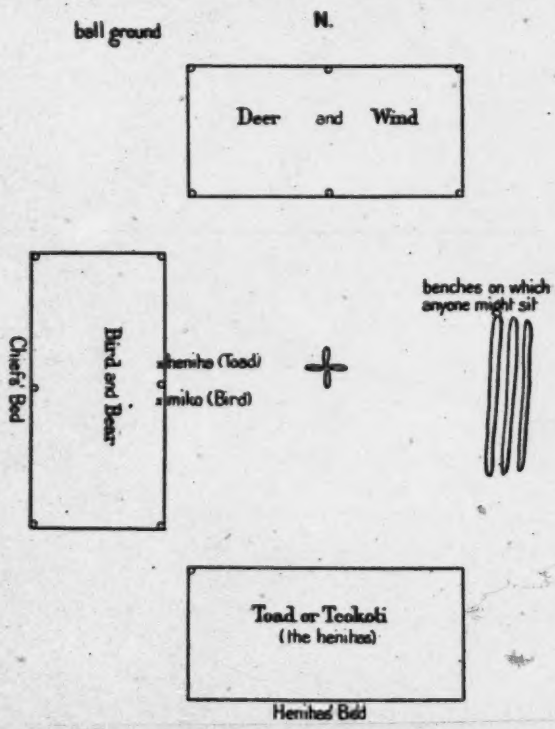

FIG. 91.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole

the plural of miko, who performed minor functions. These were ordinarily taken from the same clan as the head miko, though it may be possible that the appellation was extended beyond under certain circumstances, particularly in later times. It is even possible that the name may have been bestowed at the busk on account of an ancestor who had this title and with no office or dignity attached. All we can say is that the mikâgi belonged theoretically, and usually, to the clan of the head miko. The following account of this class by

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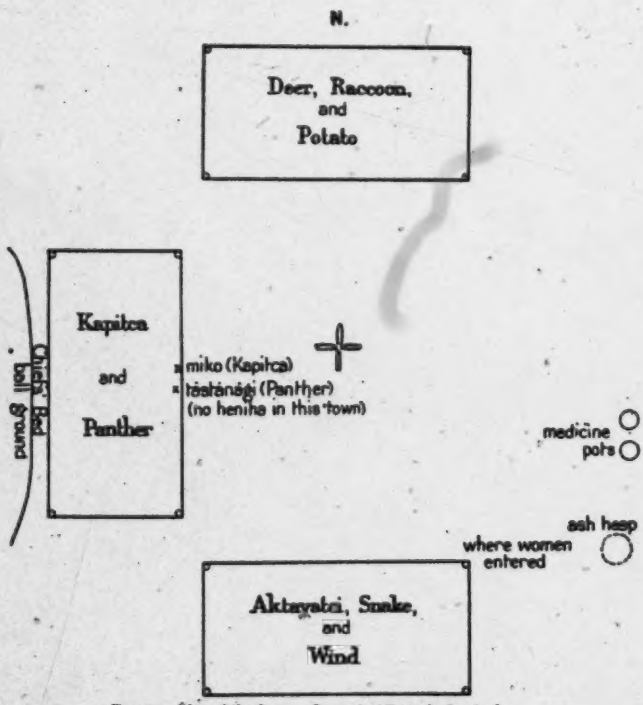

FIG. 22.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Seminole

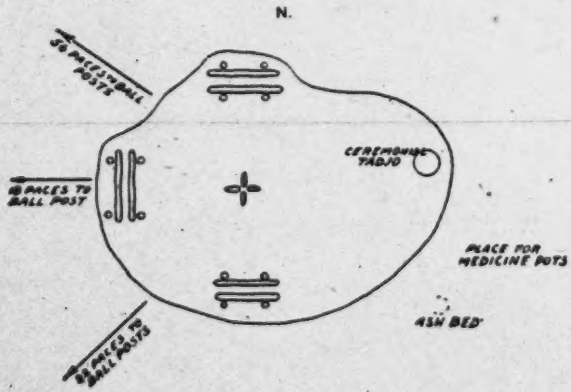

FIG. 23.—Eufaula Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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Stiggins contains practically all that we know about them. Its importance must be allowed to compensate for the execrable English in which it is cast:

"For a better distribution of their public business, such as public work of planting and tending in corn, &c., their public town field and gathering their Eupon or Cassine leaves for their black drink—when every man of age is obliged to attend and do his part or be fined according to his circumstances—the inhabited parts of the nation

S. [344 621]

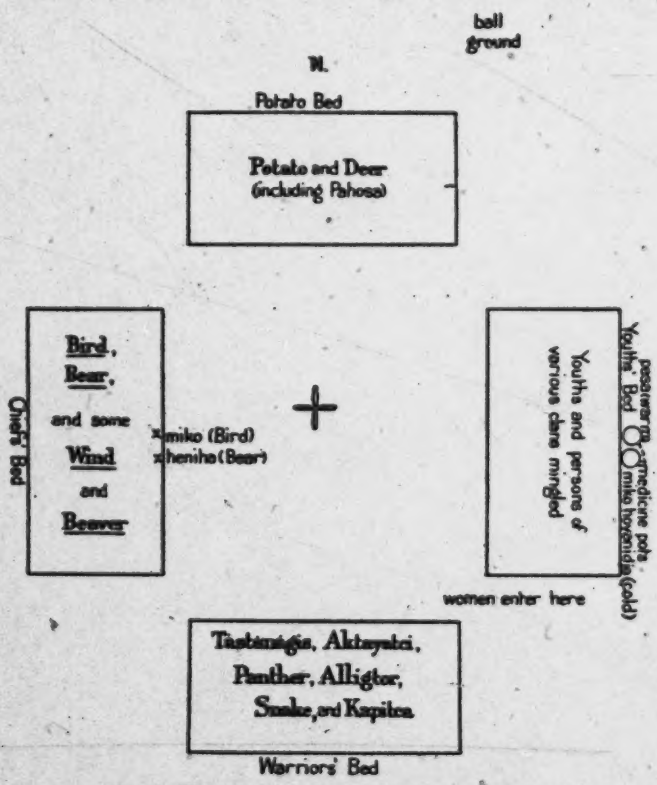

FIG. 94.—Plan of the Square Ground of Lîwahali Seminole (I)

are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point, which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga* which term is the plural of *mic co*, a term of gradation more applicable to the office of overseer or guardian in my conception than to that of a King, (as most people will interpret it,) as many towns have at least one tenth of its population for *mic cul ga*

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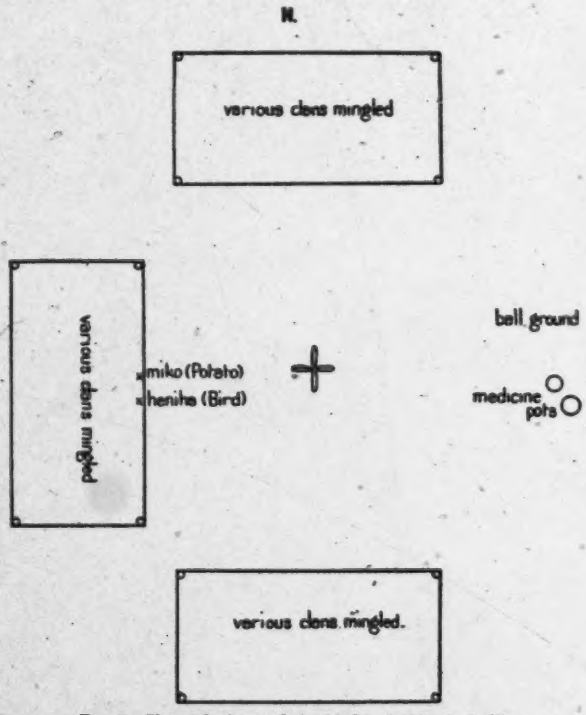
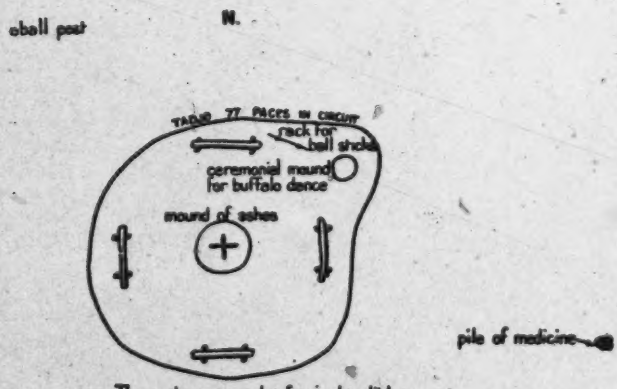


FIG. 96.—Plan of the Square Ground of Ziwahali Seminole (II)



The seats were each of a single split log
The Seminoles did not remove the ashes of the fire.

FIG. 98.—Ziwahali Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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which is none too many for guardians to watch over them and moralize their conduct, but it is constituting by far too many kings for one town or principality. When it is thought necessary for the principal men or committee of townsmen to make a new *mic co*, they proceed very ceremoniously in their rude way to his inauguration, *to wit* without his being previously consulted on the subject, when they have made the determination to effect it, and at their townhouse assembly they advance up to him, and call him at the same time in a

s. [344 621]

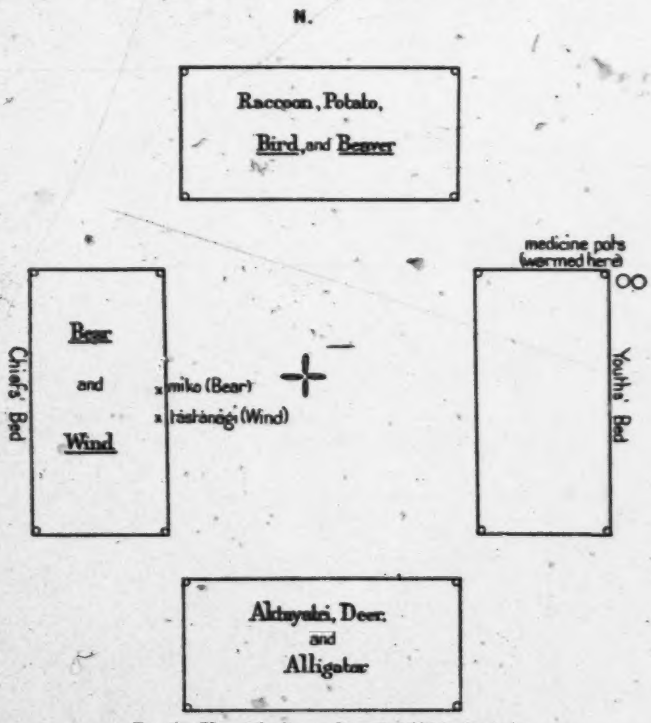

FIG. 67.—Plan of the Square Ground of Chiaha Seminole

loud, long, and shrill tone by a name that he is thereafter to go by, with the addition of *mic co*, for instance such as *yo ho lo micco* or *Ispocoga mic co*, etc.; and at the same time they smear his face all over with white clay, a ceremony imitating in importance the accolade of knighthood and Sir. Though some of the *miccos* do rise to be principal chiefs it is by merit, for nominal office [of the mic cul ga] is for town purposes to admonish, regulate, and keep in peace the members of their town people by whom they are regarded with respect and deference. There are other applicable Sir names given to

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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distinguish their grade in their town police. They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[33]

The henihálgi were devoted to peace even more than the mikági. As I have shown elsewhere, a White clan was almost always chosen for this office, and originally the position appears to have been a particular prerogative of the Wind people.[33a] Their section in the

S. [344 621]

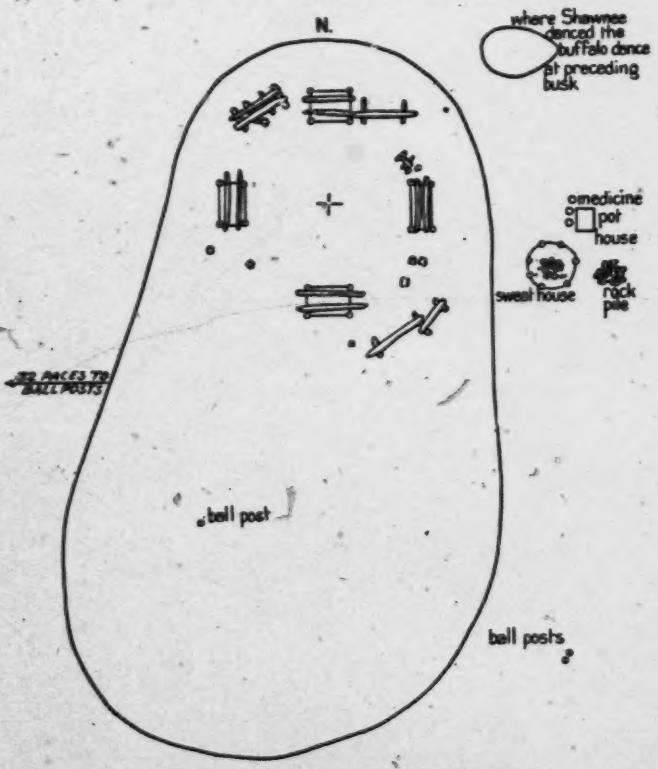

FIG. 18.—Chiaha Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1915

square ground was usually known as the "White bed" and was often diametrically opposite that of the Warriors. Hawkins says of the henihálgi: "These have the direction of the public works appertaining to the town, such as the public buildings, building houses in town for new settlers, or working in the fields. They are particularly charged with the ceremony of the a-ce (a decoction of the

[33] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 13.

[33a] See pp. 194-195.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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cassine yupon, called by the traders black drink), under the direction of the mic-co." [24] They thus constituted a kind of Creek Department of the Interior. In some towns, in conjunction with the Bear clan, they had particular charge of the feathers used in the "feather dance." In Tukabahchee every miko, tástánągi, and imała łáko was accompanied by a heniha who sat at his left, and when an official was sent on an errand a heniha had to accompany him. Since in

S. [344 621]

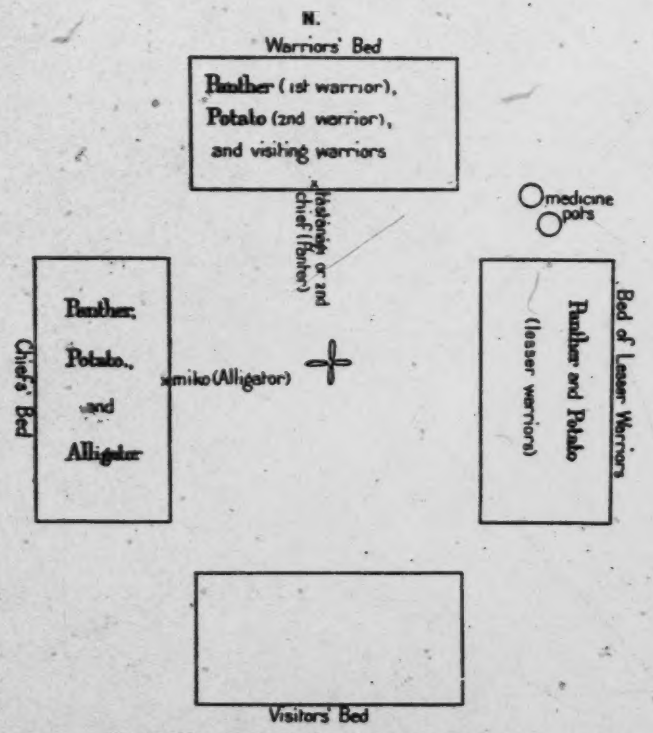

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (I)

this town the mikos and most of the tástánągis and imałas belonged to the Red clans while the busk was a peace ceremony the association of henihas with these may have been for the purpose of securing or marking the prevalence of peace. A similar custom probably prevailed in other towns, but it has generally fallen into disuse. Its vestigial character at Tuskegee is shown by the report on these officials made to Doctor Speck: "There were always two men of recognized ability in dancing, having also a knowledge of the rites,

[24] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69. In Chisha, at least, it was one of their functions to compose differences; see pp. 552, 553 in the paper following.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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who were known as *hiniha*, or *hiniha lákko*. Their occupation was chiefly to procure leaders for the various dances or to lead themselves, and to encourage the participants when they became fatigued." [25]

It is generally agreed that the henihálgi, along with the mikági, and the isti átca'gági, a class to be considered later, formed the council of the head miko. According to Jackson Lewis, these officials governed the entire town and laid down certain regulations which a

S. [344 621]

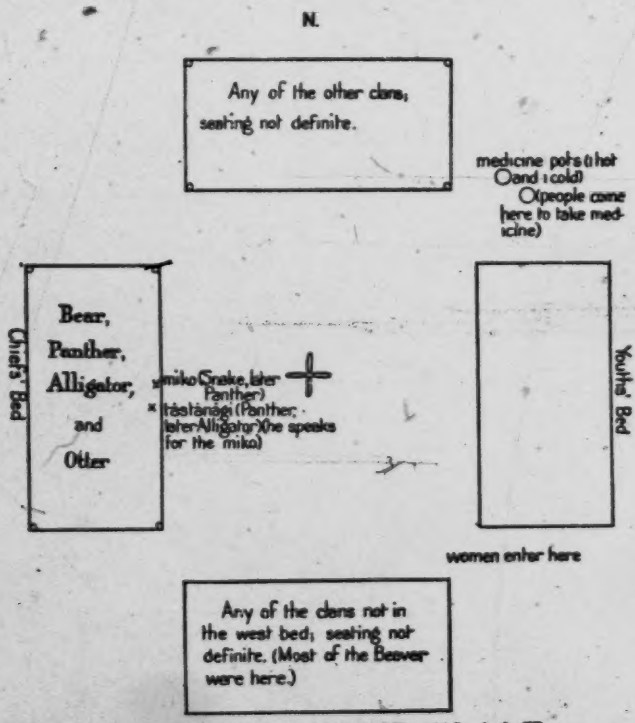

FIG. 100.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (II)

man from the Warriors' bed was called upon to announce. According to one or two men the miko's heniha was the one who made announcements, delivered the "long talks" at the busk grounds and called out the new titles which were conferred. This may have been the case in later times when the square grounds had begun to show signs of disorganization, but I think it was not true of the organization when it was intact. On the contrary, this function seems to have been performed by the chief's yatika or interpreter.

[25] Speak in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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The yatika was chosen by preference from the clan of the chief but could be taken from any, and he usually sat beside the chief during the ceremonial so that he could interpret his wishes to the assembly. Sometimes, or during a part of the ceremony, he sat by himself. At Liwahali he is said to have been seated in the middle of the south or Warriors' bed.

There was only one holibonaya or "war speaker" in a town at a time, and probably some towns were without any. He was not

S. [344 621]

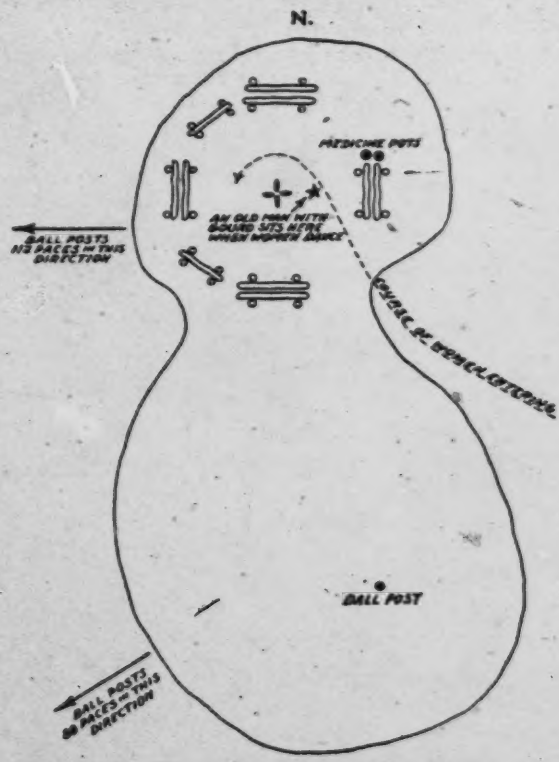

FIG. 101.—Mikasuki Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

necessarily a warrior and was taken by preference from the clan of the chief. Hoboi-hilyahola, however, the greatest war speaker the Creeks ever had, and one of their greatest men, belonged to the Potato clan at Tukabahchee. At Kasihta the seat of the war speaker was in the corner of the Warriors' bed nearest the bed of the chiefs. A common speaker was called Asimbonaya.

I am somewhat uncertain regarding the relations existing between the yatika and holibonaya, for it is said of each of them that he was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

"the best speaker in the town." The two offices may sometimes have been combined, but it is evident that they were usually distinct. 624

In Tukabahchee and all of those towns of which the ancient organization has been preserved, either in the memories of the Indians or in fact, there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the tàstânàgàlgi, the next in rank the imała łàkà'lgi, or "big imałas," and the third the imała làbotskàlgi or "little imałas." At Tukabahchee, and probably in the greater number of towns, the tàstânàgis sat at the western end of the north bed, but, as I have shown elsewhere, their position varied, and sometimes the tàstânàgis and imałas were seated in different beds. The Tukabahchee arrangement is given by Hawkins as that in Kasihta in his time. He does not indeed give the Indian names of the various grades of warriors but he states that there were three of them and that promotion was regular from lowest to highest. In most towns the tàstânàgis and imałas received their positions on account of warlike feats, not because of ancestry or clan connection. One of my informants said that a tàstânàgi was a man who "carried out the determinations of the town." The leader of the tàstânàgis was usually known as the tàstânàgi łàko, "big warrior," and Hawkins states that he was selected from among the tàstânàgis by the miko and isti àtcagàgi.[30] According to the same writer the highest title to which a warrior could aspire was that of "Great Leader" (Is-te-puc-cau-chau thlucco [isti pàkatca łàko]), which required "a long course of years and great and numerous successes in war." The head warrior of Tukabahchee was known as the Tàstânàgi simiabaiya.[30] He was privileged to call the whole town together. According to a Coweta informant, in his town the tàstânàgis were elected by the head men of the town from the Red clans, but, although it is probable that, on account of the theory regarding them, more warriors would arise from the Red than from the White clans, they were certainly not drawn exclusively from such clans. These officials all had to do with war and with the ball game which is called "the brother of the war." War, while decided upon in council, was announced by the Big Warrior. According to a Coweta informant ball games were arranged by the Big Warriors of the towns concerned, each taking such assistants as he desired, but in Kasihta there was a special official, the hałisi tàstânàgi, who attended to such matters. The Tàstânàgis were also the native police, the Big Warrior being "chief of police"; they carried out the decisions of the miko and the isti àtcagàgis, and they punished any one who

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FIG. 102.—Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green

[30] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

624 failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to
625 attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the henihas, the functions of the tástánágis became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one tástánági, who took the places of the old yatika and chief's heniha. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate mikos and the isti átcagági as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes."[32] They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

624 Milfort speaks of the "tastanégy" as if he were the head war chief
701 of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the tástánági láko of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity."[33]

624 Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he
701 was subjected when he was made tástánági is also worth reproducing.
796 As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary tástánági, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

[32] Speck, in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112. [33] Milfort, Voy., pp. 200-202.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

624 791 [493] 796

ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.[46]

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

[46] Evidently the dol.

1: Swanton, E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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entered, the six priests or medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all repaired there together. The old man who had placed me on the litter, came at once to help me descend, and placed me on a bison skin which had been prepared for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank the cassine or the tea-like drink, and for twenty-four hours they took nothing but the war medicine.

"I had not yet drunk this medicine although I had been made a little war chief and I had commanded in the place of the grand chief, because I had taken care to make for myself a particular medicine; for it is indispensable to have one in order to be assured of the confidence of the savages; but this time it was necessary to imitate the assembly, and drink the general medicine. I was not long in experiencing a strong feeling of sickness, which forced me to eject all of the medicine I had taken, and to imitate the assembly in that. This very disgusting ceremony lasted until sunrise next day. Then the entire assembly undressed, and we went, absolutely naked, into a circular cabin where the priests had gone to await us. Each of them had brought thither a brass kettle, in which they had had the war medicine boiled. Shortly afterward the subordinate chiefs brought stones which they had heated red hot in the fire in the center; and the priests, while singing, threw upon them the water which was contained in the two gourds of which I have already sopken which occasioned a dreadful heat and steam. The entire assembly was in a very profuse perspiration, and it was so great on all parts of my body that, although I was very healthy, I thought that it would be impossible to resist it. We remained in this condition about half an hour, and then part of the chiefs went out of the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all left and went immediately to throw ourselves into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without much fear that I decided to imitate the entire assembly in that; it appeared to me very dangerous in the perspiring condition in which I then was to throw myself at once into the cold water; but it was impossible for me to do otherwise, and I suffered nothing more than the fear (j'en fus quitte pour la peur). I think, however, that the purgation which I had undergone in drinking the war medicine, prevented the ill effects of such a bath. On going out of the water, where we remained only a short time, each one dressed himself, and we returned to the grand cabin, in which a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to enter the square in the grand cabin, to dance around the fire, which burned continually during the entire period of this ceremony, lasting three days, during which no member of the assembly was allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, or to sleep. I was so much the more under obligations to remain there with the assembly, as it was for me alone that the ceremony took place.

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"I was seated in a distinguished place, and I had priests on both sides; if I happened to get drowsy, one threw fresh water in my face, and the other rubbed it with little stones, which he had taken care to put into some water beside me for this purpose. 624 701 796

"The three days having elapsed I was conducted home in the same manner as had been observed in bringing me to the grand cabin. When we arrived there the oldest chief proclaimed my appointment, and informed me that I was now the first sentinel of the nation, at whose voice all of the young warriors were prepared to march; that the ordeals through which I had just passed, had for their object to make me understand that nothing must cause my zeal to relax, and that I must bear with equal courage cold, heat, and hunger, in order to defend the interests of the nation. When the old man had finished the assembly broke up, and each person returned to his home."[41]

The imalas were of course of less importance; in the progressive decline of Creek institutions few towns have retained them, and many people have forgotten there ever was such a class of officials. By one informant an imala was described as "a man whose advice was worth receiving anywhere." I was told that at Tukabahchee the big imalas were called into council by the Chiefs along with the tástánágis on rare occasions, but this was never done in the case of the little imalas. Nevertheless a question might be referred from the town council to the tástánágis to be considered by them and all of the imalas in a separate council: The imalas acted in general as assistants and messengers for the tástánágis, and performed the smaller services. 624

Below the imalas were the tásikayálgi. This word is now used in the general sense of "citizens" but it means "warriors" and originally designated the common warriors, those who had received busk names but as yet had done nothing to merit further promotion. Hawkins says of them: "The second class of warriors [he treats the tástánágis and imalas as one class] is the Tusse-ki-ul-gee. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co, or *war name*."[42] It would seem, therefore, that the name tásikayálgi applied to all those in the fourth bed and that tásikayálgi intupa might very well be a synonym for tcibánágálgi intupa, "youths' bed," the term usually given to it nowadays. As a matter of fact I find it used for that very bed by the Nuyaka Indians. 624 701

There is one other class of officials to be noted and this an important one, but a class which has fallen so much into abeyance 624

[41] Milbert, Voy., pp. 220-228. [42] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

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624 that it is now difficult to determine its exact status and functions. It is the class of isti àtcagàgi, "revered," "sacred" or "beloved men." We are assisted in forming some conception of them, fortunately, by Hawkins, who, in his account of the Kasihta square, calls the south bed the "is-te-chague-ul-gee in-too-pau, the cabin of the beloved men," and he describes these men from whom it was named thus:

"There are great men who have been war leaders, and who although of various ranks, have become estimable in a long course of public service. They sit themselves on the right division of the cabin of the Mic-co, and are his counsellors. The family of the Mic-co, and great men who have thus distinguished themselves, occupy this cabin of the beloved men."[42]

I was told that these men are the "foundation" of the busk, by which I understand it is meant that they furnish the brains that keeps the busk alive and in proper order. In fact some old Hilibi Indians referred to them as "the brains of the busk." They are exempt from taking any part in the duties, dances, etc., connected with the busk except the taking of the medicines. The same Indians stated that they held meetings in advance and planned the preparation of the beds, the camps, and every part of the program. There were only a few in each town. In Tukabahchee there were four in the north bed, four in the south bed, and four in the east bed, and each of these had a leader. The four in the south bed were called isti àtcagàgi sûlga, and they belonged to the Raccoon clan, that of the miko. The others were taken from different clans. Jackson Lewis stated that the isti àtcagàgi were of the same clan as the miko, or of related clans, but this statement could have applied only to the isti àtcagàgi sûlga. In Tukabahchee the name of each was a title borne in succession by each person elected to fill the position after the death of the previous incumbent. Kealedji was organized much like Tukabahchee, but the isti àtcagàgi sûlga sat at the south end of the Chiefs' bed instead of in the south bed. At Łaplàko there were a few isti àtcagàgi in the west or Chiefs' bed. At Łàlogàlga there was until lately one isti àtcagàgi, a Panther, I believe. At Talladega there were about three in each of the three beds of the town. In the square of the Western Abihka town there were four isti àtcagàgi in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the bed belonging to the Wind clan; also some in the west bed. In this town it was the isti àtcagàgi who arranged ball games. My informant regarding the Kan-tcati ground said that there were none of these officials there in his time. In Otciapofa there were four isti àtcagàgi to each of the three beds. At Okfuskee there were two isti àtcagàgi in the east bed and one in each of the others.

[42] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 70-71.

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At Upper Eufaula there was one of these men in each of the three beds, the one in the north belonging to the Bear clan, that in the east to the Deer clan, and that in the south to the Aktayatci clan. These men gave new names to boys. In Wiogufki there were no isti àtcagàgi, and only one tàstànàgi, who performed the functions of those officials. When the last Hitchiti square ground was organized the tàstànàgis and imalas were used in place of the isti àtcagàgi. In Alabama their place was taken by the tàstànàgis alone. According to one of my informants, in Pakan tallahassee the Bird clan was used as isti àtcagàgi, and the Wind clan is said to have performed their functions in Okchai. At Łiwahali they appointed the tàstànàgis.

At Tuskegee they seem to have lost their official position. "A man who amassed property," says Speck; "or raised himself in public esteem by other means was called *isti adjàqa*, 'man beloved.' No civil office, however, was indicated by this title, but those bearing it occupied a certain place in the lodges about the square. In a general way 'beloved men' also means those who have observed all the dietary taboos of the ceremonies, and even, in its broadest sense, those who have undergone the purging and taken their part in the religious performances."[44]

Putting together the fact, apparent in most towns of which we have information, that the isti àtcagàgi were scattered about in the different beds with what Hawkins tells us and the small items of information that may still be gathered it is fairly plain who these "beloved men" were. They were evidently the elders or veterans of the town who had passed through the various degrees of advancement but were probably not fit for active field service against an enemy. Their experience was, however, of maximum value to the community, and hence they governed the busk and were custodians of information regarding this and regarding the lore of the tribe generally. Therefore they were at the same time counsellors to the chief and the more active officials. Although the henihàlgi are now generally regarded as the chief's counsellors there is evidence that anciently they occupied a position of less prominence in this regard than the isti àtcagàgi. It will be noticed that Hawkins gives their name to the bed usually called after the henihas, while he actually seats them in a position in the chiefs' bed which the henihas often occupied. It is true that in many towns tàstànàgis have assumed their places but this is a result of a still further collapse of the old social organization, isti àtcagàgi having given way first to henihàlgi and both later to tàstànàgàlgi. The "beloved men," it should be remembered, were neither devoted entirely to war nor entirely to peace, and therefore their functions could very well fall in part to the peace officials and in part to the war officials. It seems to have

[44] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 116.

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624 been this class which was pointed out to Milfort as the real rulers of the Creek nation when he inquired for their "king."[45]

624 Particular attention should be called to the differentiation of the
614 isti àtcagàgi belonging to the clan of the chiefs as isti àtcagàgi sûlga in Tukabahchee and elsewhere. This differentiation indicates the invasion of the clan and hereditary ideas into an institution mainly based on merit. I do not mean that it necessarily represents a later development, yet it was the side of the institution which became more pronounced in later times. Even an informant as old as Jackson Lewis, in describing the isti àtcagàgi—probably as recognized in Eufaula—says that the term was applied to the men of the same clan as that of the town chief or to men of related clans. He adds that they sat in the central part of the north bed and embraced those who would succeed to the chieftaincy. As we have seen, they were not solely of the royal clan, but it is probably true that those who happened to belong in this group often became chiefs. In Pakan tallahassee and Okchai the hereditary tendency has gone so far that the term is applied to members of the Bird and Wind clans, respectively. It is to be added that the same evolution has taken place with another merit group, the tàstànàgis. At old Abihka near Eufaula I was told that the Raccoon clan were the tàstànàgis, at Kan-tcati the tàstànàgis were of the Panther clan, and at Lutcapoga and Łikatcka of the Aktayatci. At Mikasuki part of the Panther clan is called the "first warriors," part of the Potato clan the "second warriors," and parts of both the "lesser warriors." Nothing could show the decline of the system better than the idea expressed by one of my informants that all of the occupants of a certain bed were at the same time tàstànàgis, tcilokis, and hènihas. In Tukabahchee, where the old system is still partially in force, it yet happens that most of the tàstànàgis belong to the Raccoon or royal clan, most of the big imalas to the Potato, and most of the little imalas to the Panther and Bear. It must be remembered, however, that the two first classes were accompanied at the busk by henihas of the Wind clan. We find, furthermore, that certain clans from the Red side are particularly associated with war and often sit in the same bed as the warriors from whom many of their members were chosen, and no doubt this is the real reason why they came in time to be confounded with them. As shown elsewhere, the clans principally associated with war and oftenest seated in the Warriors' bed were the Panther, Deer, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci.[45a] Regarding the Panther, I have evidence that there was a mental association of the characteristics of the animal with the occupation, and I was told in the case of the lesser imalas among the Tukabahchee that they were taken from the Panther and Bear because those two animals have a fierce

[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 288-289.

[45a] See p. 237.

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disposition—and this in spite of the almost universal classification of the Bear as a peace clan. Further evidence of degeneration is shown in some of the Seminole towns in Oklahoma where a singe tàstánàgi has usurped the functions of both the chief's heniha and the miko apokta. 624 614

At Tukabahchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns as well, the isti àtcagàgi, the tàstánàgis, and some of the other classes bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a share in its government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seen to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war. When it was in its prime it is probable that merit vastly overbalanced, the isti àtcagàgis, tàstánàgis, imalas, and tàsikayas having owed their positions mainly, at least, to individual accomplishments. Although the mikàgi and henihàlgi had to do with peace mainly, they had gone through with the war discipline and had been selected from among the warriors. While they must always belong to certain clans they were, beyond that restriction, elective, and, as these clans were usually numerous, a considerable choice could be exercised. While it is true that the legislative and executive power was vested in a small number of people these were persons who had, for the most part, worked their way up by their talents and bravery, and were really representative of the native ideals of what was highest and most worthy. A power of recall was also exercised in the case of the chief and it is probable that we should find that the same power existed in effect over the other offices. A separation of governmental functions had begun in some particulars, the henihas being a kind of Department of the Interior concerned with the pursuits of peace, and the various classes of warriors, particularly the tàstánàgis, a department concerned with war, and also constituting an internal police. 624 554

Speck is the only authority for the use of face paintings to mark differences in rank. He says: 554 302

"Facial painting was employed to indicate rank in the town. Persons bearing the title of *mĩko* or *hìniha* wore black paint on one side of the face and red on the other, coloring either the whole face or only the space around the eyes. The second pattern belonged to ordinary initiated men having the title *taskáya* and consisted of four stripes, from the cheek-bone to the angle of the jaw, alternating in red and yellow." [46]

[46] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

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554 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck
302 derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say:

"The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti àtcagàgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the à-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the àsi was the prerogative of the henihàlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the àsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at
614 different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the
623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

619 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy
631 the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets
642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 248.
[48] See p. 426.
[49] The game described on pp. 469-470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 303.

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came to be known to the white people as Upper and Lower Creeks. While the confederation appears to have originated with the Lower Creek towns Kasihta and Coweta, the Upper Creeks were more numerous and naturally demanded recognition. One of the largest and most powerful Upper Creek towns was Tukabahchee, which early entered upon terms of friendship with Coweta and soon came to be considered as the head war town of the Upper Creeks. To complete the mythic number four and to include a White town from among the Upper Creeks, Abihka was added to these,[83] and the four were regarded as the "foundation towns" of the confederacy, Coweta and Kasihta being, respectively, the head war and peace towns of the Lower Creeks and Tukabahchee and Abihka the head war and peace towns of the Upper Creeks. There is said to have been a great deal of social rivalry between them. Each of these four towns also had a ceremonial title. Coweta was called Coweta máhmá'yàgi, "tall or high Coweta;" Kasihta, Kasihta łáko, "Big Kasihta;" Tukabahchee, Tukabahchee spokogi; and Abihka, Abihka nàgi. The meaning of the Abihka title is unknown, but since Abihka was the frontier town against the Cherokee and Chickasaw, its people were also called "the door shutters." For, as Jackson Lewis explained, enemies encountered them first, and if they were conquered it was as if the enemy had opened the gates to enter the Creek country. Several different interpretations are given of the name Spokogi or Ispokogi. According to Jackson Lewis, it signified that Tukabahchee had an oversight of and care for the other towns much as a hen broods over her chickens. Another informant said that it meant "a great people," and a third "to hold everything strongly." It appears to have been given particularly to the beings who came to the Tukabahchee Indians from the world above (see p. 65). According to one story, the sacred copper and brass plates of the Tukabahchee were also sent down from above and given to the Shawnee who handed them over to the Ispokogi. This particular tradition perhaps furnishes a clue to the name, which may have been derived from that band of Shawnee known as Kispokoke. I shall show elsewhere that there is some reason to think the name Muskogee itself is of Shawnee origin, and there is as much reason to attribute this word to the same source. It may have been allowed to or conferred upon the Tukabahchee in ways common among Indians by the Kispokoke band of Shawnee and its origin afterwards forgotten.

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In the rating of the four capital towns Abihka is always last, but the position of the other three appears to have changed from time to time. To-day Upper Creeks will generally tell you that Tukabahchee

[83] The Indian agent Mitchell gave the name of the fourth town as "Oscoochee," but this can not be identified with any known Creek town. It may have been intended for Abihkutci. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 95.)

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619 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta.
631 Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoûita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqùi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another."[54]

619 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the
631 early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugu-
642 rated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the
648 Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably
177 disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing, I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1755, Ms.

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619 town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little
631 Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was
642 referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the
648 state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that
177 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

423 A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the
642 volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by
648 Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in conse-
539 quence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand, the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 573. [56] Ibid., p. 736.

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423 missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same
642 way, but not to sell the land."[57]

648 It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship
539 of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

649 But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native
631 traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would
642 receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

642 Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the
646 confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 562.

[58] French Ms. of 1735.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlococtcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Eikatoka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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cabin made expressly for the purpose; each one places himself there in accordance with his rank, and has a right to speak in his turn according to his age, his capacity, his wisdom, and the service which he has rendered to the fatherland. 642 646

"The Grand Chief of the tribe opens the session in a speech which recounts the history or the tradition of their country; he recalls the military exploits of his ancestors who have signalized themselves in the defense of the fatherland, exhorting his subjects to imitate their virtues, by bearing patiently human wants and miseries, above everything in not murmuring at all against the Great Spirit, who is master of the life of all the beings here below; and in sustaining adversities with courage; finally in sacrificing all for love of the fatherland and liberty; it being a thousand times more glorious to die like a true man than to live as a vile slave.

"The chief having stopped speaking, the oldest noble old man rises, salutes his sovereign, and makes a speech, his body bare to the belt; the water runs from all parts of his body, on account of the heat and the action which he puts into his declamation, with natural gestures and metaphors which express his thought; he persuades his hearers to believe all that he says by the force and eloquence of his speech. Nothing is more instructive than these assemblies; one hears no chatter there, no indecency, no misplaced plaudits, nor immoderate laughter. The young people are very circumspect there, and attentive to listen with respect to the words of the old men, persuaded that it is for their good."[60]

Other evidence contradicts the statement that there was any one capital of the nation, and we know that the council house was nothing more than the tcokofa of the town in which the assembly happened to take place. Nevertheless Coweta and Tukabahchee, particularly the former, seem to have been favorite meeting places, facts indicated by Milfort in several places. The following description by him has particular reference to an assembly in Coweta:

"The assemblies of the nation usually take place in the principal town. In the center of this town is outlined a perfect and very extensive square; in each angle of this square are constructed three cabins of different sizes, forming in all twelve cabins. This square has four openings by which its center may be reached, and all of the cabins are so close together that from one of them one can see into all of the others. Each of them may hold from forty to sixty persons. 642 342 646

"That of the grand chief of the nation faces the rising sun, to indicate that he ought always to watch over the interests of the nation. At one side of this cabin, and in the same angle, is that called the grand cabin, where the general assemblies of the nation are held.

[60] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 70-72.

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642 342 646 "In the angle opposite are three other cabins; these belong to the old men, and face the setting sun, to indicate that they are on the decline, and that they must no longer march to battle. In the two other angles are the cabins of the different chiefs of the nation; they are larger or smaller according to the services they have rendered.

"All these cabins are painted red with the exception of the three facing the setting sun, which are always white, symbol of virtue and age.

"The cabins painted red are, in time of war, ornamented with many pieces of wood by way of decoration, which support a kind of chain made of wooden rings. This is a sign of sadness, informing the warriors that the motherland has need of them, and that they must be prepared to march at the first signal. In time of peace these links are replaced with garlands of ivy leaves.

"The three cabins of the old men are at all times ornamented with these garlands, mingled with flowers."

He adds that the square was very large, and then proceeds as follows:

642 646 "I have already said that the chiefs of the nation must assemble every year in the month of May, and consider everything of importance to the nation, both internally and externally. When they are all at the rendezvous, called the grand cabin, of which I have just spoken, the assembly is called to order; and, when it is called to order (*formée*), none of those who compose it can go out from its compass until all of the business of the nation is concluded. The president alone may absent himself for some minutes; but he is obliged, like all of the others, to pass his days and nights in the assembly, and to be present at all of the deliberations.

"During the period of the assembly no one is allowed to approach the grand cabin nearer than twenty paces. Only the chiefs of the warriors are admitted there; the subordinate chiefs who are present are intended to serve the others, but they have no voice in the deliberations. The women are charged with the duty of preparing the necessary food and drink for the assembly; the subordinate chiefs go to fetch the provisions and place them in their turn in the grand cabin for the members of the assembly.

"In the center of the square formed by the cabin, a fire is lighted which burns continually. At sunset the young people of both sexes assemble, and come to dance around this fire until an appointed hour; during this time the assembly separates, and each member repairs, if he desires, to the cabin appropriate to the rank which he has received; or he remains in the grand cabin, and there enjoys the dance and the amusements of the young people; but without being allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, so long as the business is not entirely concluded. When the dances, which must

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last for a limited time only, are terminated, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, each of the members rests in the cabin which belongs to his class; but as soon as the sun appears above the horizon, a drum calls all of the chiefs to the assembly, which remains in session until sunset.[61]

In another place he makes certain amplifications regarding the time when such conventions took place. He says:

"These assemblies, which I have attended for twenty years, are held usually at the end of April or the beginning of May, as I have already said. To them are carried complaints and demands of all kinds, where the interests of the entire nation and its allies are discussed and regulated. They are held sometimes in the month of September, before they separate to go hunting, but then they are not general, few interesting things happen, and strangers are rarely present." [62]

Milfort is almost the only writer who gives a hint regarding the manner in which the chiefs and officials of the various towns were seated. It is probable that their individual merit often outweighed the numerical importance of the town.

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Speaking in these assemblies was a high art and was, next to success in war, the major means of social advancement. Religious sentiment was attached to it, and before a public speech the Creek speaker used to spit four times with deliberation and repeat a formula. The oratorical language was full of metaphorical allusions, and irony and satire were resorted to rather than denunciation. Says Adair:

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"I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches—and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomohawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing; and, lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, 'Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.' They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoòp, and struck up the solemn, awful song, *Yó*, etc." [63]

And in another place:

"Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver

[61] Milfort, Mém., pp. 328-329.
[62] Ibid., pp. 284-285.
[63] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 64.

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537 a very pathetic, elaborate, allegorical, tragic oration, in the high praise, and for the great loss, of their great, judicious war-chieftain, *Shu-las-hum-másh-tĭ-be*, our daring, brave friend, *red shoes*. The orator compared him to the sun, that enlightens and enlivens the whole system of created beings: and having carried the metaphor to a considerable length, he expiated on the variety of evils, that necessarily result from the disappearance and absence of the sun; and, with a great deal of judgment, and propriety of expression, he concluded his oration with the same trope, with which he began."[64]

642 Stiggins tells us that the confederate council was in reality without power. He says:

"The form of Government under which they live is a tyrannical oligarchy in its principles and practiced under that head to the full extent. At a slight view the most of people suppose and say that it is a democracy on republican principles but it is far different, for all public business whether of a national or private character is done by the chiefs. Though the nation is summoned in what is termed their grand council, when the state of the nation is supposed to be examined into, and their oral laws made, the assembly say not a word in the matter. For while in their sittings the assembled body of the nation sit as mutes, without being consulted in any manner until a few chiefs in their council house make the laws for their government without condescending to ask an opinion or approbation in any case, the national body being merely convened to hear what is done, for after a law is digested by the chiefs the national convention is informed of its tendency by the orator of the nation in a very exact and precise manner, who moreover informs them of all that has been transacted, which new law when they are made acquainted with its tendency, let it be as it may, they are the most obedient subjects under the sun to the penalties of it, be it oppressive or not. Should they infringe the law they will suffer beating, confiscation of their property or even death without a murmur or family resentment. Moreover, should an Indian be obstreperous in contending for his right of property or otherwise or obtrude on the right or even interests of a chief, the chiefs can so far tyrannize after a consultation as to have him beaten or slain, as a common disturber of the peace, without any other imputation of guilt than a law breaker as they term it.

642 648 177 "In former days in the time of their self importance and undisturbed government, before an agent was located in the nation by the U. S. to improve their morals and reform their customs, their ordained chiefs were more rude, active, and despotic and more frequent in their mandates of tyranny, and not near so uniform and circumspect in their deportment as now toward the common men. In later years the principal chiefs or great men of the nation have been

[64] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 11.

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increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."[65]

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In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikâgi Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[66]

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Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."[67]

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says:

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"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

[65] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 13-15.
[66] Ibid., p. 15.
[67] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575.

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642 Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal
631 chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh
643 takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

642 "After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may
631 be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King
622 and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of $150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

642 "The general council for business is composed of the two principal
646 chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them." [68]

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

[68] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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chiefs, and their legislature or council of about forty minor chiefs or captains, who are also, *ex officio*, justices of the peace." [69]

The economic causes operating to increase the number of chiefs, to which reference was made above, are indicated in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of September 15, 1851, by Philip H. Raiford, agent of the Creek Indians. He says:

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"The rude and irresponsible form of government by chiefs still prevails among them. The chiefs all receive salaries in proportion to their grade and rank, or, in other words, a larger share of the common fund of the tribe than the great mass of the Indians. The result of this system has been a great increase in the number of chiefs, until they now amount to about eight hundred, or one to every twenty-five souls; and, as the moneys due from the Government to the tribe are now paid to the chiefs, and they have it in their power to fix their own salaries, a large portion of the funds of the nation is divided out among themselves, and but little left for the great mass. Great wrong and injustice are thus done to the common Indians; and, as they are beginning to perceive and become dissatisfied with the system, and the evil continues to increase by the increase of chiefs, the result before long will inevitably be serious—internal dissentions and difficulties, if not strife and bloodshed, between the chiefs and their partisans on the one hand, and the common Indians on the other, unless the Government interposes some remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs." [70]

The word "chief" as employed by Mr. Raiford evidently does not refer merely to the class of mikâgi. Apparently it included the principal mikos, the isti âtcagâgi, and the leading henihas and tâstânâgis. We are not to suppose that the great increase in the number of chiefs of which this agent speaks was due to a desire on the part of the chiefs to share their privileges; it was rather for the purpose of securing those privileges by taking into partnership all who might have been powerful enough to endanger them. Another Indian agent, James Logan, writing some years before, in 1845, speaks of the abuse as follows:

"The annuity, amounting to [$]34,500, is paid to the principal chiefs of both [Upper and Lower Creeks], and equally divided between them, and by them distributed. . .[71] The chiefs appropriate the whole of this large amount to the pay of themselves and their subordinates. This mode of distributing it is much complained of by the intelligent portion of the community, who are now far from being inconsiderable, and the right thus arrogated by the chiefs of doing what they please with the annuity much questioned. But they are vested with so much power, and have inspired so much awe and fear

[69] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.
[70] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851, p. 122.
[71] The writer refers here to an unpublished document for confirmation.

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in the minds of the people generally, that they are restrained from making a public expression upon the subject. Indeed, I question very much whether there could be found many who would, before them, say that they objected to their acts in any particular. This I have sought for in regard to the annuity, and have failed to accomplish, owing to the preponderance of the chiefs and law makers, etc., and to the cause above stated."[72]

The abuse became so great that payments were finally made directly to the heads of families and the old privileges of the chiefs abolished. They suffered the same fate that betook the ringleaders in a certain conspiracy formed not long ago by some of the members and employees of a large corporation. In order to keep what was going on quiet, it was necessary to let more and more into the ring, which finally became so large that the secret leaked. The oligarchic character of the Creek federal government as revealed by Stiggins and these Indian agents clashes rather oddly with what Adair says of its democratic character, but evidently the government of the confederacy was farther removed from the masses of the people than the government of the towns, and with the disappearance of war positions came to be held less on account of merit and more because of family connection and personal "pull." In the erection of a federal government over and above the former tribal governments the mass of the people had not succeeded in holding firmly to the reins of power; still such great abuses would probably not have arisen had it not been for the decline of the merit element in promotions and the cupidity excited by United States Government annuities.

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The most complete account of the general council as it existed after the removal to Oklahoma was furnished Schoolcraft by Mr. D. W. Eakins, whom Schoolcraft describes as "for some time a resident of the Territory now occupied by them west of the State of Arkansas." These facts were "communicated in reply to printed inquiries issued in 1847, respecting the History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

The answers covering this subject may very well be run together.

"The general council of the Creek Indians consists of a representation from the whole tribe, as divided into towns. This council, composed of the chiefs, is vested with *plenary* power, to act for the whole tribe. Their *verbal summons* or decisions, have all the force of a written document; these decisions are announced in general council; and also recorded by the clerk. Their authority, (as among the principal chiefs,) is often assumed. Their authority is delegated to them, (in many cases,) by virtue of their standing and influence. They are at all times open to popular opinion, and are the mere

[72] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 514-517.

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exponents of it. The power of the chiefs in council is unlimited. Their decisions are absolute.

"The principal chiefs are chosen by the general council; and now, are not chosen so much for their renowned deeds, as their civil and popular qualifications. Their term of office continues during good behavior. The disapproval of the body of the people is an effective bar to the exercise of their powers and functions.

"The chiefs, in public council, speak the opinions and sentiments of the warriors. They consult the priests, old men, and young men composing the tribe, in local matters. Sometimes they are subject to be influenced by extraneous opinions. In many cases they pursue the interests of the people with shrewdness and intensity. In their councils, their decisions are generally determined by the opinions of the leading chiefs; their *dictum* generally influences the mass. The right to sit in council, is, nominally, equivalent to giving a *vote*. The *ayes* and *noes*, if counted, would be by the clerk. Casting the vote, however, has not been introduced among the Creeks. The opinions of the leading chiefs generally regulate the decisions of the council. Powers are sometimes exercised by the chiefs, in advance of public opinion; but anything gross or outrageous would be indignantly repelled.

"The public or general councils are opened with a good deal of ceremony. The principal chiefs first enter and take their seats. The next in order then enter, and addressing themselves to the whole body, ask: 'Are you all present, my friends?' They then take their seats. The principal chief, rising from his seat, presents to the second chief, his tobacco; and this interchange takes place throughout the whole assembly. These interchanges having been gone through with, they next speak about their domestic affairs. Then local matters; after which they proceed to business. Their business is conducted irregularly, daily, and generally, by the position of the sun. The principal chief adjourns the council to the appointed time next day. Before the close of their deliberations, the two bodies agree upon a day of adjournment. At the appointed time for adjournment, the two bodies come together. The second chiefs, rising first, address themselves to the first chiefs, telling them 'they are going to leave them.' They then seat themselves, the whole council following in regular order, according to their grade. The principal chiefs, then rising, say, 'We return home.' There is still some respect paid to ancient ceremonies. Regard is paid to the weather in their deliberations. They have two national clerks and one United States, and one national interpreter. All questions are considered with more or less deliberation. Decisions are sometimes made upon the principle of majorities, and sometimes forced by the opinions of the leading chiefs. There are no cases that require absolute unanimity. There may be cases in which the voice of a leading chief might be taken as the will of the tribe.

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"Decisions made by the chiefs in council are carried into effect implicitly. In cases of capital punishment, the executioner is selected from a body of men called 'the Light Horse.' He uses neither tomahawk, club, nor arrow. The gun is generally selected as the instrument of execution. If the culprit has no choice of place for execution, the executioner may appoint the place, which is generally selected with reference to a convenience for burial. In case of the restoration of property, a messenger is sent to the parties. There is, however, no regularity on this subject.

"In case of a vacancy by death or otherwise, the office is filled by the selection of the General Council. Sometimes the vacancy is filled by the town to which the chief belonged, and then brought before the General Council for sanction. In case of a vacancy among the leading chiefs, the vacancy is filled by the General Council. The chiefs may be deposed from office for gross outrage." [73]

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Logan, the agent quoted above, furnishes the following additional information about the Creek government of his time:

"Each party [i. e., both the Upper and Lower Creeks] has its own head chief, etc. Roly McIntosh, the chief of the Lower Towns, is also vested with the dignity of head chief of the nation, and he presides as such in the general council of the nation, which generally convenes once a year, but at no particular period. Its deliberations are confined to subjects exclusively national, and which affect both parties in common. Those subjects having reference to their own party concerns meet the action of their own councils, which are held separate and distinct, and in which neither interferes with the other. They are conducted precisely similar, and are composed of the chiefs and law-makers of the different towns (or more properly clans) adhering to each party. These chiefs are generally selected from the older citizens. In point of intelligence, they cannot compare with private individuals, who generally do not desire such dignities. Generally speaking they are extremely ignorant, are noted for their superstitious bigotry, for their old customs and ceremonies, and most bitter prejudices against all measures calculated to reform the condition or enlighten the minds of their people. There are, however, a few honorable exceptions, but they are far in the minority, and their councils have but little weight. They are opposed to [the Christian] religion and education, more particularly the former, conceiving very justly that it has a tendency to lessen their authority, and to abolish their old rites and ceremonies, of which they are particularly tenacious. They have gone so far this year as to exact a fine of from two dollars to three and a half dollars a head upon all non-attendants at their 'busks,' green corn dances, etc., or who do not drink the physic, a most nauseous compound of poisonous weeds. Their authority is often exerted arbitrarily, and their laws are unjust and unnecessarily severe. It is a standing law of the nation, 'if any

[73] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 5, pp. 275-277.

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person preach or hold religious meetings, whether white or red, he shall for the first offence receive fifty lashes on his bare back, and for the second offence one hundred lashes.' To maintain their authority, they support, out of the annuity, an immense number of subordinates, known as law-makers, light horse, etc. The people stand in much awe of them, and blindly pay them the obedience they exact; they have no voice in their appointment nor in their acts: when a vacancy occurs, the place is filled not by an election, but by the nomination made by some noted chief." [74] 646 622 177

Logan is decidedly too severe in his criticisms of the conservative party who were in the nature of things bound to be opposed to the spirit of innovation of which he was a part. While the nature and amount of the fines exacted from those who absented themselves from the busk were no doubt determined at the council of which he speaks, the principle was by no means new.

The practical effect of the Confederate government on the bulk of the people was probably about as indicated in the following lines intended to apply to southern confederacies generally: 642

"Every town is independent of another. Their own friendly compact continues the union. An obstinate war leader will sometimes commit acts of hostility, or make peace for his own town, contrary to the good liking of the rest of the nation. But a few individuals are very cautious of commencing war on small occasions, without the general consent of the head men: for should it prove unsuccessful, the greater part would be apt to punish them as enemies, because they abused their power, which they had only to do good to the society.[75]

Councils in which all of the towns, or as many of them as chose to do so, took part were certainly held at a period as early as an organization existed that could be called a Creek confederacy, but they seem to have been at irregular intervals and at no determined place. And as we have seen, the Lower Creeks and the Upper Creeks each had an independent council. It is likely that, if we could examine some of these old councils we should find a certain regular method of seating the different chiefs, and a certain procedure, but only the above scraps of information regarding them have come down to us. In Adair's time we learn that the French at Fort Toulouse in the forks of the Alabama River endeavored to foment civil war among the Muskogee especially through the hold they had on the small tribes other than Muskogee about their fort, but the Creek chiefs in council compelled them to desist.[76] In the Georgia colonial documents we read of a number of councils. One of these was represented by nine towns, of which two belonged to the Lower Creeks and seven to the Upper Creeks. Another was attended by 21 towns, of which 6 were Lower towns and the balance Upper. At a council of Lower 642 646

[74] James Logan in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 315-316.
[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 428.
[76] Ibid., pp. 320-330.

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642 646 Creeks 4 towns were represented. A conference at Savannah was attended by 16 Upper Creek towns. At Oglethorpe's first council with the Creeks 9 Lower Creek towns were represented and no Upper Creek towns. Another council was attended by 12 Upper Creek towns, and still another by 8 from the same section. There are two other notices of meetings held by the Upper Creeks alone and one held by the Lower Creeks. This brings out clearly the separation existing between the Upper and the Lower Creeks. We also find a note to the effect that the towns of Coweta, Hitchiti, Osochi, "Nipky," Chiaha, Kasihta, and Tuskegee had declared Coweta miko their chief, a statement which certainly shows the primacy of Coweta among the Lower Creeks. The Tuskegee, or part of them, were probably with the Lower Creeks at that time.[77] Two of these councils of which we have a record were held in Tulsa, one in Okchai, one in Apalachicola, and one in Chiaha. Whether accidentally or otherwise it thus happens that all but the last were in White towns.

642 631 622 A Spanish document dating from 1793 or 1794 contains a list of chiefs, with the town to which each belonged, whom it was thought advisable to invite to a general conference at Pensacola. This list, which is as follows, gives an idea of the towns thought worthy of representation on such an occasion and in some degree the relative importance in which those invited were held:

Kellessechuppo, or Beard	of the Broken Arrow.
Cowabbe, or Little Prince	of the Broken Arrow.
Hycat, or Cussitaw King	of the Cussitaws.
Bird Tail King	of the Cussitaws.
Hollowing King	of the Cowitaws.
Young Lieutenant	of the Cowitaws.
Philatouchy	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
Cochmans Brother	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
George Cousins	of the Eauphallies.
John Kennard and his Uncle	of the Hitchetes.
Mad Dog	of the Tuckabatches.
Beaux Banter	of the Tuckabatches.
Half Breed	of the Ockfuskies.
McKay's Friend	of the Abacouchies.
Tallessey King	[of Tulsa?]
White King	of the Hicklawallies [Holiwahali].
Dog Warrior	of the Upper Towns.
Wockucoy King	[of Wakokai?].
Wiokee King	[of Wiwohka?].
Mawmouth	of the Keyalegies.
One head man	from James Leslie's Town [Natchez?].
Bryen Molton or One head man	from the Tuskeegy.
McPherson	Little Tallesseys.
Upoimico	Little Tallesseys.
Red Shoes	[of the Alabama and Koasati?].
One head man	from the Fussachees.
One ditto	from the Coolamy.
One ditto	from the White Ground.
One ditto	from the Ottossay.[78]

[77] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 210-211.

[78] Copy of Ms. in the Ayer Library, Newberry Library, Chicago.

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Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [79]

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It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łátogálga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

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It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

[79] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

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others, such as the Utina, Potano, and Apalachee of Florida, and the Chiaha, Tali, Mobile, and many more farther north. It is even uncertain whether at that date any sort of confederacy existed. As time went on, however, the Florida tribes were destroyed or scattered, and the same fate overtook the Yamasee, the Indians of the Georgia coast, and the smaller tribes in the neighborhood of South Carolina. This served to increase the power of the Creeks proper, both by weakening that of their neighbors and by causing many fugitive tribes to unite with them and add to their fighting force. Leaving out of consideration the Hitchiti, Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, who were incorporated almost before the dawn of clear history, we have very exact information of the incorporation of the Yuchi, which had formerly been an independent and hostile tribe, of part of the Shawnee, and of the remnant of the Natchez. This system of adoption resulted in the strengthening of the confederacy about in proportion to the weakening of its neighbors, until finally but one tribe remained, the Choctaw, able to contend with it on anything like equal terms. This latter, it is to be noted, owed its strength not so much to incorporation of fugitive elements as to a location where it was for a long time protected against European encroachment, intensive cultivation of the soil, and an unwarlike disposition—all contributing to a steadily mounting population. The Choctaw government was very feebly centralized for the same reason until very late times when it was much strengthened as a result of constant attacks on the part of Chickasaw and Creek enemies. The Creeks, on the other hand, had adopted their federal union very early, probably in part as the result of pressure from without, and as this pressure was increased by the approach of white settlements the sense of danger tended to accelerate the centralization. It thus happened that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century conditions were ripe for the evolution of a still more closely knit state, and merely awaited the advent of the man who could bring it about. And such a man appeared.

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A critical life of Alexander McGillivray would be a distinct contribution to southern history, but it is not germane to our purpose. Doubtless much that has been written regarding him is inaccurate and I do not vouch for all the facts given in the following account by Swan, but of the revolution he accomplished in Creek government there can be no doubt. Swan says that his title was Steutsa'cco-Cho'ota' which is evidently a very bad attempt at isti àtcagàgi làko, "great honored or beloved man."[80] He goes on:

"The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks,

[80] His Indian name, however, is given by Pope as "Hippo ilk Meco, or the good Child King." In correct Creek this would be Hobol-hili miko, but there is reason to think that McGillivray did not belong to a clan which would entitle him to be called miko.

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where he was born, by the advice of his father immediately set about placing himself at the head of the nation. His kindred and family connexion in the country, and his evident abilities, soon gave him such influence among them that the British made him their commissary, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, under Colonel Brown, then superintendent.

"After the English had abandoned the nation, in 1782, this beloved man found it necessary, in order to carry on the war with success against the Georgians, to undertake a reform in the policy of the nation, which had for a long time been divided by faction.

"He effected a total revolution in one of their most ancient customs, by placing the warriors in all cases over the micos or kings, who, though not active as warriors, were always considered as important counsellors. The micos resisted this measure for some time; and the struggle became at last so serious, that the beloved chief had one Sullivan and two others, partizans of the micos, put to death in the public squares. They were all three white men who had undertaken to lead the faction against him; but he finally crushed the insurgents, and effected his purposes.

"The spirit of opposition still remained against him in the old Tallassie king, Opilth Mico, who, with his clan, pronounced M'Gillivray a boy and an usurper, taking steps that must be derogatory to his family and consequence. And under these circumstances he undertook to treat separately with the Georgians. The consequences were, his houses were burnt in his absence, and his corn and cattle destroyed. Notwithstanding, he remained refractory for a long time, as well as some of the most important of the lower towns, until, finding the Georgians aimed at them indiscriminately, and a Mr. Alexander had killed twelve of their real friends (the Cussutahs), they dropped their internal disputes, and united all their efforts, under the great chief, against the frontiers."[81]

Swan adds some interesting particulars regarding the means resorted to by McGillivray to secure his authority. He kept the several towns in obedience by threatening to remove the white traders from among them. He encouraged the presentation of complaints by all parties but put off judgment so long that the parties usually settled the matter between themselves, thereby relieving him of the necessity of delivering a verdict unfavorable to one of them and attracting personal enmity in consequence. Another device, as old as tyranny, was to collect about himself a body of retainers. Swan says:

"Some young men of his relations, and several active warriors living about Little Tallassie, whom the chief keeps continually attached to him by frequent and profuse presents, serve him as a

[81] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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kind of watch, and often in the capacity of constables—pursue, take up, and punish, such characters as he may direct; and on some occasions have acted as executioners.

"It is a maxim of his policy to give protection to outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country, who have fled in great numbers from the hands of justice, and found an asylum in the Creek nation. The whites living among the Indians (with very few exceptions), are the most abandoned wretches that can be found, perhaps, on this side of Botany Bay; there is scarcely a crime but some of them has been guilty of. Most of the traders and all their hirelings and pack-horse-men, are of the above description."[82]

McGillivray's father, Lachlan McGillivray, was a Scotchman loyal to the crown, and from him and his sojourn among the whites Alexander had gained sufficient astuteness to know how to deal with the colonists, along with a prejudice against their cause. His government, it will be seen, resembled rather a Greek tyranny than the military democracy to which Swan likens it. It must be added, however, that McGillivray's power was due rather to his shrewdness and his understanding of the Indian mind than to the exercise of autocratic authority, though, as we have seen, he could use the iron glove on occasion. McGillivray belonged to the Wind clan,[83] and although this clan held an exalted position in the tribe, none of the officials of Otciapofa, his proper town and that which he made his capital, were Wind people. This explains in part his adoption of the term "great beloved man," one which could be held by a member of any clan. The government as I have described it also explains the appellation of "grand chief" which Milfort applies to McGillivray.[84] Milfort was probably one of those outsiders whom McGillivray gathered about him. That he was made a tástánągi is probable, but, as has been stated above, the name did not carry the significance which Milfort attaches to it of "head war chief" of the nation.

Milfort and Pope both confirm Swan's statement regarding the internal revolution effected by McGillivray, except that where the former says "nation" we must substitute "town," or "towns." His words are:

"The Tastanégy or grand war chief formerly had no part in the internal administration, his authority lasted only as long as the war: but now, he is the first civil as well as the first military chief of the nation."[85]

Says Pope:

"M'Gillivray who is perpetual dictator, in Time of War subdelegates a Number of Chieftains for the Direction of all military

[82] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.
[83] Milfort, Mém., p. 322; Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.
[84] Ibid., pp. 40-41 et seq.
[85] Milfort, op. cit., p. 257.

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Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings." [86]

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It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (tástánągi łáko) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,[87] both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

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A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thuluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

[86] Pope, Tour, p. 65.

[87] In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. II, p. 786) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.

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642 "2d. Ki-a-li-jee and Eu-fau-lau. For these two towns, they appointed E-maut-lau Hut-ke.

631 "3d. Hill-au-bee, Woc-co-coie and Pochusehatche. For these three towns they appointed Cussetuh Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Hill-au-
177 bee, and Thle-chum-me Tustunnigge ["Łidjámi Tástánągi], of Woc-cocoie.

"4th. Au-bee-coo-che, Nau-che, Coosau and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. For these four towns, they appointed Olohtau Haujo [Holahta hadjo].

"5th. Ho-ith-le-wau-le, Ecunhutke, Sauvanogee, Mook-lau-sau and Took-au-bat-che. For these five towns, they appointed O-poie E-maut-lau [Hobayi Imała], of Ho-ith-le-waule. . . .

"6th. Oc-fus-kee and its villages, Sooc-he-ah, New-yau-cau, Immook-fau, Took-au-bat-che Tal-lau-has-see, Took-to-cau-gee, Au-che-nau-ulgau, Oc-fus-coo-che, and E-pe-sau-gee. For this town and its villages, they appointed Hopoie Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Oc-fus-kee, and Tal-lo-wau-thlucco Tus-tun-nug-gee.

"7th. O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-kee-gee. For these two towns, they appointed Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie.

"8th. Tal-e-see, Aut-tos-see, Foose-hat-che and Coo-loo-me. For these four towns, they appointed Foose-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Tal-e-see, and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Foose-hat-che.

"9th. Hook-choie-oo-che, Coo-saú-dee, E-cun-cha-te, Too-wos-sau, Pau-woc-te, and At-tau-gee. For these towns and villages, they appointed Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc, of Hook-choie-oo-che." [88]

642 To what extent this plan of government was put in force seems uncertain, but the primacy of Coweta and Tukabahchee continued,
643 as is shown by numerous statements in the documents of the first half of the nineteenth century. We learn that in 1814 the "Little Prince" was head chief of the entire nation—though one writer refers to him as "the chief speaker." He belonged to Łikatcka, which, as we have seen, was a branch of Coweta. At the same time we are told that Tástánągi łáko, the "Big Warrior," a Tukabahchee, was "speaker for the Upper Creeks," Tástánągi hopai speaker for the Lower Creeks, and William McIntosh head chief of Coweta.[89] From what Hodgson says it is evident that in 1820 the Little Prince and the Big Warrior occupied the same positions, although they are both called "Chief Speakers of the Nation" as if their authority were coordinate. Hodgson adds, "The most popular and influential person, however, in the Nation, is Mackintosh, the Head Warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age; who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country." [90]

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[88] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

[89] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, pp. 571, 575.

[90] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267. In one place (Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571) McIntosh is called "Speaker of the Nation."

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In a later document four chiefs are mentioned as having made a reply to the United States Commissioners at Łikatcka, on December 11, 1824, "Little Prince, O. Porthle Yoholo (Speaker of the Upper Creeks), William McIntosh (Speaker of the Nation), and Hopoy Hadgo." [91] In a letter written seven days after this, by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, Little Prince is referred to as the head of the nation, while the Big Warrior is called head chief of the Upper towns and McIntosh head chief of the Lower towns and also Speaker of the Nation.[92] The somewhat perplexing statements are reconciled when we understand that Little Prince was head chief of the entire nation by virtue of the fact that he was head of the Coweta group of towns, although actually he was premier chief only of the branch town of Łikatcka. McIntosh was chief of Coweta itself and also held the position of speaker for Little Prince, having apparently succeeded a man named Tàstánàgi hobayi, and because Little Prince was head chief of the Lower Creeks and premier chief of the nation McIntosh is also called "Speaker of the Nation." A formal error is probably made by Campbell in referring to him as "head chief of the Lower towns," while the nomenclature employed by Hodgson is inexact owing to the temporary nature of his visit among the Creeks. That Hodgson does not mean by "chief speakers" those who made announcements is shown by his explanation immediately following: "The Chief Speakers are by no means necessarily the principal *orators*, but may employ a fluent Chief to convey their sentiments. Their office is to carry into effect the decisions of the Great Council of the Nation; a deliberative body, composed of chiefs from the different towns." [93] It seems plain, in short, that during this period the Little Prince of Łikatcka was head chief of the Lower Creeks and of the nation, while the Big Warrior was head chief of the Upper Creeks. McIntosh appears to have been chief of Coweta in 1814 and to have risen to the position of speaker of the nation by 1824—that is, speaker for the Little Prince. Hoboi-hili yahola had risen to the position of speaker of the Upper Creeks by 1824. It seems evident that by this time all of the Upper towns recognized a head chief and all of the Lower towns another and that the latter enjoyed a primacy over the former, and that each of these had an assistant called a "speaker" who was a man of influence. After the removal there was a principal and second chief over all the towns and a principal and second chief for each of the two divisions. [94]

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According to one of my informants the head chief of the Upper Creeks was elected by 30 men chosen from the towns of Tukabahchee, Kealedji, Atasi, and Hàtci tcàbà—i. e., from the Upper Creek towns

[91] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. ii, p. 571.
[92] Ibid., p. 573.
[93] Hodgson, Jour., p. 257.
[94] Eakins in Schoolcraft, vol. i, pp. 374-375.

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642 of the Tukabahchee group. This statement remains unsubstantiated. The same man also stated that the Lower Creeks had two chiefs, "one governing on each side of any stream," but this would seem to refer to the chiefs of the Kasihta and Coweta, the lands of which were separated by the Chattahoochee River.

Writing in 1839, when the removal to the west was not completed, Farnham says:

"The civil government of this tribe is less perfect than that of the Cherokees. There are two bands; the one under McIntosh, and the other under Little Doctor. That led by the former, brought with them from their old home written laws which they enforce as the laws of their band. That under the latter, made written laws after their arrival. Each party holds a general council. The members of each are hereditary chiefs, and a class of men called councillors. Each of these great bands is divided into lesser ones; which severally may hold courts, try civil and criminal causes, sentence, and execute, &c. Laws, however, are made by the general councils only; and it is becoming customary to entertain trials of cases before these bodies, and to detail some of their members for executioners. The legislative, judicial, and executive departments of their government are thus becoming strangely united in one." [94a]

Eakins says "every hundred persons has a right to elect a chief, who represents them in general council." [95]

642 From the time of their emigration until after the Civil War the
643 Lower and Upper Creeks remained aloof from each other. Roly McIntosh,[96] first chief of the former division in the west, was succeeded by Moty Kennard, and when the latter died his second chief, Yakinha miko, took his place. Tukabahchee miko, often spoken of as chief of the Upper Creeks, was in reality their principal medicine maker. His fields were cared for by the people of Tukabahchee and he was allowed a salary of $500 from the Creek treasury. In 1842–43 the Upper Creek chief was Tamali miko.[96a] When the Creek constitution was adopted Itco hadjo miko occupied the position.

642 As is well known the Creeks split into two factions on the outbreak
177 of the Civil War and became pretty thoroughly demoralized. After it was ended a great council was held near Okmulgee, a constitution was adopted and a new government set up, modeled to some extent on that of the United States. There were two deliberative and legislative bodies called the House of Kings and the House of Warriors chosen from the different districts and two head chiefs, a first and a second, elected every four years by the entire nation. He who received the highest number of votes was made first chief and he

[94a] Farnham's Travels, in Early Western Travels, vol. XXVIII, pp. 129–130.

[95] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 275.

[96] It appears from a writer in Schoolcraft (Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 267) that the second chief of the Lower Creeks under McIntosh was Benjamin Marshall.

[96a] See pp. 315–316; Stanley in Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 53, p. 12.

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who received the next highest second chief, no matter whether the two so chosen had run upon the same ticket or not.

The following first and second chiefs were elected after the adoption of this constitution:

HEAD CHIEF	SECOND CHIEF
Samuel Chicote of Sawokli (served three or four terms).	Itco hadjo miko.[97]
Lŏtca hadjo of Abihkutci (or Nuyaka) (served three months and was then impeached).	Ward Coachman, of Alabama.
Ward Coachman (filled out the rest of the term).	(Left vacant.)
Joseph M. Perryman, of Okmulgee (one term).	(Uncertain.)[98]
Legus Perryman of Okmulgee (two terms).	Hotálgi imala of Okchai.
Ispahihtca of Kasihta (one term).	Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee.
Pleasant Porter of Okmulgee (one complete term and part of a second term).	Moty Tiger of Tukabahcee.
Moty Tiger (completes term).	(Left vacant.)

Pleasant Porter was the last chief regularly elected. Moty Tiger was succeeded by the late G. W. Grayson, of Coweta, mentioned so often in this report, who was appointed by President Wilson. Mr. Grayson died in office and his son Washington Grayson was appointed his successor. When he resigned the position was conferred upon George Hill, of Tulsa Canadian.

The chiefs elected after the adoption of the constitution were not necessarily heads of the towns from which they came, and it is said of Tukabahchee miko, before that time, that he was transferred by special agreement from the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee to that of the Warriors because he could not be withheld from making addresses, and the delivering of addresses on the part of the town chief himself was contrary to custom. Itco hadjo miko was a tástánągi or an imała, Samuel Chicote was only a tásikaya, Hotálgi imała was a great war speaker (holibonaia) and also an imała, and Moty Tiger a tástánągi. Miko hátki, given by Cook as second chief under Chicote, was, however, chief of his town, Tulsa. It is worthy of note that the ablest leaders, after the adoption of the constitution, were from the non-Muskogee towns, Ward Coachman, of Alabama, Samuel Chicote, the Perrymans, and Pleasant Porter from the Hitchiti-speaking towns, and Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee. Mr. McCombs considers the last named, although he did not reach the position of head chief, the greatest Creek statesman of his time. He was named

[97] Mr. McCombs, my authority for the incumbent of this position, was in some doubt about his correctness and the second chief may have been Miko hátki of Tulsa, as given by Cook.

[98] Zachariah Cook thought that Roly McIntosh was second chief under J. M. Perryman and Legus Perryman second chief under Ispahihtca, but Mr. McCombs is probably right.

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642 177 for the first Roly McIntosh, who is said to have conferred the title upon him himself, in anticipation of his future greatness.

As stated already, when the Creek chief was installed an installation speech was made to him by a man of the Bird clan of Otciapofa, who instructed him regarding his duties and in general as to what was expected of him.

The duties of sheriffs or constables were discharged by eight, or about eight, light horsemen (tcilàko ohgă'ga), four for the Upper Creeks and four for the Lower Creeks.

[171] The government of the Seminole nation was similar to that of the Creek nation proper. They had only two light horsemen.

177 The following general view of the condition of the Creeks in the middle of the nineteenth century furnishes an interesting picture of them in their western home in the middle period of their decline, a decline soon afterwards accelerated vastly by the Civil War and now brought to completion by their allotment and the practical abolishment of their national government:

"The Lower Towns, from their closer proximity and greater intercourse with the whites, exhibit a much greater advance in civilization and manner than their brethren of the Upper Towns. The old custom of settling together compactly and cultivating the town fields has been altogether abandoned, and they are no longer visible in this portion of the nation; the people are settled promiscuously throughout the country; many of their farms and residences would do credit to the States. Ornaments, silver plates, ear-rings, beads, and paint, are grown into disuse, and seldom or never seen except at their festivals or ball plays. The dress of the whites is becoming common, with the exception of the hunting shirt, which is generally of gay printed calico, and may be conceived quite picturesque. It is tenaciously adhered to, and is common to all Indians. Hats, vests, pantaloons, and shoes may almost be said to be the common habilaments of the males, and dresses of the richest materials of silks and muslins, made, too, in accordance with the latest fashions, are often to be seen upon the persons of the female classes. Gold and silver watches, rich and costly articles of jewelry, viz: chains, rings, brooches, etc., etc., are also used by the rich.

"The English language, though not generally spoken, is understood by many; and a strong desire is manifested by the community at large to throw off all their old superstitious ways and customs, and to adopt the ways of the whites. On the other hand, however, it can be said that the number of the indigent and needy is much greater here in this part of the nation. The use of whiskey, too, is more general, and its effects more visible. As before stated, there is no town, nor even a village, to be met with, yet the people are every year summoned, to their great dissatisfaction, to assist in

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building or repairing the town council houses, etc.; in many instances, to leave their crops and go a distance of 20 or 30 miles;—this service is enforced, too, under a penalty of a pecuniary fine. The settlements of the Lower Towns extend from the Verdigris river, on it and between it and the Arkansas, on both banks, to the Red fork, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of fifty. They are separated from the settlements of the Upper Towns by an uninterrupted prairie, extending from the bottoms of the Arkansas, south, to those of the north fork of the Canadian, a distance of about forty miles; they [the Upper Towns] extend from there, westward, between and on the Deep fork, North fork, and Main Canadian, to Little river, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of about sixty. From their peculiar location, they have less intercourse with the whites, and consequently do not exhibit so much improvement. Their dress, too, is more after the aboriginal form; they are forbidden to adopt that of the whites under penalty of lashes; they are, however, generally speaking, more enterprising and industrious; they grow cotton, and practise the domestic arts of spinning and weaving to a greater extent than the others. Cases of extreme poverty are more rarely to be met with. The chiefs are more generous, and their policy more liberal than those of the Lower Towns. In addition to the two blacksmiths' shops, furnished them by treaty stipulations, they have a public shop, which is supported out of their portion of the annuity; they have also devoted a portion of it to the erection of a water mill, and the support of a millwright; they have also a wheelwright, but he is paid by the government; they have not so much wealth as the Lower Town chiefs, generally speaking—(the McIntosh family are supposed to be worth $150,000 and B. Marshall some $50,000) yet *they* contribute nothing towards anything of this kind—alleviating the distresses of the poor, or to affecting any improvement in their country; however, it is reported that Opothleyoholo is by far the richest man in the whole nation." [80]

Hitchcock informs us that the Creek laws were compiled, or rather digested, in 1826 before the emigration and that an abstract of the digest was approved by a general council in 1840. Mr. N. L. Alexander, the Creek through whom Hitchcock obtained access to these, did not think that the first written laws antedated about the year 1822, but Hitchcock himself remarks that the year "1817" was entered opposite the law punishing murder. He adds:

"Most of the laws—there are but few altogether—relate to the punishment of the most prominent crimes, known as such among all men, and the regulation of property rights. They scarcely touch upon the ancient customs and usages of the Nation which are for the most part left in full force. Infanticide was formerly not uncom-

[80] James Logan, in Indian Affairs Report, 1845, pp. 514-517.

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642 mon; it is prohibited by the written laws. An attempt was made in
671 1840 to abolish a custom giving to the relations of a husband on his death the power of keeping the widow secluded and forbidding her second marriage for a period of four years. They attempted to restrict the period to 12 months, but the people would not listen to it and the council yielded to the public voice and repealed the law in 1841." [1]

PROPERTY

421 So many old Creek customs, usages, and laws have become lost or obscured that it is difficult to reconstruct the primitive system with any certainty from what is remembered at the present day. With regard to property it is to be noted that two strong influences constantly operated to dilute the sense of individual ownership. These influences were the powerful kinship system and the abundance and accessibility of all of those things—or the raw materials of those things—necessary in aboriginal life. The value which we attach to things is dependent to a very considerable extent on the ease with which we can replace them.

[574] As was usual among primitive people, strangers were provided with food and a place to sleep gratis. This might be in the community hot house, or, after the clan of the visitor had been revealed, in the home of some man married into that clan. Regarding chattels we could wish the information from these Indians were more specific. Adair "observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them" but he immediately begins to speak of their hospitality in the matter of food and shelter which is quite a different matter.[2] Bartram says:

"Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.

"If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary
426 that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded
431 only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time . . ." [3]

If Bartram could have examined actual conditions more intimately he would probably have found that this exchange took place

[1] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.
[3] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 41.

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almost entirely between members of the same clan or members of linked clans or else between individuals connected by marriage. It is not to be supposed that we have here a case of real communism in chattels. Part of it was nothing more than borrowing, and another part a borrowing of a different kind in which equivalent values were exchanged instead of identical objects. From my own experience with Indians I think it is safe to assume that every family was pretty acutely conscious of its credit or debit as regards every other family, and that a persistent "sponge" was looked down upon and avoided. That there were such "sponges" we know from Stiggins, who says: 426 431

"If it (hospitality) is beneficial in keeping the traveler and stranger from hunger and starvation, it keeps a great many of their town people of men and women sauntering from door to door in loafing idleness; if no one will cloathe them, they are perfectly satisfied for every house will feed them."[4] 736 574

Adair gives an amusing account of the skill with which one Indian parried the appeal of another for a certain service.[5] The sense of individual ownership was by no means wanting; only for the reasons above given it did not always appear so keenly developed as with us. Social usage had sanctioned a method of exchange comparatively unknown to Europeans and had given a definite "set" to the instinct of private ownership, not abolished it. Indeed, elsewhere Bartram himself says: 421

"All that a man earns by his labor or industry belongs to himself; he has the use and disposal of it according to the custom and usages of the people. He may clear, settle, and plant as much land as he pleases, and wherever he will within the boundaries of his tribe."[6]

Debts, which probably had nothing to do with this social exchange, were also recognized. Adair remarks that "when they are able, without greater damage to themselves, than benefit to their creditor, they discharge their honest debts." And he adds that when differences arose over such matters they were settled by "the head Archimagus, and his old beloved men," and that a creditor could seize property of the debtor to the amount due him.[7] Both Creeks and Seminole formerly had a high reputation among the white people for punctuality in the payment of their debts.[8] In this particular civilization has not worked for their betterment. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century Eakins says of them: "Obligations, in regard to debt, are considered binding. Time does not diminish these obligations among the Creeks. The Indian does not consider ill-luck in hunting, as exonerating him from paying his debts."[9] 426

[4] Stiggins, Ms.
[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 304-305.
[6] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.
[7] Adair, op. cit., p. 432.
[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 278.
[9] Ibid., p. 282.

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423 621 The yard immediately about each house or group of houses of course went with it; the square ground, chunky yard, and hot house were the property of the community. Gardens, as Bartram has stated, could be cleared by anyone anywhere within the limits of the town land.[10] And Eakins expresses their attitude toward the private ownership of land by the quotation, "It is for me, for thee, and for all." He adds, however, that improvements were sometimes sold.[11] This applied to the Creeks in their western home about the middle of the nineteenth century.

361 Regarding the town lands Stiggins says:

423 "The inhabited parts of the nation are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga*."[12] The [224] inhabitants of each town claimed an exclusive right to hunt in the territory immediately about it, and according to Stiggins men of one town approached another "with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated."[13] At times an agreement was entered into by the members of a town to refrain from hunting in a certain territory for a definite period. A kind of taboo similar [784] to the device common among the Polynesians was laid upon it and it was called "ikána tcaka," "the sacred or consecrated land." At the expiration of the time fixed upon the people entered this tract and hunted there together. Bears were the chief animals which they expected to find.

241 The management of the large town fields is instructive. Bartram says of them:

"Every town or community assigns a piece of land as near as may be to the town, for the sake of convenience. This is called the *town plantation*, where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or the largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set up, or any other natural or artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one enclosure or general boundary."[14]

These fields were planted and cultivated by the town working together, all attending to the several plots in turn. They harvested at the same time, but then each family harvested from its own plot. A part of the produce of each lot was placed in a public granary under the charge of the chief.

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[10] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.
[11] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.
[12] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.
[13] Ibid., p. 19.
[14] Bartram, op. cit., p. 38.

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From what Adair tells us[14a] it would seem that the stones used in playing the chunkey game were town property. 422

The house, and probably the necessary household furniture, belonged to the wife, the tools made and used by the husband to him, and thus they were vested in different clan groups and some of them probably went to entirely different persons at the death of the owners. In early times such a large part of a man's personal property was buried with his corpse that not much was left for heirs to quarrel over. Bartram says that the first selection from whatever was left was made by the head wife of the deceased, the remainder being divided between his other wives and his children.[15] This may have been true in certain special cases but there is reason to doubt that it represented a custom common in earlier times. Says Eakins: [592] 428

"The descent of property is fixed. It is willed as the parents please. But if no will has been made, the property reverts to the children. But in case of a marriage with a widow, with children, her property reverts to her children by her first husband. The eldest son is entitled only to an equal portion with the rest. A written will is binding. A verbal will, established by two responsible persons, is valid also. If there has been no other disposition made of the medal, it goes to the eldest son. In former times, all relics were taken possession of by the deceased sister's eldest son. But now they are the subject of legacy as other property."[16]

This statement dates, of course, from a comparatively late period in the history of the Creek Indians, about the year 1850. The same authority states just above that anciently all property descended in the female line—indeed, he implies as much in the quotation just given—and there is every reason to believe that this is correct. It is confirmed by Gregg.[17]

As to the lands of the confederacy outside of these town areas we may probably rely upon the following statement, also by Bartram: 423 642

"Every individual inhabitant has an equal right to the soil and to hunt and range over this region, except within the jurisdiction of each town or village, which I believe seldom extends beyond its habitations and planting grounds. Perhaps the *Uches* are to be excepted. They claim an exclusive property, by right of a contract; but though they sometimes put the Creeks in mind of this privilege, when their hunters make too free with their hunting grounds, yet the dispute seldom goes further, as the Confederacy are cautious of offending the Uches, and yield to their common interest and safety."[18]

[14a] See p. 483.
[15] Bartram, Travels, p. 314.
[16] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 283.
[17] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 317.
[18] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 22.

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423 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their
642 ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to
[727] land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on
423 original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19]
It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as
621 it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

177 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from
648 Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

674 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey
732 the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 240; cf. also p. 269.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

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"deaf," but it has come to signify "drunken," "roguish," "wicked," "sinful," etc.

Institutional killing will be treated under its proper head. It was based on the principle of retaliation, or, as more popularly expressed, "getting even," and was considered necessary in order to placate the souls of the departed. I have already remarked that the victim was sometimes devoted to death in advance, and Bartram mentions a case in which he was selected by lot. The following quotation from Adair shows what happened when murder was committed within the tribe, as well as the Indian attitude toward man killing generally:

"The Indians transmit from father to son, the memory of the loss of their relation, or of one of their own tribe or family, though it were an old woman if she was either killed by the enemy, or by any of their own people. If indeed the murder be committed by a kinsman, the eldest can redeem: however, if the circumstances attending the facts be peculiar and shocking to nature, the murderer is condemned to die the death of a sinner, 'without anyone to mourn for him,' as in the case of suicide; contrary to their usage toward the rest of their dead.

"In the late Cheerake War, at the earnest persuasions of the trading people, several of the Muskohge warriors came down to the barrier-settlements of Georgia, to go against the Cheerake, and revenge English crying blood: but the main body of the nation sent a running embassy to the merchants there, requesting them immediately to forbear their unfriendly proceedings, otherwise, they should be forced by disagreeable necessity to revenge their relations' blood if it should chance to be spilt contrary to their ancient laws: . . . If an unruly horse belonging to a white man, should chance to be tied at a trading house and kill one of the Indians, either the owner of the house, or the person who tied the beast there, is responsible for it, by their lex talionis; . . . If the Indians have a dislike to a person, who by any casualty was the death of one of their people, he stands accountable, and will certainly suffer for it, unless he takes sanctuary.

"I knew an under trader, who being intrusted by his employer with a cargo of goods for the country of the Muskohge, was forced by the common law of good faith, to oppose some of those savages in the remote woods, to prevent their robbing the camp: the chieftain being much intoxicated with spirituous liquors, and becoming outrageous in proportion to the resistance he met with, the trader like a brave man, opposed lawless force by force: some time after, the lawless bacchanal was attacked with a pleurisy, of which he died. Then the heads of the family of the deceased convened the lesser judicatory, and condemned the trader to be shot to death for the supposed murder of their kinsman; which they easily effected, as he was off his guard, and knew nothing of their murdering design.

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628 His employer, however, had such a friendly intercourse with them, as
682 to gain timely notice of any thing that might affect his person or interest; but he was so far from assisting the unfortunate brave man, as the laws of humanity and common honour obliged him, that as a confederate, he not only concealed their bloody intentions, but went basely to the next town, while the savages painted themselves red and black, and gave them an opportunity of perpetrating the horrid murder. The poor victim could have easily escaped to the English settlements if forewarned, and got the affair accommodated by the mediation of the government. In acts of blood, if the supposed murderer escapes, his nearest kinsman either real or adopted, or if he has none there, his friend stands according to their rigorous law, answerable for the fact. . . . .

181 "There never was any set of people, who pursued the Mosaic law
628 of *retaliation* with such a fixt eagerness as these Americans. They are so determined in this point, that formerly a little boy shooting
682 birds in the high and thick corn-fields, unfortunately chanced slightly to wound another with his childish arrow; the young vindictive fox, was excited by custom to watch his ways with the utmost earnestness, till the wound was returned in as equal a manner as could be expected. Then, 'all was straight,' according to their phrase. Their hearts were at rest, by having executed that strong law of nature, and they sported together as before. This observation though small in itself, is great in its combined circumstances, as it is contrary to the usage of the old heathen world. They forgive all crimes at the annual atonement of sins, except murder, which is always punished with death. The Indians constantly upbraid us in their bacchanals, for inattention to this maxim of theirs; they say, that all nations of people who are not utterly sunk in cowardice, take revenge of blood before they can have rest, cost what it will. The Indian Americans are more eager to revenge blood, than any other people on the whole face of the earth. . . .

"I have known the Indians to go a thousand miles, for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods; over hills and mountains; through large cane swamps, full of grape-vines and briars; over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, if not with the rambling and lurking enemy, while at the same time they were exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitude of the seasons; to hunger and thirst, both by chance, and their religious scanty method of living when at war, to fatigue, and other difficulties. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly condemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer, or enemy, to satisfy the supposed craving ghosts of their deceased relations. Though they imagine the report of guns will send off the ghosts of

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their kindred that died at home, to their quiet place, yet they firmly believe, that the spirits of those who are killed by the enemy, without equal revenge of blood, find no rest, and at night haunt the houses of the tribe to which they belonged: but, when that kindred duty of retaliation is justly executed, they immediately get ease and power to fly away: This opinion, and their method of burying and mourning for the dead, of which we shall speak presently, occasion them to retaliate in so earnest and fierce a manner. . . . When any casual thing draws them into a war, it grows every year more spiteful till it advances to a bitter enmity, so as to excite them to an implacable hatred to one another's very national names. Then they must go abroad to spill the enemy's blood, and to revenge crying blood. We must also consider, it is by scalps they get all their war-titles, which distinguish them among the brave: and these they hold in as high esteem, as the most ambitious Roman general ever did a great triumph. [33]

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Says Stiggins:

"When one of another clan if even by chance should kill one of their blood relations on the mother's side of the family, their customary law in this is similar to the law of the Jewish legislator in reference to the manslayer excepting the city of refuge, for their law is literally whoso sheddeth man's blood by man his blood must be shed. Time nor distance can not palliate their revenge for should the perpetrator make his escape one of his brothers or cousins on his mother's side is taken. One of his blood kindred or himself must atone for the one lost, male for male and female for female. Even accidents are frequently made a matter of atonement, as far for instance as to be on business for another person and be killed by their horse the employer or one of the brothers or cousins must atone with his life for the death; for this reason they say that had it not been for him and his business the death would not have happened." [34]

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To illustrate this point Stiggins describes at length an event which occurred in the year 1808 when a Creek named the Singer, described as head chief of the Creek Nation, was on an expedition to the west of the Mississippi River, accompanied by his brothers. They were frightened back to the east side by enemies, and while there one of the Singer's brothers killed another Indian belonging to Kasihta, whom he mistook for an enemy. The comrades of the man who had been slain came to the Singer's camp and found the Singer alone, his brothers having set out to visit the Kasihta and explain to them the accidental nature of what had happened. This the Singer himself then proceeded to do, and at first the explanation was accepted as satisfactory. On their way home, however, the Kasihta Indians

[33] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 148-151.

[34] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 39; cf. also Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol ii, p. 111.

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reasoned that inasmuch as their brother had been killed it would be only just to kill the brother of the murderer, and accordingly they went back to the camp of the Singer and killed him in spite of his prominent position in the nation.[25]

According to Eakins, the proper "avenger of blood" was the own brother of the deceased, or, failing him, the nearest male blood and clan relative.[26]

Bossu says that "the law is that the one who has killed must be killed; except in case of a mischance, as in drunkenness, in a transport, or in games,"[27] but, as we have seen, such excuses did not always serve to protect the offender. The same writer also states that the French of Fort Toulouse and the Alabama had a standing agreement that if a Frenchman killed an Indian he must lose his life and vice versa, and an actual example is cited.

The following illustrates the Indian attitude still further. On being asked by Hawkins regarding the native Muskogee custom of punishing in cases of accidental death with the same severity as where there had been a manifest intention to kill, Ifa hadjo, the great medal chief of Tukabahchee and speaker of the nation in the national council, replied:

"This custom of ours is a bad one, blood for blood; but I do not believe it came from E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, but proceeded from ourselves. Of a case of this sort, I will give you my opinion, by my conduct. Lately, in Tookaubatche, two promising boys were playing and slinging stones. One of them let slip his sling, the stone flew back and killed his companion. The family of the deceased took the two boys, and were preparing to bury them in the same grave. The uncles, who have the right to decide in such cases, were sent for, and I was sent for. We arrived at the same time. I ordered the people to leave the house, and the two boys to remain together. I took the uncles to my house, raised their spirits with a little rum, and told them, the boy was a fine boy, and would be useful to us in our town, when he became a man; that he had no ill will against the dead one; the act was purely accidental; that it had been the will of E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-se to end his days, and I thought that the living one should remain, as taking away his life would not give it to the other. The two uncles, after some reflection, told me, as you have advised us, so we will act; he shall not die, it was an accident."[28]

The permanent conversion of the Indians may well be doubted, but the ancient law is well illustrated by the circumstance. Hawkins

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[25] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 29-31.
[26] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 227.
[27] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 46, footnote.
[28] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, p. 81.

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has the following to say regarding murder in the stricter sense of that term: 628 682

"If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitely. When the tribe may be affected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

"This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid."[20] 727 648

In view of these facts the following law which Hawkins induced the Creek council to adopt becomes significant: 682 177

"To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation."[20]

Nevertheless it was with great difficulty that the Indian agent was enabled to secure the punishment of certain thieves and mischief-makers, some of whom had insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States,[21] so strong was the sense of obligation to retaliate for injuries received by a fellow clansman and so great the fear of awaking it. Adair mentions several occasions on which an offender was protected by his family.[22] By 1820, however, Hodgson reports,

[20] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 74-75.
[21] Ibid., p. 68.
[22] Ibid., p. 67.
[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 262, 264.

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682 on the authority of a trader who had been in the Creek country 15
177 years, that the murderer was publicly executed and the law of private retaliation had gradually become obsolete.[32] And, about 20 years later, Eakins says:

"Among the Creeks, now, however, the murderer undergoes a regular trial before some of the leading chiefs of the nation, and is dealt with according to their decision. If an Indian should murder a
[563] negro, the law is satisfied with the value of the negro being paid to the owner. The intervention of time and the fleeing of the murderer, generally allay resentment and lead to compromises. After the annual "busk," all offences are cancelled.[34] There is no distinction made in the estimate of life between the male and female."[35]

646 The administration of justice was, however, far from being Europeanized. Thus Gregg contradicts Eakins in part when he tells us that—

"They have no trial by jury, and their judicial proceedings are exceedingly summary—frequently without witnesses; for the warriors are generally too proud to deny a charge, lest it be construed into cowardice. Executions sometimes take place within an hour after the commencement of trial. Murder, rape, and a third conviction of stealing are punished with death, usually by shooting; but, in case of homicide, if claimed by the relatives of the deceased, the criminal is executed with the same kind of weapon, or, if possible, the very same, with which he committed the murder."[36]

And he adds:

"Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are for the most part rigorously enforced; though a commutation satisfactory to the aggrieved is still permitted to release the offender. Their laws, in cases of accidental homicide, are still more barbariously rigid than those of the other nations."[37]

681 The information which I have myself obtained corroborates in all particulars that furnished by these earlier writers. The peculiar function of the White towns in protecting escaped criminals seems, however, to have well-nigh disappeared even before the migration to Oklahoma, as my oldest informants knew nothing about it. Jackson Lewis merely stated that a man who had committed an offense in one town frequently fled to another and kept out of sight as much as possible until a considerable period had elapsed. Then the chief of the town where he had sought refuge would say to the chief of the other town: "I have made a townsman of this friend of yours and I

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[32] Hodgson, Journey through N. A., p. 367.

[34] This agrees with the statement of one of Speck's informants (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 115), but anciently murder was one crime exempted from the general amnesty.

[35] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[36] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.

[37] Ibid., pp. 315-316.

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desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment. 681

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment. 628 682 614

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[39a] 888

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows: 847

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[40]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[41]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed 754 683

[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 467.
[39] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 25-26.
[39a] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 96.
[40] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[41] Milfort, Mém., p. 261.

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754 683 merely because he was believed to possess the powers of a wizard, but because it was thought he had used his art to kill or seriously injure someone else. Thus the wizard (or witch) was not punished for being a wizard, according to the understanding of the people themselves, but for being a murderer.

684 Adultery was punished among the Creeks and other southern tribes in such a striking manner that almost every traveler in that section has recorded something about the custom. The first report of it was given by Garcilasso from information furnished by two old soldiers of De Soto's army and is as follows:

"Before leaving the province of Tuscaluça, it is proper to relate the manner in which the laws of this country and of that of Coça, punish adulteresses. There is, in this last province, a law which decrees, upon penalty of death, that if any one has sufficient indications to believe that a woman is an adulteress, he has to inquire into it and impeach her before the cacique, or, in his absence, before the local judges. These judges upon the report that is made to them, secretly hold an inquest against the person accused, and arrest her if they find her guilty. Afterwards, at the first festival, they order to be published that the inhabitants, on going out from their dinner repair to a certain place outside of the village, and that there they all arrange themselves in a row. Then come the judges, of whom two place themselves at one end of this file, and two at the other. They first decree that they bring to them the adulteress, and then they say to her husband who is present, that she is convicted of a lewd life, and that he must deal with her according to the rigor of the law. The husband strips her entirely naked, and shaves her with a kind of razor of flint; a disgraceful punishment and common among the Indians of the new world. Then to show that he repudiates her, he leaves with the clothes of his wife, and abandons her to the power of the judges. Two immediately command the criminal to pass in front of the persons who are in a row, and to go and declare her crime to the other two officers. She obeys, and as soon as she draws near to them she tells them that she is convicted of adultery and condemned to the penalty with which the law punishes that crime; that she is sent to them in order that they may do with her what it shall please them for the welfare of the province. The judges immediately send her back with this answer: that it is just that the laws that are made with a view to the preservation of public virtue should be inviolably observed; that therefore they confirm the sentence which they have rendered against her, and order her in the future not to relapse again into her crime. Thereupon she returns to the first judges, and the people who are in a row hiss her, and endeavor by means of insults, to increase her shame. In the mean time the people who come in a crowd and see her naked, yell at her. Some

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cast clods of earth at her, and others straw, and others old rags and pieces of mats and other like things, the law ordering it so, and they regard this poor woman only as the disgrace of her sex. After all these inflictions, the judge banishes her from the country and places her in the hands of her parents, with orders, upon pain of exemplary punishment, not to permit her to enter into any place of the province. The parents receive her, and as soon as they cover her with a mantle they lead her away into a place where she is never seen by any Indian of the country; and at the same time the judges permit the husband to take another wife. Thus they punish, in Coça, the Indian women who violate the faith which they owe to those whom they marry. But in the province of Tuscaluça they punish them with still greater rigor. The law of this country decrees that if, at an unseasonable hour, they see any one enter and leave three or four times a house, and that they suspect the mistress of the lodge of adultery, they are obliged, by the religion of the country, to inform the husband of the conduct of his wife, and to prove, by three or four witnesses, that they assert nothing but the truth. The husband, at the same time, assembles the witnesses, and interrogates them one after another, with horrible imprecations against him who lies, and great benedictions in favor of him who discloses the truth.

"Afterwards, if he finds his wife sufficiently convicted of having violated her faith, he leads her out of the village, ties her to a tree or to a post which he fixes in the ground, and shoots her to death with arrows. Then he goes to the cacique, or, in his absence, to the justice of the place. He tells them that, in such a place outside of the village, he has just killed his wife, upon information that she had committed adultery; that he petitions them to summon the accusers, in order that, if the crime of which they charge her is true, he might be formally acquitted, and, if the contrary, he might receive the punishment decreed by the law of the province. In the latter case, the law commands the parents of the wife to shoot the husband to death with arrows; that he be the prey of dogs and birds, and that his wife, as a mark of her innocence, be honorably interred; that if the witnesses persisted in their evidence and did not contradict themselves, in a word, if they verified by good proofs the crime in question, they acquitted the husband, with the liberty to take a wife, and forbid, upon pain of death, the parents of the criminal from drawing a single arrow from her body, or even interring it, because it was necessary that she should serve as an example and be devoured by beasts. We see by this that, in all Florida they punished very rigorously adulteresses. But we do not know in what manner they punished the men who debauched the wives of others." [a]

[a] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 352-353.

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The Coça were represented in later years by part of the Upper Creeks and the Tuscaluça by the Mobile Indians, and the customs recorded here do not accord with the later customs known to have been in vogue among either. Nevertheless, as we shall presently see, Adair mentions the custom of shooting adulteresses to death as one formerly in vogue in the very region from which Garcilasso reports it. He does not say what tribe was addicted to this, but it would seem to have been one of those near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. The Mobile do not appear to have preserved this usage, as none of the French writers mentions it. This may have been due to the enormous losses they had suffered from the Spaniards and from other tribes of Indians. Hawkins says that the Creek punishment for adultery was unknown among the Alabama,[43] but he is contradicted by Bossu who describes it in some detail.[44] Regarding the ordeal which Garcilasso attributes to the Coça there are two possible explanations: either his informants had obtained only an imperfect account of the custom or the usage changed between the time of De Soto and the later English and French settlements. There is some reason to believe that the latter explanation is partly correct, because Hakwins, writing near the end of the eighteenth century, says that the law regarding adultery, along with many other usages, originated with the Abihka Indians.[45] These people are nowhere mentioned in the De Soto narratives and may not have been in the country in De Soto's time.

Adair, as usual, gives a very complete account, containing information not found elsewhere. He says:[46]

"The middle aged people of a place, which lies about half-way to Mobile, and the Illinois (from Carolina), assure us, that they remember when adultery was punished among them with death, by shooting the offender with barbed arrows, as there are no stones there. But what with the losses of their people at war with the French and their savage confederates, and the constitutional wantonness of their young men and women, they have through a political desire of continuing, or increasing their numbers, moderated the severity of that law, and reduced it to the present standard of punishment; which is in the following manner. If a married woman is detected in adultery by one person, the evidence is deemed good in judgment against her; the evidence of a well grown boy or girl, they even reckon sufficient, because of the heinousness of the crime, and

[43] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 37.

[44] See p. 351.

[45] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 42.

[46] As Adair's account is somewhat confused it should be explained that, after speaking of the people who formerly punished adultery by shooting the offender with arrows, he proceeds to describe the Chickasaw method of punishment. Then he takes up the Muskogee customs and reverts to the Chickasaw in the next to the last paragraph of the quotation, concluding with a final paragraph on the Muskogee.

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the difficulty of discovering it in their thick forests. . . . When the crime is proved against the woman, the enraged husband accompanied by some of his relations, surprises and beats her most barbarously, and then cuts off her hair and nose, or one of her lips. There are many of that sort of disfigured females among the Chikkasah, and they are commonly the best featured, and the most tempting of any of their country-women, which exposed them to the snares of young men. But their fellow-criminals, who probably first tempted them, are partially exempted from any kind of corporal punishment.

"With the Muskohge Indians, it was formerly reckoned adultery, if a man took a pitcher of water off a married woman's head, and drank of it. But their law said, if he was a few steps apart, and she at his request set it down, and retired a little way off, he might then drink without exposing her to any danger. . . .

"Among those Indians, when adultery is discovered, the offending parties commonly set off speedily for the distant woods, to secure themselves from the shameful badge of the sharp penal law, which they inevitably get, if they can be taken before the yearly offering for the atonement of sin; afterward, every crime except murder is forgiven. But they are always pursued, and frequently overtaken; though perhaps, three or four moons absent, and two hundred miles off, over hills and mountains, up and down many creeks and rivers on contrary courses, and by intricate windings—the pursuers are eager, and their hearts burn within them for revenge. When the husband has the chilling news first whispered in his ear, he steals off with his witness to some of his kinsmen, to get them to assist him in revenging his injury; they are soon joined by a sufficient number of the same family, if the criminal was not of the same tribe [town]; otherwise, he chuses to confide in his nearest relations. When the witness has asserted to them the truth of his evidence by a strong asseveration, they separate to avoid suspicion, and meet commonly in the dusk of the evening, near the town of the adulterer, where each of them provides a small hoop-pole, tapering to the point, with knobs half an inch long, (allowed by ancient custom) with which they correct the sinners; for as their law in this case doth not allow partiality, if they punished one of them and either excused or let the other escape from justice, like the Illinois, they would become liable to such punishment as they had inflicted upon either of the parties.[a]

"They commonly begin with the adulterer, because of the two, he is the more capable of making his escape: They generally attack him at night, by surprise, lest he should make a desperate resistance, and blood be shed to cry for blood. They fall on eager and merciless,

[a] If the male offender escaped punishment could be inflicted on a relative. See Hawkins (p. 363) and Claiborne (p. 388).

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whooping their revengeful noise, and thrashing their captive, with their long-knobbed hoop-flails; some over his head and face; others on his shoulders and back. His belly, sides, legs, and arms, are gashed all over, and at last, he happily seems to be insensible of pain: then they cut off his ears. . . .

"They observe, however, a graduation of punishment, according to the criminality of the adulteress. For the first breach of the marriage faith they crop her ears and hair, if the husband is spiteful: either of those badges proclaims her to be a whore, or *Hakse Kaneha*. . . . for the hair of their head is their ornament: when loose it completely reaches below their back; and when tied, it stands below the crown of the head, about four inches long, and two broad. As the offender cuts a comical figure among the rest of the women, by being trimmed so sharp, she always keeps her dark winter hot house, till by keeping the hair moistened with grease, it grows so long as to bear tying. Then she accustoms herself to the light by degrees; and soon some worthless fellow, according to their standard, buys her for his *Aná;* which term hath been already explained.

"The adulterer's ears are flashed off close to his head, for the first act of adultery, because he is the chief in fault. If the criminals repeat the crime with any other married persons, their noses and upper lips are cut off. But the third crime of the like nature, is attended with more danger; for the law says, that for public heinous crimes, satisfaction should be made visible to the people, and adequate to the injuries of the virtuous—to set their aggrieved hearts at ease, and prevent others from following such a dangerous crooked copy. As they will not comply with their mitigated law of adultery nor be terrified, nor shamed from their ill course of life; that the one may not frighten and abuse their wives, nor the other seduce their husbands and be a lasting plague and shame to the whole society, they are ordered by their ruling magi and war-chieftains, to be shot to death, which is accordingly executed; but this seldom happens.

"When I asked the Chikkasah the reason of the inequality of their marriage-law, in punishing the weaker passive party, and exempting the stronger, contrary to reason and justice; they told me, it had been so a considerable time—because their land being a continual seat of war, and the lurking enemy for ever pelting them without, and the women decoying them within, if they put such old cross laws of marriage in force, all their beloved brisk warriors would soon be spoiled, and their habitations turned to a wild waste. . . .

"The Muskohge Indians . . . oblige the adulteress under the penalty of the severest law not to be free with any man, (unless she is inclined to favour her fellow sufferer) during the space of four moons, after the broken moon in which they suffered for each other, according to the custom of the Maldivians. But her husband

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exposes himself to the utmost severity of the marriage law, if he is known to hold a familiar intercourse with her after the time of her punishment."[48]

Hodgson, on the authority of an old Creek trader, says that a husband who connived at the return of an adulterous wife from exile was liable to suffer the very penalties that had been inflicted upon her.[49]

Bossu's account, already alluded to, of the method in which punishment was inflicted among the Alabama, is as follows:

"It is first necessary that the husband be satisfied with his own eyes, and then the delinquent woman is spied upon by the relatives of the husband and by her own. It would be vain for the husband to wish to keep the unfaithful wife, he is no longer master of the situation: here is the reason for this, it is that the savages regard it as scandalous for a true man to live with a woman who has failed him so signally. In such a conjuncture the husband goes to find the chief, and lays the case before him. The chief then orders people to cut sticks; great secrecy is preserved. The chief then appoints a dance, at which everyone is obliged to be present, men, women, girls, and boys; if one is absent he pays a penalty; but no one ordinarily absents himself; at the moment when the dance is at its height they seize the adulteress, throw her on the ground, and then beat her on her back and on the front part of her body without sparing her. The one who seduced her receives the same treatment.

"When these unfortunates have been well castigated a relative belonging to each side approaches and puts a rod between the beaters and the beaten. Instantly all blows cease; but the woman is not yet free; her husband comes and cuts off her hair close to her head, and then he reproaches her in the presence of the assembly; that is to say he depicts to her how wrongly she has treated him, he never having let her want for anything, and that since it is so she can go with her seducer. They cut off his plaited hair all about, which falls in part over the foreheads of these people; after that they say to him, pointing to the unfaithful woman, 'There is your wife.' He is allowed to marry her on the spot but he is obliged to change his village.

"When it happens that a woman debauches the husband of another, the women assemble with rods as long as their arms, and go to seek for the culprit whom they beat unmercifully, which makes the young people laugh very much; if they did not finally snatch the rods from the hands of these furies they would kill the unfortunate culprit."[50]

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[48] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 143-146.
[49] Hodgson, Jour. through N. Am., pp. 267-268.
[50] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 23-24.

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The accounts of Hawkins and Pope regarding this punishment also deserve insertion. Hawkins states that adultery "is punished by the family or tribe of the husband. They collect, consult and decree. If the proof is clear, and they determine to punish the offenders, they divide and proceed to apprehend them. One half goes to the house of the woman, the remainder to the family house of the adulterer; or they go together, as they have decreed. They apprehend the offenders, beat them severely with sticks, and then crop them. They cut off the hair of the woman, which they carry to the square in triumph. If they apprehend but one of the offenders, and the other escapes, they then go and take satisfaction from the nearest relation.[50a] If both the offenders escape, and the tribe or family return home, and lay down the sticks, the crime is satisfied. There is one family only, the 'Wind,' (Ho-tul-ul-gee), that can take up the sticks a second time. This crime is satisfied in another way, if the parties offending absent themselves till the Boos-ke-tuh is over. Then all crimes are done away except murder. And the bare mention of them, or any occurrence which brings them in recollection, is forbidden." [51]

Pope says:

"Upon a detection of the crime, about 50 or 60 persons of each sex, repair to a thicket, and supply themselves with hickory clubs; this done, the men determine upon the measure of punishment to be inflicted on the woman and permit the women to decide upon the man's. They then separate, brandishing their clubs; the men in quest of the woman, the women in quest of the man. The adulteress when found, is seized upon, and ignominiously dragged into a circle formed by the men, who beat her with their clubs till she can no longer stand; and whilst extended on the ground, the avengers proceed to dock her hair, crop her ears, and slit her nostrils; of all this her inamorato, is made an unwilling spectator, and sometimes an agent; who, in turn, suffers a similar disgrace in the circle of the women, his fair Dulcinea looking on. What I have here mentioned are the highest punishments they ever inflict, even upon the most atrocious offenders. Simetimes they dispense with cropping their ears and slitting the nostrils, and content themselves, with giving the offender a sound drubbing with a short dock. . . .

"If the club bearers ever relinquish, or lay down their clubs through any mishap or necessity; before they encircle the object of their vengeance, they dare not resume them again, as it is presumed, that it was so ordered by their God, in tender mercy to the delinquents, who are accordingly acquitted of that offense." [52]

[50a] There is an apparent contradiction with Adair here but it is reconciled by Claiborne (p. 353).

[51] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 74.

[52] Pope, Tour, pp. 55-58.

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In stating that punishment was inflicted on the male offender by the women and on the female offender by the men Pope differs from all other writers.

Claiborne is also brief:

"If the woman violates her fidelity before the green-corn dance [among the Creeks] she is whipped severely, her ears cut off and tied to the sticks with which she was beaten and the sticks set up in the town square for the people to look at. They serve the man who seduced her in the same way. If the man clears out, and cannot be caught, the clansmen of the injured husband punish his nearest relation in his stead. If the woman be punished and not her seducer, or his relation, the clan of the woman inflict upon the leader of the party that punished her, the same punishment which she had endured, and there the thing ends."[53]

Romans dismisses the matter shortly:

"Adultery is punished by severe flagellations and loss of hair, nose, and ears, in both parties, if they are taken; sometimes they spare the nose of the man, and I have known some instances of white men having this misfortune and being obliged to apply to the Commissary, or the nearest Governor for a certificate to secure them from the imputation of the pillory."[54]

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Stiggins informs us that a man could take a second wife or concubine only with the consent of his first wife, and if he did not obtain it he was treated as an adulterer and punished as such by his wife's family,[55] and also that a widow or widower who married before the expiration of the prescribed period of mourning was so treated.[56] In this he is confirmed by Swan.[57]

The prerogative of the Wind clan mentioned by Hawkins is confirmed by Swan,[58] Stiggins,[59] and my informant Jackson Lewis. According to another authority the Wind clan could take up the clubs four times and the Bear clan could take them up twice,[60] but this may have been the case in some one town. Stiggins adds that the same privilege was enjoyed by members of the Wind clan in the case of minor offenses such as stealing.[61] There were no doubt many variations in the procedure, several of which are indicated in the accounts already given. In later times the penalty was probably softened. Mr. McCombs told me that for the first commission of adultery the man and woman were both beaten and the soft lobes

[53] Claiborne, Miss., vol. I, p. 492.
[54] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 98.
[55] See p. 372.
[56] See pp. 378-379.
[57] See p. 378.
[58] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 260.
[59] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[60] The agent Mitchell as reported by Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 111, 1836.
[61] Stiggins, Ms., p. 28.

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684 of their ears where the earrings were commonly worn were cut off; for the second offense the whole ear was cut off; and for the third offense they cut off the nose, saying to the culprit "You have not sense enough to smell anything." He added that if a man had a wife and children and some other woman began running about with him, the women inflicted the punishment. They would rush upon their victim, foaming at the mouth like mad tigers, tear off her clothing and leave her all covered with blood. Meantime the men related to the woman's husband would gather round and, if they saw matters were likely to be carried to extremes, pull the woman away.

As the evidence of a single person was admitted, frequently a very young one at that, the innocent sometimes suffered, and the attentions of the Indians were often extended to white traders among them, in many cases no doubt on the most ample grounds.

836 If we were to accept Swan's testimony we should have to suppose that sexual looseness before marriage was not punished nor indeed curtailed in the smallest degree. He says:

"Simple fornication is no crime or reproach among the Creeks; the sexes indulge their propensities with each other promiscuously, unrestrained by law or custom, and without secrecy or shame. If a young woman becomes pregnant before she is married, which most of them do, the child is maintained in her clan without the least murmuring." [62]

Hodgson also declares that "female licentiousness before marriage is not attended with loss of character," [63] and Romans that "they will never scruple to sell the use of their bodies when they can do it in private" and "the savages think a young woman nothing the worse for making use of her body, as they term it." [64]

Bossu and Hitchcock testify to the same effect,[65] the latter attributing the abuse to the influence of polygamy.[66]

Nevertheless, from what may be gathered from other sources, it is evident that there were limits beyond which a young person could not go without being made to suffer in consequence.

At the meetings of the clan to which the offender belonged he (or she) would probably be reprimanded by the oldest clan uncle and perhaps "dry scratched" or whipped. The former punishment was inflicted by means of an implement made of gar teeth, or in later times needles. One person grasped the arms of the victim and held them about the ball-post while the scratching was done, and the latter usually bore it in stoical silence for fear of the ridicule of his companions. Another punishment was sarcasm, in which the Indians are

[62] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[63] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.
[64] Romans, Nat. Hist. of E. and W. Fla., p. 97
[65] See p. 370.
[66] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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adepts. They would praise the culprit in the highest manner, reviewing with the most circumstantial details his assumed virtuous actions, the exact opposite, of course, of the things he had really done, until he was only too glad to flee from the general ridicule. 836

The punishment usually meted out to those members of different but linked clans who had carnal intercourse with each other was "the long scratch" (sàpka tcàpko), performed by inserting a gar tooth or needle in the skin at the back of the neck and making a shallow cut along the spine and then on down to the heel. The pain was, of course, intense, but the public shame attending the performance, which took place in the presence of all of the people, was very much worse. As one man put it, it was to show that the offenders were no better than brutes and placed a stigma for life upon the parties undergoing it. According to another informant, instead of being dry scratched, the culprits were flogged very severely. At Chiaha the scratching took place at the northeast corner of the square ground. Mr. William McCombs, of this town, remembered that during the Civil War a Potato man and a Raccoon woman were in danger of a thrashing for having consorted together. 684

If the offenders belonged to the same clan the punishment was worse—often death. An Abihka Indian told me that he remembered a case in which a woman of the Wind clan was beaten to death for an offense of the kind. Another informant stated that for the first offense in such cases the long scratch was the sole punishment, but flogging for the second. Still another claimed that flogging was the penalty for the first offense, the nose and ears also being cut off. In later times they omitted cutting off the nose. Flogging was also the punishment among the Texas Alabama, but in more ancient times it is though that the penalty was more severe. At any rate, this crime was considered so dreadful by the Alabama that it was believed "the earth might burn up" in consequence of it, and the sentiment is so strong down to the present day that there are only three instances of endogamous marriages, while far more marriages take place outside of linked clans among all the people of the Creek confederacy. For instance, one of my interpreters belonged to the Panther clan, his father was an Alligator, and his wife a Bear. Another belonged to the Aktayatci, his father was a Bear, and his father's father a Panther. Still another belonged to the Deer, his father to the Raccoon, and his father's father to the Potato. The last lived at Tukabahchee where marriage between the Potato and Raccoon was allowed.

Related to these crimes was one mentioned by Adair when he says that the Muskogee came near putting some white traders to death because, when "in their cups," they forcibly viewed the nakedness of a woman who was reputed to be a hermaphrodite, and he states

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684 that this was "according to one of their old laws against crimes of that kind." [67]

In another place Adair speaks of the nonobservance of the separation of a woman during her menstrual periods as a crime on a par with murder and adultery. "Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity," he says, "they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people." [68]

685 Punishments similar to those described above were resorted to in cases of theft, which anciently do not appear to have been common within the tribe. Hodgson, relying on an Indian trader of 15 years' experience, says of this:

"Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death—the amount stolen being disregarded. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing; the crime itself being almost unknown—when the Indians would go hunting, or 'frolicking,' for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighborhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts. Confidence and generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity has taught them suspicion and deceit." [69]

[177] It is to be feared that this is in part another case of "the good old days" which do not appear as good on close examination, but, for economic reasons, it is certain that stealing was not one of those sins characteristic of the southeastern Indians before white contact.

As to the penalties inflicted for theft, Hodgson's informant is substantially confirmed by Gregg. "Most inferior crimes," he says, "are punished by whipping; for the first offence of stealing, fifty lashes; for the second, a hundred and ears cropped," and he has already stated that death was the penalty for the third.[70]

Swan says that McGillivray introduced the law that "if an Indian steals a horse, he is liable . . . to return him, or another of equal value, and pay a fine of thirty chalks, or fifteen dollars; if he is unable to do so, he may be tied and whipped thirty lashes by the injured party. But," he adds, "as in other cases, the infliction of punishment depends, at last, on the superior force of the injured clan." [71]

687 Failure to attend the busk was penalized by the imposition of fines or confiscation of property, and similar punishments were resorted to for other derelictions in duty to the community. Thus,

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[67] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 23.
[68] See p. 359.
[69] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.
[70] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, pp. 315, 316.
[71] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them." [72] 687

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching.[72a] 689

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGillivray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order. 681

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable." [73]

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.[74] 685

Escaped murderers and adulterers, and those who had committed lesser offenses and had withdrawn from their people to avoid the ridicule and contempt of their fellow townsmen, formed a class from which, says Bartram, generally came the ruffians who committed depredations and murders on the frontiers.[75] The foundation of new towns may sometimes be traced to them, as indeed is frankly admitted by members of those towns themselves. It is said that the town of Wiwohka had such an origin, and it is also claimed for others like Hilibi on less satisfactory grounds. In later times many such people swelled the population of the Florida Seminole. 167 [626] [579] 621

Adair is the only writer to say anything about oaths used in adjuring a witness to give true evidence, and in this connection he does not mention the Creeks, only the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The Chickasaw and Choctaw oath he gives as *Chikloosha ke-e-u Chua*,[76] which he interprets "Do not you lie? Do you not, of a certain 695

[72] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[72a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 120; see p. 365.

[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 281-282.

[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 513.

[76] *Lashke* is a Chickasaw word meaning "to lie"; *chikloshke* signifies "you do not lie"; *ke-e-u* (or *keyu*) is the negative. The form used here is a strengthened one.

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695 truth?" And the answer is *Akloosko Ke-e-u-que-Ho*, "I do not lie; I do not, of a certain truth."[77] Regarding epithets he says, "the sharpest and most lasting affront, the most opprobrious, indelible epithet, with which one Indian can possibly brand another, is to call him in public company, *Hoobuk Waske*, Eunuchus, praeputio detecto."[78]

GENERAL CUSTOMS

000 In treating of the general customs of the Creeks it will be well to keep in mind certain cycles. Thus there were customs that concerned the cycle of human life itself, including the important events incident to existence, such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. There were certain others determined by the annual cycle of the seasons, and still others by the shorter cycle of day and night. Beyond these there were still other customs independent of changes in life or nature. It will be as well to take up the customs concerned with events incident to human life in the first place, and then proceed to the rest.

THE VITAL CYCLE

PUBERTY AND CHILDBIRTH

841 [846] The regulations imposed upon a woman at the time of her monthly periods and at childbirth resembled each other in many particulars and may be conveniently treated together. Adair's account is the oldest. It applies primarily to the Chickasaw, but there was little difference between their usages and those of the Creeks. He says:

". . . They oblige their women in their *lunar retreats*, to build small huts, at as considerable a distance from their dwelling-houses, as they imagine may be out of the enemies reach; where, during the space of that period, they are obliged to stay at the risque of their lives. Should they be known to violate that ancient law, they must answer for every misfortune that befalls any of the people, as a certain effect of the divine fire; though the lurking enemy sometimes kills them in their religious retirement. Notwithstanding they reckon it conveys a most horrid and dangerous pollution to those who touch or go near them, or walk anywhere within the circle of their retreats; and are in fear of thereby spoiling the supposed purity and power of their holy ark, which they always carry to war; yet the enemy believe they can so cleanse themselves with the consecrated herbs, roots, etc. which the chieftain carries in the beloved war-ark, as to secure them in this point from bodily danger, because it was done against their enemies.

"The non-observance of this separation, a breach of the marriage-law, and murder, they esteem the most capital crimes. When the time of the women's separation is ended, they always purify them-

[77] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 81. [78] Ibid., p. 136.

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selves in deep running water, return home, dress, and anoint themselves. They ascribe these monthly periods to the female structure, not to the anger of *Ishtohoollo Aba*.

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"Correspondent to the Mosaic law of women's purification after *travail*, the Indian women absent themselves from their husbands and all public company, for a considerable time—The *Muskōhge* women are separate for three moons, exclusive of that moon in which they are delivered. . . .

"Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity, they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people, as the necessary effect of the divine anger for their polluting sin, contrary to their old traditional law of female purity. Like the greater part of the Israelites, it is the fear of the temporal evils, and the prospect of temporal good, that makes them so tenacious and observant of their laws. At the stated period, the Indian women's impurity is finished by ablution, and they are again admitted to social and holy privileges." [79]

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One of my Creek informants spoke of the monthly course as "a strong disease." I do not know to what extent this represented the former opinion among Creeks generally. His account is as follows:

"When a woman had her monthly course, or when she had a child, she had to go outside and stay four days, or for as many days as it lasted. She lived in a house by herself, used special dishes, ate no large game animals of any kind, and did not go into the garden. She washed and put on entirely new clothing before she came back. If she should go into the garden, people thought the vegetation would be weakened. They thought that the menstrual flow could be sensed at a distance and affect the vitality of men and other creatures. A woman at that period must bathe down stream from a man. She must also pass every man she met in such a way that the wind would not blow from her to him. If these regulations were not observed, it was feared that the man's lungs and blood would be affected and that he would in consequence be weakened for life."

Says Speck, of the Tuskegee:

"During menses the woman remained in seclusion and did not come into contact with anything belonging to her household. At the approach of childbirth she also retired to the seclusion lodge and neither she nor the father resided in the usual house for the period of a month. The mother was allowed to partake of food from the time the child was born, but the father fasted for four days thereafter. For a month after the event, the mother was not allowed to prepare her husband's meals nor to eat or sleep with him, and he on his part was not allowed to touch her." [80]

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[79] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 123-124. [80] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 116.

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846 The point of particular interest about this quotation is that it contains almost the only reference to a custom resembling the couvade.

Hitchcock's information comes mainly from the Tukabahchee, and is as follows:

"When [a woman] is visited with what is peculiar to the sex . . . she is obliged to occupy a separate tent or house, to eat from separate dishes, and to live entirely apart from all others until it is passed. Then she is taken and thoroughly washed, whether in winter or summer, and returned to the family. The utensils used by her are laid aside until required for a similar purpose. No man is ever allowed to sit in the seat which has been used by a woman under those circumstances.

"At the period of childbirth the woman is obliged to leave the house and the child must be born out of the house, winter or summer. The mother must not enter the house for ten days and must not sleep in it for two months, and if she is taken sick in giving birth to a child she is not allowed to sleep in the house for four months. Before the child is allowed to suckle it is taken to a branch or spring, and water is thrown upon its tongue several times. Children are often bathed in a creek by the time they are a month old. Formerly they were rolled in the snow to make them hardy. When the child is a boy, a physic maker, a sort of priest, is called upon for a preparation which is placed upon the mother's nipple to make the child hardy and brave, and an active ball player."[a]

841 The Alabama living in Texas say that when a woman's monthly sickness (holotci' taye'ha) came on she took a blanket and went away to a small house near some stream or spring to live until it was over. She did her own cooking there and when she drank used her two hands instead of a cup. During that time she might not speak to anyone. When the time was passed she bathed and washed all of her clothes thoroughly before returning home. If she ate with her family without having done this it was thought they would fall sick. At that time a man avoided walking close to a woman for the same reason.

[881] It is the universal testimony that the regulations observed by a girl at her first menstrual period differed in no particular from those undergone by her on every recurring month.

844 When a woman was going to have a child she acted in much the same manner, only she seems not to have camped so far away. She observed the same regulations, however. An old woman acted as midwife, and for some time after its birth the child was bathed every day. Swan's words in the following quotation must not be accepted literally when he says that the young mother was "entirely alone." He says:

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[a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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"It is an established rule, that pregnant women be entirely alone at the time of delivery; and this rule is rigidly adhered to. Nature seems to have fortified them with strength to undergo the operation without assistance. On the 12th of December, 1790, four women came from the white ground, ten miles from Little Tallassie, to sell horse-ropes to the beloved man. The day was cold and rainy, with a sleet of snow; they stayed all night. About midnight, one of them, a young woman, was taken in travail; her mother was with her, and immediately ordered her to take some fire and go into the swamp, about thirty rods from the out-house where they slept. She went alone, was delivered of her child, and at ten o'clock next morning, being bare-footed and half naked, took the infant on her back, and returned home through the rain and snow, which still continued to fall, without the least inconvenience. 844

"This circumstance, had I not been present and seen the woman with the infant on her back, I might have been doubtful of its possibility."[32]

Romans says: "The women are just as easily delivered as those of the other savages, and immediately after birth the infant is plunged into cold water."[33]

According to Jackson Lewis a prospective mother was not allowed to eat at the same table as the rest of the family. 843

Virility was a matter of pride with Creek men—the more children they had the better—and Adair says that the Indians of his acquaintance entertained "a contemptible opinion of their females that are barren—sterility they consider as proceeding from the divine anger, on account of their conjugal infidelity."[34] 842

Among many tribes twins were held in abhorrence and one of them was frequently killed, but Mr. Grayson informed me that the Creeks anciently considered the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient kila or prophet. 845

Sometimes the child was kept from nursing for four days and was made to swallow certain small roots to make it live long. The same effect was produced by keeping it indoors four months so that no one could see it. 846 789

Adair has the following to say regarding the sympathetic magic practiced on Chickasaw babies in order to insure them good fortune:

"Their male children they chuse to raise on the skins of panthers, on account of the communicative principle, which they reckon all nature is possessed of, in conveying qualities according to the regimen that is followed: and, as the panther is endued with many qualities, beyond any of his fellow animals in the American woods, as smelling,

[32] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[33] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 86.
[34] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 72.

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846 strength, cunning, and a prodigious spring, they reckon such a bed
789 is the first rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; these they lay on the skins of fawns, or buffalo calves, because they are shy and timorous: and, if the mother be indisposed by sickness, her nearest female relation suckles the child, but only until she recovers."[a]

539 The following cradle songs are from the Tuggle collection, but the phonetics have been modernized, and the translations corrected in some places.

I

FIRST VERSION

No'tcâlit o	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit o	That is what we say
Tcî'tckit o	Your mother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit o	Hunting
Ayâ'nkit o	Went
Notci, notci.	Sleep, sleep.

SECOND VERSION

No'tcâlit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	That is what we say
Tcîpo'sî	Your grandmother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit	Hunting
Ayâ'nkit	She went
Sha'la ka'lis	She would come back [with]
Maka'tcukîn	That is what she says
[Lalaka'li] istce'	The end ("Like Selah")

THIRD VERSION

Notca	Go to sleep!
Notca	Go to sleep!
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Tcî'lkît	Your father
Ma'kit ayunks	That is what he said and went
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	He said
Lutca ho'posân	Terrapin hunting [he has gone]
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep

[a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 420-421.

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II

A hunter passing a bear's den heard an old she bear singing to her cubs the following song: 539

A'tân	Down [the stream]
Ayateo'kaš	You hear the noise of her going
Maka teoko'fa	That is what they say
Hâ'tci yo'kaân	Up the stream
Li'tkateokat '[a]	Running unseen
Li'tkateokat	Running unseen
A'lihâ	Up the stream
Ayateo'kse	You hear the noise of her going
Maka teoko'fa	That is what they say
Łân iyo'kaa	To the top of the bald peak
Li'tkateokat	Running unseen
Li'tkateokât	Running unseen

FREE TRANSLATION

If you hear the noise of the chase
Going down the stream
Then run up the stream.
If you hear the noise of the chase
Going up the stream
Then run to the top of the bald peak
Then run to the top of the bald peak

EDUCATION

Among early writers Swan and Adair have the most to say about the education of children. Swan declares: 855

"The father has no care of his own child. The invariable custom is, for the women to keep and rear all the children, having the entire control over them until they are able to provide for themselves. They appear to have a sufficient natural affection for them; they never strike or whip a child for its faults. Their mode of correction is singular: if a child requires punishment, the mother scratches its leg and thighs with the point of a pin or needle, until it bleeds; some keep a jaw-bone of a gar-fish, having two teeth, entirely for the purpose. 861

"They say that this punishment has several good effects; that it not only deters the child from mischief, but it loosens the skin, and gives a pliancy to the limbs; and the profusion of blood that follows the operation, serves to convince the child that the loss of it is not attended with danger, or loss of life: that when he becomes a man and a warrior, he need not shrink from an enemy, or apprehend that the wounds he may receive, and the loss of blood, will endanger his life." [b] [826]

[a] This seems to be the nearest word to Tuggle's "Lit kahte shem."
[b] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, pp. 263-264.

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861 The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was [751] inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

861 Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:

622 "It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might [838] have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [tcihaksi kánia he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Haksinna* [tcihaksina], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [tciabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"[88]

861 In another place the same writer remarks that in his time chil-
609 dren who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156-157.

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given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [88]

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [89a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikano' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

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[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 413.

[89a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 24-25.

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515 From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice: "However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin."[91]

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He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them."[92] This is somewhat at variance with the information I myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.[93]

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721 554 Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair."[94]

703 554 Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

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[91] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 120.
[92] Ibid., p. 121.
[93] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 25.
[94] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 280; cf. p. 434.

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men who had obtained eagle feathers,[56] and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer. 703 554

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kila), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mysteries were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries. 756 538 791

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation: 177 888

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[56]

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[56] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 80.

[56] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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MARRIAGE

582 Accounts of marriage customs among our southern tribes vary so much that we must suppose the same was true of the customs themselves. This variation may have been due to difference in nationality, but it is rarely possible to determine to what groups if any the several accounts belong. The only exceptions are the description by Adair which, as usual, may be assumed to apply mainly to the Chickasaw and the notes by Bossu derived from the Alabama. Adair has the following to say on this subject:

"It is usual for an elderly man to take a girl, or sometimes a child to be his wife, because she is capable of receiving good impressions in that tender state: frequently, a moon elapses after the contract is made, and the value received, before the bridegroom sleeps with the bride, and on the marriage day, he does not appear before her till night introduces him, and then without tapers. . . .

"The Indians also are so fond of variety, that they ridicule the white people, as a tribe of narrow-hearted, and dull constitutioned animals, for having only one wife at a time; and being bound to live with and support her, though numberless circumstances might require a contrary conduct. When a young warrior cannot dress *alamode America*, he strikes up one of those matches for a few moons, which they term *Toopsa Táwah*,[97] 'a make haste marriage,' because it wants the usual ceremonies, and duration of their other kind of marriages. . . .

584 "When an Indian makes his first address to the young woman he intends to marry, she is obliged by ancient custom to sit by him till he hath done eating and drinking, whether she likes or dislikes him; but afterward, she is at her own choice whether to stay or retire. When
585 the bridegroom marries the bride, after the usual prelude, he takes a choice ear of corn, and divides it in two before witnesses, gives her one half in her hand, and keeps the other half to himself; or otherwise, he gives her a deer's foot, as an emblem of the readiness with which she ought to serve him: in return, she presents him with some cakes of bread, thereby declaring her domestic care and gratitude in return for the offals: for the men feast by themselves and the women eat the remains. When this short ceremony is ended, they go to bed like an honest couple.

"Formerly, this was an universal custom among the native Americans; but this, like every other usage of theirs, is wearing out apace. The West-Floridians, in order to keep their women subject to the law of adultery, bring some venison or buffalo's flesh to the house of their nominal wives, at the end of every winter's hunt: that is reckoned a sufficient annual tye of their former marriages, although the husbands do not cohabit with them. The Muskóhge men, if

[97] This should be *tuskpa Hauaya*, from *tuskpa*, in haste, and *Hauaya*, to marry.

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newly married, are obliged by ancient custom, to get their own relations to hoe out the corn-fields of each of their wives, that their marriages may be confirmed: and the more jealous, repeat the custom every year, to make their wives subject to the laws against adultery. But the Indians in general, reckon that before the bridegroom can presume to any legal power over the bride, he is after the former ceremonies, or others something similar, obliged to go into the woods to kill a deer, bring home the carcass of venison, and lay it down at her house wrapt up in its skin; and if she opens the pack, carries it into the house, and then dresses and gives him some of it to eat with cakes before witnesses, she becomes his lawful wife, and obnoxious to all the penalties of an adulteress. . . .

"When the Indians would express a proper marriage, they have a word adapted according to their various dialects, to give them a suitable idea of it; but when they are speaking of their sensual marriage bargains, they always term it, 'buying a woman;' for example—they say with regard to the former, *Che-Awalas*, 'I shall marry you,' . . . *Che-Awala Awa*, 'I shall not marry you.' But the name of their market marriages is *Otoolpha*.[97a] [They say] *Eho Achumbàras, Saookchàa*,[97b] 'In the spring I shall buy a woman, if I am alive.' Or *Eho Achumbara Awa*,[98] 'I shall not buy a woman,' *Salbasa toogat*,[99] 'for indeed I am poor.' . . .

"They sometimes marry by deputation or proxy. The intended bridegroom sends so much in value to the nearest relations of the intended bride, as he thinks she is worth: if they are accepted, it is a good sign that her relations approve of the match, but she is not bound by their contract alone; her consent must likewise be obtained, but persuasions most commonly prevail with them. However, if the price is reckoned too small, or the goods too few, the law obliges them to return the whole, either to himself, or some of his nearest kindred. If they love the goods, as they term it . . . the loving couple may in a short time bed together upon trial, and continue or discontinue their love according as their fancy directs them. If they like each other, they become an honest married couple when the nuptial ceremony is performed, as already described. When one of their chieftains is married, several of his kinsmen help to kill deer and buffalos, to make a rejoicing marriage feast, to which their relations and neighbours are invited: there the young warriors sing with their two chief musicians, who beat on their wet deer skin tied over the mouth of a large clay-pot, and raise their voices, singing *Yo Yo*, etc. When they are tired with feasting, dancing, and

[97a] Probably from *Itala*, "to lie down."
[97b] Oboyo, "woman"; achumpalas, "I buy"; saokchaha, "I hoe up land."
[98] Oboyo achumbala awa.
[99] Salbásha, "I am poor"; tuk, sign of recent past time; ás, demonstrative article

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585 singing the Epithalamium, they depart with friendly glad hearts, from the house of praise." [1]

Bossu's description of Alabama marriage customs is short.

"The savages are ordinarily satisfied with one wife, of whom they are excessively jealous. When a savage passes through a village and [836] has no wife, he hires a girl for a night or two, according to his fancy, and the parents find in that nothing to blame;[2] they disturb themselves very little about their girl, giving as a reason that she has the right to her own body; the daughters of the savages do not abuse this liberty at all; they find it for their interest to appear modest in order to be sought in marriage; but with regard to the married women they [581] say that by marriage they have sold their liberty, and therefore they ought not to have any other men besides their husband. On their side [the men] reserve the right to have many wives. . . .

"Marriage . . . is of a simple nature, and of no other form than mutual consent of the parties. The future husband makes presents of skins and provisions at the cabin of the father of his intended; after the meal there is a dance, they sing of the war exploits of the ancestors of the husband. Next day the oldest man presents the wife to the parents of her husband. That is the entire marriage ceremony. . . . Those who are good warriors and good hunters choose the prettiest girls; the others have only the rejected and the ugly." [3]

From Romans:

[595] "Polygamy is here allowed, though not generally made use of; they marry without much ceremony, seldom any more than to make some presents to the parents, and to have a feast or hearty regale at the hut of the wife's father; when once married the women are bound to the strictest observation of obedience and conjugal fidelity, [the Indians] saying that she that has once sold herself, can not any more dispose of any thing whatever; and of their wives they are the most unreasonably jealous of any nation under the sun." [4]

Says Bartram:

"Amongst some of the bands in the Muscogulge confederacy, I was informed the mystery is performed after the following manner. When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a Cane or Reed, such as they stick down at the hills of their Bean vines for their support: with this (after having obtained her parents' or nearest relations' consent) he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and associates, and in the presence of the wedding guests, he sticks his Reed down, upright in the ground; when soon after his sweet-heart comes forth with another

[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 138-141.
[2] Girls were also offered to strangers as a mark of hospitality; cf. Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 17.
[3] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 19-21.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 97-98.

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Reed, which she sticks down by the side of his, when they are married; then they exchange Reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, which is celebrated with feasting, music and dancing; each one of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contributes something towards establishing the new family. As soon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be constructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finished in a day's time. 585

"The greatest accomplishments to recommend a young man to his favourite maid, are to prove himself a brave warrior, and a cunning, industrious hunter.

"They marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient custom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is seldom an instance of their separating after they have children. If it should so happen, the mother takes the children, under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood.

"The Musogulges allow of polygamy in the utmost latitude; every man takes as many wives as he chooses, but the first is queen, and others are handmaids and associates. [595]

"It is common for a great man amongst them, who has already half a dozen wives, if he sees a child of eight or nine years of age, who pleases him, and he can agree with her parents or guardians, to marry her and take her into his house at that age."[5] [582]

Swan also recognizes that there was a diversity in marriage rites: 584

"Courtship is always begun by proxy. The man, if not immediately acquainted with the lady of his choice, sends her his talk (as it is termed), accompanied with small presents of clothing, by some woman of her acquaintance. If the young woman takes his talk, his proxy then asks the consent of her uncles, aunts, and brothers (the father having no voice or authority in the business), which being obtained, the young woman goes to him, and they live together during pleasure or convenience. This is the most common mode of taking a wife, and at present the most fashionable. 585

"But if a man takes a wife conformably to the more ancient and serious custom of the country, it requires a longer courtship, and some established formalities.

"The man, to signify his wishes, kills a bear with his own hands, and sends a panful of the oil to his mistress. If she receives the oil, he next attends and helps her hoe the corn in her field; afterwards plants her beans; and when they come up, he sets poles for them to run upon. In the meantime he attends her corn, until the beans

[5] Bartram, Travels, pp. 512-513.

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584 have run up and entwined their vines about the poles. This is
585 thought emblematical of their approaching union and bondage; and they then take each other for better or for worse, and are bound to all intents and purposes. A widow having been bound in the above manner, is considered an adulteress if she speaks or makes free with any man, within four summers after the death of her husband.

"With a couple united in the above manner, the tie is considered more strongly binding than in the other case; being under this obligation to each other, the least freedom with any other person, either in the man or woman, is considered as adultery, and invariably punished by the relations of the offended party, by whipping, and cutting off the hair and ears close to the head."[6]

Hawkins's account is shorter and his description recalls more nearly the ceremonies existing in later times:

"A man who wants a wife never applies in person; he sends his sister, his mother, or some other female relation, to the female relations of the woman he names. They consult the brothers and uncles on the maternal side, and sometimes the father; but this is a compliment only, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail. If the party applied to approve of the match, they answer accordingly, to the woman who made the application. The bridegroom then gets together a blanket, and such other articles of clothing as he is able to do, and sends them by the women to the females of the family of the bride. If they accept of them the match is made; and the man may then go to her house as soon as he chooses. And when he has built a house, made his crop and gathered it in, then made his hunt and brought home the meat, and put all this in the possession of his wife, the ceremony ends, and they are married; or as they express it, the woman is bound. From the first going to the house of the woman, till the ceremony ends, he is completely in possession of her.

"This law has been understood differently, by some hasty cuckolds, who insist, that when they have assisted the woman to plant her crop, the ceremony ends, and the woman is bound. A man never marries in his own tribe [i. e., clan]."[7]

Stiggins's testimony is to much the same effect:

"It is customary among them when a man selects the one that he wants for wife frequently without speaking to her or consulting her approbation to open the subject of his wishes for an alliance in their family, or have it done by some of his kinspeople, to some of her relatives though most properly to the uncle of the woman on the mother's side who has entire control of his nieces in cases of marriage or otherwise. Should the offer meet his approbation he does

[6] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 268-269.

[7] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72; also p. 42 on the authority of an old Abihka chief named Co-tau-lau or Tus-se-ki-ah Mic-co.

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not protract his consent longer than he can lay the proposal before her relations of the mother's side who are counted her mutual kinsmen and women, in which assembly the candidate's disposition and other qualities are discust. Neither the father nor any of the woman's father's family is ever consulted in the marriage of his children, as he and they are not of the same family, since the primogenitureship of all families descends from the mother. . . . When the uncle or relation has informed the rest of his kindred or clansmen of the proposal of marriage and by whom made, and [has indicated] that he approves the proposed match the rest of the family seldom refuse their assent; there is no fuss made of fortune, position, or chattels on either side. After such consultation, if the suitor should visit their dwelling before they do him, he is informed of the family acquiescence, and the bridal bed being publicly made for the pair, there is a conclusion of the courtship and marriage. After the consummation of the marriage and he finds her in clothes, should she be the first wife formally married to him and passes the *Boss ke tah* with him she is received as his actual wife by his kinsfolks and all others. After the solemnization of the new corn feast passes over them she is bound to him in the conception of his family during life or his pleasure. . . . As polygamy is only admitted among the men by the wife's consent, they use a great deal of craft to obtain it, in order to keep clear of the crime of adultery. All his later wives have to stay at their homes unless his wife should conclude with herself to let one stay with her in the house and do all the drudgery of the place as a waiting maid. By his wife's consent he can take as many wives or concubines as he chooses to maintain, but should his wife disapprove of his having a concubine and he obtain one against her will his wife's relations or clanspeople have it in their power to beat him and his concubine or second wife with sticks and cut off both their ears, after which he is separated from his wife and he has to retain the one beaten on his account. Nevertheless he has it in his power to keep his old wife single for four years or four *Booske tahs* unless she should elope with a man and elude the vigilance of his clan to the ensuing *Booske tah*. Then she is clear of punishment for her adultery, and ever after she is finally separated from him and the control of his clanswomen." [9]

The information on this subject which Hitchcock gathered from the Tukabahchee Indians contains some items not given by anyone else. He says:

"A young man wishing to marry a girl to whom he has taken a fancy goes to an aunt or some near female connection of his own and tells her his wishes. She then goes to the aunt or some near connection of the girl and makes it known. This connection of the

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 21-22.

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584 girl then goes to the parents of the girl and tells the story. The
585 girl is not consulted in the case. If the parents are willing, a time for the ceremony of marriage is appointed by the connections. At the time appointed an outer house or corn crib is selected near the girl's house and a bowl of sofkee (boiled corn) is placed under the projecting shed of the crib in sight from the house, and here the girl has the privilege of exerting a veto. The girl is informed of the whole business and if she chooses to allow the man to steal up and take a spoonful of sofkee without her seeing him, it is a marriage and the parties sleep the first night in the corn crib. This has been the old custom, but is going out of use. After the ceremony the young man is not allowed to visit the house of his wife by day for the period of a month, but must visit his wife after dark and go away before day. The sofkee part of the ceremony is now generally
595 dispensed with. If a married man takes another wife, the first wife may assent to it passively or, if she chooses, she may whip the woman, but in this case she must move away and yield all her rights to the latter, who becomes the principal wife. In this way the man may take as many women as he pleases and is able to support. The wife, in the exercise of her prerogative, has a right to the assistance of her female relations and when it is exercised the ceremony is severe and makes a lasting impression. The object is to disfigure their victim and the wife uses her nails, scratches the face of the new wife, and whips her with switches. (The severity of this ceremony must exercise a considerable restraint upon both husband and women, making it necessary to consult the wife in advance in order that her assent may be assured, before her rights are encroached upon. Alexander said he knew of a case (*saw it*—and heard the language) when a wife exercised her right, saying as she laid on the lash, "You think it is honey, but I will make it vinegar before I'm done with you.")[10]

585 "Among the Creeks" (says Claiborne), "the marriage ceremony is this: The man gives the woman a piece of venison or some kind of meat, and she gives him an ear of corn in the presence of witnesses. They are then man and wife, at least until the green-corn dance. Then the married couple are released if either of them thinks proper to break the contract. In such case the woman keeps the children."[11]

584 From the accounts obtained by myself it is evident that the regular
614 marriage or "binding" was a clan (or rather exogamous group) affair and that it could be initiated by the clan of the youth or that of the girl. According to one statement the maternal uncles and cousins of a girl—i. e., the people of her clan—talked the matter over—probably at a clan council—and decided upon the young man who ap-

[10] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[11] Claiborne, Miss., vol. i, p. 402.

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peared to them most eligible, one who was a good hunter, a good warrior, or a good ball player, or all of these, he being also of course outside of the prohibited degrees. All his qualifications were reviewed and all possible objections, consanguineal and other, considered. After a majority of the clan relations had agreed they informed the girl's parents, and the latter told their daughter to make her bed ready. Then the youth was brought, and, pointing to the bed, they said to him, "There is your bed. Lie in it." Then they went away and left them. 584 614

On the other hand, at a council of the clan to which a certain youth belonged it might be suggested that he was a nice fellow and getting along in years, and that such and such a girl was well brought up and cared for and an altogether desirable match, and that they had better send over to her people and ask for her. Then they would send someone over. The people of the girl's clan would meet and say "In a few days you will hear from us." The time having elapsed, word would be sent, and, if it were favorable, in a few days more the young man was conducted thither. Then the parents of the girl informed her what was expected of her and told her to prepare her bed. They brought the youth in and told the two that that was to be their bed henceforth.[12] In olden times this was the only legal marriage; nevertheless, from what has been quoted it is apparent that temporary unions were tolerated in the nature of trial marriages or with women who had become outcasts.

Speck was told that a wife sometimes accompanied her husband to his town and resided there, in which case the children belonged to that town.[13] This must have happened rather rarely and in any case would not affect the clanship of the children, which always remained the same as that of the mother. 591

The testimony obtained from the Texas Alabama is to much the same effect as the foregoing. Marriages were arranged by the clan uncles and aunts, and the father and mother of both parties, who first agreed together and then talked to the young people in order to presuade them to agree. When this was accomplished the girl prepared her couch for her husband, who came after all were asleep and got up and left before daylight. He did the same thing every night for about a week, and for a month afterwards his wife's people did not talk much to him nor he to them. 585 [584]

These ceremonies apply particularly to marriage between quite young people. It is said that in marriages which took place later in life the parties concerned had as much voice in the matter as their clansmen and clanswomen. Probably they had more, as the

[12] Sometimes a separate house was put up for them before the wedding took place. See p. 372, and Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

[13] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

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585 prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . .

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

595 "A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

181 611 836 "Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue."[14]

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.[15] It is an old ex post facto explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

583 It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

[14] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273 [15] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 21.

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traceable directly to false matings brought about by official action. 583
In their youth a man and a woman might be passive victims of mismating but, as we have seen, in later years they became to a great extent masters and mistresses of their own inclinations which could then be satisfied. Another way in which this could be brought about was through the unofficial marriage, although this was often for no more lofty motive than the gratification of sexual passion. Still it was one of the safety valves which nature, outraged by unnatural official marriages, constructed for itself.

Regarding divorce in late times I was told that if a married couple 586
did not get along well their relatives talked to them, and if they still kept pulling apart they finally let them separate.

Bossu says on this subject:

"A man among these peoples has the liberty of leaving his wife, but that seldom happens; if a woman is discovered committing adultery the least evil that can happen to her is to be repudiated. Then the husband abandons the cabin; if he has children he takes care of the boys, and his wife of the girls; the wife must, however, remain a widow for a year, while the husband can remarry at once. He can take back his wife; she, however, can not marry a second time until the end of a year." [16]

Other writers are more detailed. Hawkins says:

"This (divorce) is at the choice of either of the parties; the man may marry again as soon as he will; but she is bound till all the *Bookstau* of that year are over excepting in a case of marriage and parting in a season when there is no planting [or more properly speaking, during the season the man resides at the house of the woman and has possession of her during the continuation of the marriage ceremony]; in that case the woman is equally free to connect herself again as soon as she pleases. There is an inconsistency in the exception above since, in fact, in such season there can be no marriage; but the chiefs, in their report on this article, mentioned it as an exception, and this practice in these cases of half marriage prevails universally. As soon as a man goes to the house of his bride, he is in complete possession of her till the ceremony ends, and during this period the exception will apply. Marriage gives no right to the husband over the property of his wife, and when they part she keeps the children, the property belonging to them and her own." [17]

Swan says:

"If a separation is desired by either the man or his wife, it is commonly consented to, and takes place without ceremony; but he or she is not at liberty to take any other person as wife or husband,

[16] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 28.

[17] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 73-74. The bracketed clause is wanting in the Library of Congress copy of the Ms. It repeats the second sentence from the end.

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586 until after the celebration of the ensuing busk, at which, if they attend and partake of the physic and bathing, they are at once exonerated from the marriage-contract, and at liberty to choose again: but to be only intimate with any other person, between the time of separation and the ceremony of the next busk, is deemed as adultery, and would incur the penalty of whipping and cropping, as the custom of the country requires. This punishment, however, depends, sometimes, on the superior strength of the clan to which the injured party belongs." [18]

Bartram evidently has in mind only cases of adultery when he says that a divorced woman was looked upon as a harlot.[19]

Says Stiggins:

"Should she [the wife] be indolent and given to quarrel with him [her husband] and inattentive to his wants and disobedient to his commands, in any of the aforesaid cases he can make complaint to her family of such and quit her and marry another without a murmur from her clan or family. But in case she should prove a lewd woman and inconstant to him, she can be punished by his family or clans-people by beating her with large sticks until she cannot move and the cutting off both her ears close to her head, though the punishment may be inflicted contrary to the will or consent of her husband, which frequently happens. Then after her punishment for her inconstancy it is optional with her husband to repudiate or retain her still as his wife." [20]

The option of the husband is, as has been seen, denied by several other authorities.[21] As Stiggins's sources of information were of the best, it is probable either that the custom varied in different parts of the Creek area or that in his time the usage in this particular had begun to alter.

589 From an old Creek Indian I have the following account of the customs observed with respect to widows and widowers:

"A woman remained with her husband's parents for four years after the beginning of her widowhood. At the expiration of that period her husband's sisters would dress her up, take her to a dance, and tell her to enjoy herself. Then the people of her husband's clan would hold a council and select a good man for her. If she did not like him she was free to marry whomsoever she chose. Their duty was completed. It was the same when a man was left a widower, only then they talked to the woman fixed upon until she consented. After a man's wife died they would build a scaffold right over her grave and let the widower lie there four days. If he went with another woman before four years were completed they cut the end of his nose off and the end of the woman's nose and turned them

[18] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273.
[19] Bartram, Travels, p. 111.
[20] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 32.
[21] See pp. 350-351.

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loose. If a widow went astray during her mourning period they would cut her ears off and those of her accomplice. If a widow walked into a stream and a man walked into the same stream above so that the water ran down from him to her they were apt to cut off the ears of the two in just the same way. In passing a widow a man had to go to leeward of her if he wished to pass and escape punishment. (The same rules probably applied to widowers as well.) After the widow had received a new husband or the widower a new wife possession was given for one night, and then if they did not like each other they separated."

The next is from Sonak hadjo, chief of the Mikasuki:

"When a man died his wife had to remain a widow for four years, and during all of that time her condition was marked by the fact that she did not take any care of her hair. Every four months, however, another woman combed and cared for it for her. The widow also wore little clothing, merely a sheet around her body in even the coldest weather. When the four years were expired she bathed, put on good clothing, combed her hair, and waited until there was a big dance. Then her husband's sister, his niece, or some other near female relative of his led her to the dance after it had begun. If there was a suitable single male relative of her former husband he married her; if not the female relative said: 'I have no one to support you, so I will let you go. Go and look for yourself.' A widower had to wait only four months; otherwise he behaved similarly."

The following account comes from the Alabama Indians of Texas:

"After a man had lost his wife he remained in the house naked for four days. At the end of that time his wife's brothers brought a shirt and put it on him, and they all took their guns and went hunting. Perhaps a month later his wife's brothers again came to him, took him to a creek and washed his head and dressed up his hair and afterward they took him to the ball ground. There he sat, looking at the ground sadly, as if he were sick, but afterward he could go anywhere by himself. He could not marry outside of the clan of his former wife until four years were past, but he might marry his wife's sister in less time, and by his wife's sister is apparently meant any of the women of his first wife's clan. If he were a good man he could get his wife's sister easily; if not she would not be given to him.

"A woman left a widow remained in the house for four days, perhaps longer, and after some time, perhaps a year, her husband's sisters would come to her, take her to a stream, wash her head, dress her hair, give her a complete outfit of clean clothing, and carry her to the ball ground. There were six to ten women in all, one of whom acted as leader. Afterward the woman could go to the ball ground as much as she pleased."

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The man who furnished this account had himself been a widower twice, and therefore he ought to have been well informed regarding the regulations.

The best early account of ceremonies connected with widowhood is given by Stiggins, who says:

"It is customary for the clans people not to tolerate the widowed man to play jokes or touch a woman nor a woman a man during their [period of mourning].[22]

"As I have gone through their marriage ceremonies and touched on their state of widowhood,[23] I think it necessary to enlarge and be more explicit on the subject, therefore after marriage, should they live inseparable during their life, on the death of either the survivor is made a widow of in the following manner: viz., admitting that the woman should be the survivor, immediately after the man's burial the women on his mother's side connected to him, or his clan women, who are all the widow's guardians or retainers, proceed to divest her of her gay apparel and her other ornaments of dress such as brooches, beads and necklaces, and unloose her hair and spread it over her shoulders, in which situation she is to remain and consider herself a mourner for four years for her deceased husband, unless she is sooner relieved by the compassion of her retainers though at any time of her widowhood one of her deceased husband's brothers or cousins on his mother's side can relieve her by taking her to wife himself. Should he have a wife at the time it cannot be murmured at by any one as he is in duty naturally bound to raise seed to his brother and she is at his option or disposal; or she can be relieved by the clan women after a consultation. Should they think her in a bad situation they very often, before the expiration of her widowhood, have compassion on her forlorn state and then give her a comb to comb her hair, or some of them comb her hair for her, and [they] invest her with such clothes and ornaments as those of which she was divested for her widowhood.[24] After they have gone through this ceremony with her she is at liberty to marry whom she pleases, but should she not await the formal relief of her retainers, but in contempt of their prerogative, take to combing of her hair or marry a husband, they can treat her inconstancy in this as in any other case of adultery should she do it before the expiration of four years or four *Booske tahs*, from the death of her husband. But if she marries a man and elopes with him and eludes the vigilance of her retainers to the expiration of the

[22] A line is wanting in the original manuscript at this point, but the words in brackets complete the sense sufficiently well.

[23] See pp. 372-373.

[24] On this point compare what Adair says (pp. 183-184) and the following from Gregg: "She (the widow) remains in strict mourning for four years, with dishevelled hair and without combing—unless the relatives of the deceased interfere, whereby it is sometimes put an end to in a few months, provided the sincerity of her grief be evident and her conduct meritorious." (Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 316.)

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ensuing anniversary of the new corn crop then she is free of their constraint and can live with her husband without fear of punishment. Her husband is inseparably bound to her and cannot be implicated in the crime of adultery with her, all the crime being imputed to her lewd disposition and incontinency. The same constraint, ceremony, and restrictions are observed with the man should his wife die first."[25]

From a somewhat later period comes this information:

"When a husband dies his female relations have a right to prevent the marriage of the widow for four years. After the husband is buried the relatives take the widow from the grave to the nearest branch and immerse her in water; if once, she must remain a widow for one year; if twice, two years, and so on, but they can not exceed four years. If there is no branch near they perform the ceremony by dashing a bucket of water upon her, once, twice, and so on. . . . After the immersion she is carried back to the house where her husband died and is shut up within the house and kept there four days. A little girl is appointed to attend her and supply her with food, and no other person is allowed to go near her. In four cases out of five the husband is buried in the house where he died, under the bed, and the woman is obliged to sleep in the bed the four nights of her confinement to the house. A shed or small house is prepared near the dwelling, and after the four days have expired she is assigned to that house and compelled to live there during the period of her widowhood—one to four years. During that time she is not allowed to make or receive visits. No one is allowed to enter the house, though they may talk to her at the door. She is not allowed to wash her face, or comb her hair, or change her dress. The little girl attendant may "look" her head, and is privileged to eat what she finds—and she generally avails herself of the privilege. At the expiration of the widowhood the deceased's relatives repair to the house, take possession of the widow and wash her from head to foot (it is the female relations who do all this), comb her hair and dress it, and clothe her completely, often with a great deal of finery, and convey her to the Square, where a dance has been appointed for the occasion. She looks at the dance and joins in it if she chooses, and the same female relatives select some man to pass the night with her, and release her, as it is called, from her widowhood. The man must be single,[26a] and if after the night's acquaintance the parties agree, they live together as man and wife; if not, they separate and are free to do as they please. If a wife dies her female relations take the man to the branch [and treat him as in the case of a widow] except [that] the widower cannot be retained a widower over four months, and at the expiration of the time the women select a partner for the night as before."[26]

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[25] Niggles, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 32-34.

[26a] This is in case the widow is not espoused by her brother-in-law.

[26] Hitchcock Ms. notes.

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589 Elsewhere the same observer informs us that, in 1840, the Creek national council undertook to reduce the period of enforced widowhood to 12 months, but so much opposition was aroused that they were forced to restore the old law the next year.[37]

[736] The Tukabahchee chief informed Hitchcock that when there were widows or orphans with no one to take care of them he called the people out and had them put up a house for them, fence in a garden, and plant corn.

Claiborne says:

"With the Creeks, when a man dies, his wives can not dress up, or go into company, or attend the dances or appear in the town square, or bind up their hair for the period of 12 months, during which time they must remain chaste under the penalty of beating and cropping as above stated. The relations of the deceased husband have the privilege of releasing them from the observance of this custom before the year is out, but they seldom do so."[38]

[587 614] The fact comes out plainly in all of these accounts that the clan, or rather the family group within the clan, which has furnished the husband or the wife of the widow or widower feels itself under obligations to supply his or her place, and on the other hand that it has the prior right to supply it. That not merely the man but the group had acquired the right to the individual is shown clearly by Swan's statement above that a widow who made free with any man until after four summers was considered an adulteress. This does not mean a communal right, however; merely a right to furnish the bereaved party with another spouse.

As might have been anticipated, Adair has a great deal to say on this subject, though it must be understood that his remarks apply more particularly to the Chickasaw:

"All the Indian widows, by an established strict penal law, mourn for the loss of their deceased husbands; and among some tribes for the space of three or four years. . . .

"The Muskohge widows are obliged to live a chaste single life, for the tedious space of four years; and the Chikkasah women, for the term of three, at the risque of the law of adultery being executed against the recusants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the first year of her widowhood, she is obliged through the fear of shame to lament her loss, in very intense audible strains. . . .

"Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diversions, at the penalty of an adulteress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this respect. The

[37] See p. 384.
[38] Claiborne, Miss., vol. i, p. 466.

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place of interment is also calculated to wake the widow's grief, for he is intombed in the house under her bed. And if he was a war-leader, she is obliged for the first moon, to sit in the day-time under his mourning war-pole,[28] which is decked with all his martial trophies, and must be heard to cry with bewailing notes. But none of them are fond of that month's supposed religious duty, it chills, or sweats, and wastes them so exceedingly; for they are allowed no shade, or shelter. This sharp rigid custom excites the women to honour the marriage-state, and keeps them obliging to their husbands, by anticipating the visible sharp difficulties which they must undergo for so great a loss. The three or four years monastic life, which she lives after his death, makes it her interest to strive by every means, to keep in his lamp of life, be it ever so dull and worthless; if she is able to shed tears on such an occasion, they often proceed from self-love. We can generally distinguish between the widow's natural mourning voice, and her tuneful laboured strain. She doth not so much bewail his death, as her own recluse life, and hateful state of celibacy; which to many of them, is as uneligible, as it was to the Hebrew ladies. . . .

"The Choktah Indians hire mourners to magnify the merit and loss of their dead, and if their tears can not be seen to flow, their shrill voices will be heard to cry, which answers the solemn chorus a great deal better. However, they are no way churlish of their tears, for I have seen them, on the occasion, pour them out, like fountains of water: but after having thus tired themselves, they might with equal propriety have asked by-standers in the matter of the native Irish, Ara ci fuar bass—'And who is dead?'

"They formerly dressed their head with black moss on those solemn occasions; and the ground adjacent to the place of interment, they now beat with laurel-bushes, the women having their hair disheveled. . . .

"The [Chickasaw] Indian women mourn three moons, for the death of any female of their own family or tribe. During that time they are not to anoint, or tie up their hair; neither is the husband of the deceased allowed, when the offices of nature do not call him, to go out of the house, much less to join any company; and in that time of mourning he often lies among the ashes. The time being expired, the female mourners meet in the evening of the beginning of the fourth moon, at the house where their female relation is intombed, and stay there till morning, when the nearest surviving old kinswoman crops their fore-locks pretty short. This they call *Ehó Iuthnáah*,[29] 'the women have mourned the appointed time.' . . .

[28] The war-pole is a small peeled tree painted red, the top and boughs cut off short; it is fixt in the ground opposite to his door, and all his implements of war, are hung on the short boughs of it, till they rot—*Adair*. The use of this war-pole was not shared by the Indians of the Creek confederacy.

[29] *Ehó*—*ehoyi* (intransit., probably from *ioni*, "to rise up from a prostrate position."

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589 When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

"Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself. . . .

"The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, 'Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;' the most degrading of epithets."[280]

548 A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint [302] their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

171 It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the 589 slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.[281] It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive;* they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

562 Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, "In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." 592 In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

[280] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156-158.

[281] Milfort, Mém., p. 266.

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as it appeared in 1912. This was largely because it was thought that to sleep much with women enervated a man and incapacitated him as a warrior.[30] Adair says that in their town houses the women were separated from the warriors, and were merely allowed to sit at each side of the entrance "as if they were only casual spectators,"[31] and anciently they had no seats on the square ground. Among the Chickasaw six old beloved women were the only participants in the annual ceremony.[32]

562 [833] 592

Regarding the labors of women the last mentioned writer declares: "The women are the chief, if not the only, manufacturers; the men judge that if they performed that office, it would exceedingly depreciate them."[33] In fact women anciently, in addition to the indoors work of the house, made all of the pottery and basketry, and did all of the spinning and weaving of bison hair, mulberry bark, etc. The initial preparation of skins was sometimes performed by men, but most of the subsequent work upon it fell to the women. They made drying frames and dried peaches and other fruits upon them, and they of course pounded the corn and did the cooking.

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The principal occupations of the men were hunting, ball playing, war, and rites connected with the use of medicine and ceremonial affairs. They built the houses, the corncribs, and the structures belonging to the square ground, felled trees, made canoes and mortars, drums, pipes, cabinets, ball sticks, and of course in olden times the axes and the arrows, bows, war clubs, and most of the other articles used in hunting and war. When hunting at a distance from home they cut up the meat, loaded it on horses, and brought it back. It is evident that their labors amounted to considerable in the aggregate, although they were not so evenly sustained throughout the year as those of women. The smaller garden plots were cared for almost exclusively by women, but the town fields were tended by individuals of both sexes, and Bartram says that "there are not one-third as many females as males seen at work in their plantations; for, at this season of the year, by a law of the people, they do not hunt, the game not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in, so the males have little else with which to employ themselves."[34] Later on in the season the same writer tells us that the labor falling upon women was harder.

[224] [241]

"In the hunting season, that is in autumn and winter, the men are generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls on the women, who are than obliged to undergo a good deal of labor, such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they toat on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the ancient large towns, where the commons and old fields extend some

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[30] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272. [31] Ibid., p. 422.
[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 152. [33] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 31.
[34] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

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462 miles to the woodland. But this labor is in part alleviated by the assistance of the old men, who are past their hunting days and no longer participate in the wars; who remain in the towns. They have likewise the aid of horses in this work. The women also gather an incredible amount of nuts and acorns, which they manufacture into oil for annual consumption." [35]

562 Altogether Bartram's judgment regarding the position of women among the Creeks was very favorable.

"You may depend upon my assertion that there is no people any where who love their women more than these Indians do, or men of better understanding in distinguishing the merits of the opposite sex, or more faithful in rendering suitable compensation. They are courteous and polite to the women, and gentle, tender and fondling, even to an appearance of effeminacy, to their offspring. An Indian never attempts, nay, he can not use towards a woman amongst them any indelicacy or indecency, either in action or language.

"I never saw or heard of an instance of an Indian beating his wife or other female, or reproving them in anger or in harsh language. And the women make a suitable and grateful return; for they are discreet, modest, loving, faithful, and affectionate to their husbands." [36]

On the other hand we find Pope saying:

462 "The cultivation of the soil and almost every domestic drudgery are imposed upon their women, who are less prolific than ours; probably owing to their hard labor and excessively coarse and scanty diet." [37]

Romans says: "The labour of the field is all done by the women," [38] and in another place he thus enlarges upon their work in general. The "principal exercises [of the men] at home are ball playing in the manner afore related, and the just mentioned dances; the women are employed, besides the cultivation of the earth, in dressing the victuals, preparing, scraping, braining, rubbing and smoaking the Roe skins, making macksens of them, spinning buffaloe wool, making salt, preparing cassine drink, drying the *chamærops* and *passiflora*, making cold flour for travelling, gathering nuts and making their milk; likewise in making baskets, brooms, pots, bowls and other earthen and wooden vessels." [39]

562 Hawkins says tersely that the Creek men made slaves of their women who in turn exercised "absolute rule, such as it was, over their children." [40]

However, Swan is as usual the leading devil's advocate against the Creeks. He remarks:

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[35] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 31-32.
[36] Ibid., p. 31.
[37] Pope, Tour, p. 60.
[38] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 92.
[39] Ibid., p. 96.
[40] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 88.

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"The women perform all the labor, both in the house and field, and are, in fact, but slaves to the men, being subject to their commands without any will of their own, except in the management of the children. They are universally called wenches; and the only distinction between them and the negro women is, that they have Indian children; and when a man would have you understand that he is speaking of his wife, he designates her as his son's mother, etc. Yet in this unhappy, servile state, the women are remarkable for their care and attention to the men, constantly watching over them in their desperate drunkenness and quarrels, with their utmost solicitude and anxiety. . . ."[41] 562

"A stranger going into the country must feel distressed, when he sees naked women bringing in huge burdens of wood on their backs, or bent under the scorching sun, at hard labor in the field; while the indolent, robust young men are riding about, or stretched at ease on some scaffold, amusing themselves with a pipe, or a whistle."[42] 181 462

In another place we read:

"The men, in general, are of a good size, stout, athletic and handsome: the women are of good height, but coarse, thick-necked and ugly. Being condemned, by the custom of the country, to carry burdens, pound corn, and perform all the hard labor, they are universally masculine in appearance, without one soft blandishment to render them desirable or lovely. Both sexes have a phlegmatic coldness and indifference, uncommon and unknown to most white people."[43]

This last statement Swan confirms by citing the apparent indifference exhibited by a husband and wife when they met after a long separation.

I may add that in 1911–12 I was several times told that Creek Indians would let their wives walk home from town carrying heavy loads, while they hung about for some time and finally hired a liveryman to take them, perhaps passing their wives on the way.

Nevertheless, the condemnation of the Indians by Pope, Swan, and others is as unintelligent as the praises bestowed by Bartram. A people or a person can be judged properly only by observing the conformity or lack of conformity which their actions bear to the ethical and social standards among them, not by the measure of ethical or social standards among other people. And secondly, the presence or absence and in general the intensity of emotions can not be assumed because their expression is less or different from that to which the critic is himself accustomed. I have already called attention to Swan's misconception regarding marriage relations owing to the difference between the significance of Indian and white terms 181 562

[41] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272. [42] Ibid., p. 273. [43] Ibid., p. 274.

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181 562 [593] of relationship.[44] In the quotation given above he[1] makes another blunder when he assumes that from the apparent indifference exhibited by an Indian couple when they meet after a long separation a constitutional "phlegmatic coldness and indifference" may be inferred. The self-restraint and seeming unconcern exhibited was simply a native custom from which nothing at all regarding the real feelings could be deduced. It may be added that the hard life of Indian women to which he refers was not usually considered hard by them but as the customary and essential, and it was in large measure but their share of a life which was harder all around than the lives of many civilized human beings. It was certainly not as hard as the lives of many of our sweatshop and mill operatives, and there is this to be said for it besides that it did not exist side by side with and thereby shame a theoretically lofty moral standard. On the other hand the "care and attention" which Creek women bestowed upon their men must be read in connection with the drastic regulations to which a widow was subjected.[44a] Collective virtues and vices are so closely bound up with economic conditions that it would be easy to show how both as they exist among Indians show to advantage or suffer in comparison with virtues and vices among ourselves. It is probably true also that white contact by putting an [177] end to intertribal warfare and to hunting, the chief occupations of the men in olden times, has shown up the division of labor between men and women with some disadvantage to the men, because the old traditions regarding division of labor have persisted into a period when a new arrangement is rendered necessary. This is not said with the idea of justifying Indian or European customs. Some of these were doubtless due to economic conditions which were indeed their sufficient excuse at one time. Many, too, may be perversions of customs which once had some reason for their existence though the perversions themselves have not and never had any such basis. In these cases history may furnish a palliation and an excuse but it can not give a justification, and the sooner such custom is abolished the better.

It is not just then to condemn the Creeks on account of some of their customs or to praise them overmuch on account of others. But, abstracting the customs themselves from the people, we may say that those of the Creeks were upon the whole on a distinctly higher level than the customs of most of the hunting tribes of American Indians and indeed than those of most of the agricultural tribes about them.

BURIAL

764 In the accounts of burial customs, as well as in those of marriages, there are considerable differences, and here again it is evident that

[44] See p. 376. [44a] See pp. 382-384.

1 [i.e., Swan.--Analyst]

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the customs themselves were diverse. As usual, I place first what Adair has to say upon the subject, his account being one of the oldest. It probably contains the best exposition of the ancient rites among the Chickasaw. In these as in so many other matters the Chickasaw were nearer to the Creeks than to the related Choctaw.

After stating that the bones of those who had died at a distance from home were gathered and brought back and that in burying they separated them carefully from the remains of other people—by which he probably means not only other tribes but other clans of the same tribe—Adair continues as follows:

"When any of them die at a distance, if the company be not driven and pursued by the enemy, they place the corpse on a scaffold, covered with notched logs to secure it from being torn by wild beasts, or fowl of prey; when they imagine the flesh is consumed, and the bones are thoroughly dried, they return to the place, bring them home, and inter them in a very solemn manner. They will not associate with us, when we are burying any of our people, who die in their land; and they are unwilling we should join with them while they are performing this kindred duty to theirs. Upon which account, though I have lived among them in the raging time of the small-pox, even of the confluent sort, I never saw but one buried, who was a great favourite of the English, and chieftain of *Ooeasa* as formerly described.

"The Indians use the same ceremonies to the bones of their dead, as if they were covered with their former skin, flesh, and ligaments. It is but a few days since I saw some return with the bones of nine of their people, who had been two months before killed by the enemy. They were tied in white deer-skins, separately; and when carried by the door of one of the houses of their family, they were laid down opposite to it, till the female relations convened, with flowing hair, and wept over them about half an hour. Then they carried them home to their friendly magazines of mortality, wept over them again, and then buried them with the usual solemnities; putting their valuable effects, and as I am informed, other convenient things in along with them, to be of service to them in the next state. The chieftain carried twelve short sticks tied together, in the form of a quadrangle; so that each square consisted of three. The sticks were only peeled, without any paintings; but there were swans feathers tied to each corner, and . . . they called that frame, *Tereekpe tobeh*,[48] 'a white circle,' and placed it over the door, while the women were weeping over the bones. . . .

"When a warrior dies a natural death (which seldom happens) the war-drums, musical instruments, and all other kinds of diversion, are

[48] Byington gives *tilkpi* as an ancient word meaning "shield" and distinct from the word for circle. *Tobi* is "white."

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764 laid aside for the space of three days and nights. . . . [And whether the deceased is a warrior or not] "they wash and anoint the corpse, and soon bring it out of doors for fear of pollution; then they place it opposite to the door, on the skins of wild beasts, in a sitting posture, as looking into the door of the winter house, westward, sufficiently supported with all his movable goods; after a short eulogium, and space of mourning, they carry him three times around the house in which he is to be interred, stopping half a minute each time, at the place where they began the circle, while the religious man of the deceased person's family, who goes before the hearse, says each time, *Yàh*, short with a bass voice, and then invokes in a tenor key, *Yo*, which at the same time is likewise sung by all the procession, as long as one breath allows. Again, he strikes up, on a sharp treble key, the fœminine note, *He*, which in like manner, is taken up and continued by the rest: then all of them suddenly strike off the solemn chorus, and sacred invocation, by saying in a low key, *Wàh*. . . . This is the method in which they performed the funeral rites of the chieftain before referred to; during which time, a great many of the traders were present, as our company was agreeable at the interment of our declared friend and patron. . . .

"When they celebrated these funeral rites of the above chieftain they laid the corpse in his tomb, in a sitting posture, with his face towards the east,[49] his head anointed with bear's oil, and his face painted red, but not streaked with black, because that is a constant emblem of war and death; he was drest in his finest apparel, having his gun and pouch, and trusty hiccory bow, with a young panther's skin, full of arrows, along side of him, and every other useful thing he had been possessed of,—that when he rises again, they may serve him in that tract of land which pleased him best before he went to take his long sleep. His tomb was firm and clean inside. They covered it with thick logs, so as to bear several tiers of cypress bark, and such a quantity of clay as would confine the putrid smell, and be on a level with the rest of the floor. They often sleep over those tombs; which, with the loud wailing of the women at the dusk of the evening, and dawn of the day, on benches close by the tombs, must awake the memory of their relations very often; and if they were killed by an enemy, it helps to irritate and set on such revengeful tempers to retaliate blood for blood. . . .

"These rude Americans . . . imagine if any of us were buried in the domestic tombs of their kindred, without being adopted, it would be very criminal in them to allow it; and that our spirits would haunt the eaves of the houses at night, and cause several misfortunes to their family. . . .

[49] In later times, when the body was buried at full length, the head was consequently toward the west. This seems to have been the custom of most of the Southeastern Indians.

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"To perpetuate the memory of any remarkable warriors killed in the woods, I must here observe, that every Indian traveller as he passes that way throws a stone on the place, according as he likes or dislikes the occasion, or manner of the death of the deceased.

"In the woods we often see innumerable heaps of small stones in those places, where according to tradition some of their distinguished people were either killed, or buried, till the bones could be gathered; there they add Pelion to Ossa, still increasing each heap, as a lasting monument, and honor to them, and an incentive to great actions. . . .

"The Indians place those heaps of stones where there are no dividings of the roads, nor the least trace of any road. And they then observe no kind of religious ceremony, but raise those heaps merely to do honor to their dead, and incite the living to the pursuit of virtue. . . .

"To prevent pollution, when the sick person is past hope of recovery, they dig a grave, prepare the tomb, anoint his hair, and paint his face; and when his breath ceases, they hasten the remaining funeral preparations, and soon bury the corpse. One of a different family will never, or very rarely, pollute himself for a stranger; though when living, he would cheerfully hazard his life for his safety; the relations, who become unclean by performing the funeral duties, must live apart from the clean for several days, and be cleansed by some of their religious order, who chiefly apply the button-snakeroot for their purification, as formerly described: when they purify themselves by ablution. After three days, the funeral assistants may convene at the town-house, and follow their usual diversions. But the relations live recluse for a long time, mourning the dead. . . .

"The modern Indians bury all their movable riches, according to the custom of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, insomuch, that the grave is heir of all. . . .

"Notwithstanding . . . they never give them the least disturbance; even a blood-thirsty enemy will not despoil nor disturb the dead. The grave proves an asylum, and a sure place of rest to the sleeping person, till at some certain time, according to their opinion, he rises again to inherit his favorite place,—unless the covetous, or curious hand of some foreigner, should break through his sacred bounds."[50]

Adair cites an instance of reform, however, in the case of Malahche, chief of Coweta, and a long-standing friend of the whites, who left all of his property to his relations instead of allowing it to be buried with his corpse.[51] [428]

In another place Adair says that—"When any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at

[50] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 179-181.

[51] Ibid., p. 178.

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764 a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [the souls of the departed]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed place, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise." [52]

In still another place he notes that immediately after anyone had died the father or a brother of the deceased took a live firebrand, brandished it two or three times about his head with lamenting words, dipped it into the water with his right hand and let it sink down.[53]

Romans states that—

"The dead are buried in a sitting posture, and they are furnished with a musket, powder and ball, a hatchet, pipe, some tobacco, a club, a bow and arrows, a looking glass, some vermillion and other trinkets, in order to come well provided in the world of spirits." [54]

Pope says that the articles buried with the deceased included, besides inanimate objects, "horses, cows, hogs, and dogs," and he cites the case of a girl with whose corpse a favorite pig was buried.[55]

It seems improbable that large animals like horses and cows should be disposed of in such a manner, yet Hitchcock supports Pope's statement in the matter of horses and dogs.[55a]

Bartram's account perhaps applies to a period when the custom of burying things with the deceased had begun to decline. He says:

"The Muscogulgees bury their deceased in the earth. They dig a four-square deep pit under the cabin or couch which the deceased lay on, in his house, lining the grave with cypress bark, where they place the corpse in a sitting posture, as if it were alive; depositing with him his gun, tomahawk, pipe, and such other matters as he had the greatest value for in his life time. His eldest wife, or the queen dowager, has the second choice of his possessions, and the remaining effects are divided amongst his other wives and children." [56]

The Creek burial is thus described by Swan:

"When one of a family dies, the relations bury the corpse about four feet deep, in a round hole dug directly under the cabin or rock whereon he died. The corpse is placed in the hole in a sitting posture, with a blanket wrapped about it, and the legs bent under it and tied together. If a warrior, he is painted, and his pipe, ornaments, and warlike appendages are deposited with him. The grave is then covered with canes tied to a hoop round the top of the hole, and then a firm layer of clay, sufficient to support the weight of a man. The relations howl loudly and mourn publicly for four days.

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[52] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.
[53] Ibid., p. 405.
[54] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 85-86.
[55] Pope, Tour, p. 58.
[55a] See p. 393.
[56] Bartram, Travels, pp. 513-514.

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If the deceased has been a man of eminent character, the family immediately remove from the house in which he is buried, and erect a new one, with a belief that where the bones of their dead are deposited, the place is always attended by 'goblins and chimeras dire.'" [57]

Elsewhere he says:

"If a man dies in the town the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage." [58]

Hitchcock's notes shed new light upon the subject:

"The custom of firing four guns, one at each corner of a grave, has for its object to send the spirit of the deceased off. This custom is still prevalent.

"At a burial everything of the nature of personal property is buried with the body of the deceased. Formerly horses were killed and buried, a dog, and the like. The clothing is still buried with the dead. The dead have no shoes or moccasins on, but are buried in stockings or barefooted. Their friends don't wish to hear them walking about. The face of the dead is painted red and black, ear bobs are put on, etc., and their friends frequently throw tokens into the grave. The dead are buried with a handkerchief in each hand. If a man dies from drunkenness, a bottle of whiskey is buried with him, as they say that, dying from liquor, he will want a dram when he awakes in the other world.

"The male and female friends of the dead, meet for four successive mornings after the burial and cry. When a chief dies his friends take the black drink eight successive mornings and live on gruel or white sofkee made without salt. All those who are engaged in the burial of a dead body are obligated to wash their hands in the same bucket of water before they touch anything. They think that to touch a child or anything a child eats from before purification will make the child sickly. It is a common belief that only the relations of the dead must bury the dead and that if any other person, not a relative, touches a dead body that person will be the next to die. In consequence of this, when sickness prevailed to a great extent and great numbers died in 1837 and 1838 many were not buried, but their bones yet whiten upon the surface of the ground in various parts of the nation." [59]

[57] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270. [58] Ibid., p. 265. [59] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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He does not speak of the grave as situated under the house floor in the above account but in another place he indicates that, if it were not then the custom to place it there, it had been such only a short time before.

"Mr. Chapman told me at the North Fork that there were not more than 300 remaining of Black Dirt's party of Seminoles, about 200 having died. 'There are two under that bed,' said he, pointing to the bed where I had slept the night preceding. I looked toward the bed, when he added 'and one under our feet' (just in front of the fire place). When Black Dirt first came to this country [by the Canadian in Oklahoma] from Florida in 1836 he settled on the North Fork and occupied the house we were then in and, it seems, had buried some of his family or friends under it. That was the friendly part of the Seminoles who separated from the hostiles in 1835 on the death (murder) of Charley Emathla, who was killed by the hostiles for consenting to emigrate." [60]

Following is Doctor Speck's account of the burial rites in use among the Tuskegee Creeks:

"The body, as soon as the soul, residing in the heart, has left it, is treated as follows: The male members of the family take their guns and go outside of the house and there fire them off to make known the death to the rest of the village. The friends and relatives then assemble at the house and spend some time in mourning and expressing grief. No one, however, cares to touch the corpse in fear of evil consequences. It is said that during an epidemic some time ago there was such difficulty in getting persons to dispose of the dead that the bodies lay around the village unburied until the people had to leave. Only persons who have been properly fortified by magic rituals dare handle the body.

"The corpse is then carried to the burying ground, where a grave has been dug, and lowered in. Some relative then discharges a rifle toward the four cardinal points. Slabs of elm-bark are put over the body, and as soon as the earth is thrown in they clap their hands and shout and laugh. Coffee is put in a cup over the left shoulder and clothes are laid along the side of the body. The fresh earth dug from the grave is believed to produce sickness in the form of rheumatism in the person who steps on it. A small house, either of logs or of boards, is then constructed over the grave. A fire is kindled at the head of the grave and tended for four days by the relatives until the soul is believed to have reached the passage to the sky. As soon as they reach home after the interment the members of the family put some powdered ginseng, or white root, into a cup and blow it around the house and yard to keep the spirit of the dead from returning. Formerly horses were killed at the grave in order that their spirits might carry the soul toward the spirit land.

[60] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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"The fire, which was always burning in the house, was allowed to go out when a death occurred, so when the mortuary rites were concluded a new fire was kindled with a ceremony and song called tū' tkamodjása ingasúpid, 'fire new its cooling.' "[a]

Jackson Lewis told me that in Alabama, where he was born, burial inside the house was usual. The grave was dug in one corner flush with the wall, for there were then no floors, and after the body had been placed within, they raised a little house over it, 2½ or 3 feet high, and covered it with split planks laid close together. They daubed the sides and top with a thick coating of clay and used the grave as a bed. But before doing so they made some medicine and sprinkled the walls, the ceiling, and in fact the entire house with it in order to counteract any evil influences that might emanate from the body. Jackson Lewis's own father, who had been killed by a white man in the old country, was cared for in this manner. After moving to Oklahoma the Creeks buried mostly away from the houses. The body was drawn up and placed in a sitting posture facing the east, because that quarter is associated with the renewal of life. The grave was lined with split planks, and a rug, or else some cloth, was laid on the bottom. The man who dug the grave and handled the body had been provided with a medicine made of four herbs—horsemint, maremint, spicewood, and everlasting—and he anointed himself with this from time to time. After they had placed the body in the grave each of those present brought a handful of earth and threw it in. Then, at the direction of the man who had charge of the ceremony, all marched down to the creek and plunged under water four times, after which they rubbed medicine on their bodies. No food was placed by the body, only certain articles of which the deceased had been very fond. A fire was lighted near by and kept burning for four days, because, as one informant explained, the ghost of a dead man stays about for that length of time. When his soul was supposed to be taking its departure from his body guns were discharged. The ceremony of throwing earth on the corpse was also related by a Cherokee Indian as a custom of his people, and it may have been introduced by the whites, although the man who gave me most of the above information was advanced in years and well up in the old customs of his people. The Cherokee Indian just mentioned was present once at the burial of a Creek woman, and he says that all sorts of things were inhumed with the body, including nice dresses and the varieties of food that she liked best. When the first earth was being put in they added some live coals. Then the body was covered over completely, and the medicine man blew into a pot of medicine in which everyone present washed his or her face and hands, sprinkling some over the clothing. The medicine man

[a] Speak in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. 2, pp. 118, 119.]

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also had all of them drink a little of it. The mention of food is in disagreement with what I was told by others, and no one else seemed to know about the live coals. The doctor, however, was a Natchez, and the customs observed may have been in part Natchez customs. A little structure of logs laid lengthwise and surmounted by a shingled roof was built in later times over each grave, and made just large enough to cover it (pl. 1, *c*). A half mile south of Seminole, Okla., I saw a grave in which slabs of stone took the place of wood. Eakins says that "The ages of deceased persons or number of scalps taken by them, or war-parties which they have headed, are recorded on their grave posts by this system of strokes,"[62] meaning single strokes for units and crosses for tens. This recording of ages can have been only in very late times, if at all, as they were generally ignorant of these. During the period of mourning the relatives of the deceased painted their faces black all over. Unlike the custom in many tribes, the name of the deceased could be mentioned, but he was always referred to in the plural as "they."

From Sonak hadjo, chief of the Mikasuki, I obtained the following information which is of particular importance because there is evidence that the Mikasuki are a branch of the Chiaha Indians and through them related to the ancient Yamasee and the Indians of the Georgia coast.

In very old times when a Mikasuki died they took his body to a forked tree and laid it in the fork face down and head to the west. They burned his property. Later they left it by his body instead. Before the Civil War, however, they changed the custom of burying. They then laid down some split logs, placed the body upon these, and arranged other split logs at the sides and over the top. Then they set up a couple of logs at each end in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, laid another log upon the crotches, and along each side placed a row of short logs, with their upper ends resting on the long log. A number of persons prepared this grave, working at night, and they laid the body in it. After they had gotten through and had returned to the house from which the body had been taken a pot of medicine was prepared, the medicine man blew into it, and they then had to drink this and vomit it up. After that they could eat. The persons who performed this service were taken from several different clans.

A fire was formerly built at the head of the grave, and it was kept up for four days. At the end of that time the fire was put out in the house where the man had died and a new one was built. Before the Civil War, if a man had a horse that he loved very much, they shot it close to his grave; they also broke his favorite gun on a tree and threw the pieces by the body. The same thing would be done to the leg-rattles of a woman, and they also burned up her property.

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[62] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 272.

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After the Civil War they began to bury in the ground, lining the grave with split logs and also covering it with them. Then, too, only about four persons did the work. While they were so employed they had their faces painted red, and this paint was called tisi'. For the space of four months after the duty had been accomplished they had to eat apart out of a separate dish. If they belonged to different houses each man had his own dish. If the burial was in winter they hoed away the grass, leaves, branches, etc., from the grave so that the grave house would not be burned.

Before the Civil War there was a chief of the Mikasuki named Kapitca miko (Mikasuki Kapitc miki). When he died they laid his body away, south of Wetumka, in the old manner, without digging a grave. Afterward the Negro slaves went there and piled a great quantity of stones above it. Sonak hadjo himself saw it in that place after the war. This was not a regular custom, but the Indians did it at that time because they had Negro slaves to command and because they thought a great deal of that chief. [567]

"While the Yamacraw Indians were in England with Tomochichi one of their number died and was buried by his companions in the ground, strapped between two boards." [63]

Bossu has the following regarding the burial customs of the Alabama in the middle of the eighteenth century:

"The Allibamons bury their dead in a sitting position; in order to justify this usage they say that the man is upright, and has his head turned toward the heaven his dwelling, and that it is for this reason that they bury their fellowmen in this attitude; they give him a calumet and tobacco to smoke in order that he may make peace with the people of the other world; if he is a warrior he is buried with his arms, which are a gun, powder, and balls, a quiver provided with arrows, a bow, a casse-tête, whether a wooden club or a hatchet, and moreover a mirror, and some vermilion with which to make his toilet in the world of souls.

"When a man kills himself whether from despair or in sickness, he is deprived of burial, and thrown into the river, because he is then considered a coward." [64] [762]

In another place he speaks of the mourning on account of a war chief in the following terms:

"When a great war chief of the nation dies the mourning consists in refraining from painting oneself and bathing; the men daub the whole of their bodies with soot which they dilute with bear's oil; in a word they renounce all kinds of diversions." [65]

As the southern Indian world of the dead was overhead Bossu's explanation of their reason for burying the body sitting up probably

[63] Jones, Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 182.
[64] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. 2, pp. 40-50.
[65] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

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764 involves one real aboriginal explanation of the custom. His account of the treatment accorded the body of a suicide I have seen nowhere else.

The Alabama now living in Texas give the following account of their old burial customs:

Nowadays several persons dig a grave, but in former times a single old man performed the office. While he was at work upon it he ate by himself, for it was thought that anyone who ate with him would fall sick. He did not smoke, and, no matter how hot the sun was, he drank no water. Anciently the body was bundled tightly together, wrapped about, and placed upon a board which was then sunk into the earth, head to the east, so that when his spirit got up it would be in the right position to start on the spirit trail westward.[66] A framework of poles was afterwards put all about the grave. Afterwards the gravedigger washed his clothes, took some of the button-snake root, and vomited. Then he could eat, and the relatives of the deceased gave him a horse in payment. Those who attended to burials in later times must duck all over in the creek four times no matter how cold the weather. My informant had done this when ice was on the water and the snow flying, and he almost fainted from the cold. Blankets were put under the head of the corpse as a pillow and a butcher knife in his hand with which to fight off an eagle supposed to infest the trail of the dead. For four days the wife or husband and the children and near relatives visited the grave every morning before breakfast and every evening before supper, and at their evening visits they lighted a fire at the head. After each of these visits they went to a stream, bathed all over, and washed their clothing before they ate. For four days they must eat no food that contained salt, and during the same period they remained quiet and made no noise. Not only the family but all of the people abstained from playing ball then, though they might do some hunting.

Although the later accounts do not mention the custom of discharging a gun the moment a death took place, it appears from Gregg that it was maintained until after the Creeks had removed west.[67]

[845] Among all of the Creek tribes a miscarriage, a stillborn child, or a very young child was laid away in a hollow tree where it was nicely ceiled in. Otherwise it was thought that there would be a drought, that a pestilence would break out, or that deaths from other causes would occur.

The Diurnal Cycle

512 805 Adair has the following regarding divisions of the day recognized among the Chickasaw, with which those of the Creeks were practically identical:

[66] This means that the body was laid flat on its back. The orientation must have been different from that common among the Creeks generally.

[67] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. XX, p. 318.

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"They count the day also by the three sensible differences of the sun, like the Hebrews—sunrise, they term, *Hassé kootcha meente* [hâshi kucha minti], 'the sun's coming out';—noon, or mid-day, *Tabookòre* [tabokoli]; and sun-set, *Hassé Oobea* [hâshi âbia], literally, 'the sun is dead'; likewise, *Hasse Ookka'tòra* [hâshi okatula], that is, 'the sun is fallen into the water'; the last word is compounded of *Ookka* [oka], water, and *Etòra* [itola], to fall; it signifies also 'to swim,' as instinct would direct those to do, who fell into the water. And they call dark, Ookklille [oklili]—derived from *Ookka* [oka], water and *Illeh* [illi], dead;[68] which shews their opinions of the sun's disappearance, according to the ancients, who said the sun slept every night in the western ocean. They subdivide the day, by any of the aforesaid three standards—as half way between the sun's coming out of the water; and in like manner, by midnight, or cock-crowing, etc."[69] 512 821 805

The Creeks rose early, and, as we have already described, ran to the creek or the nearest water to plunge in four times before they returned to the fire. Perhaps they owed to this regulation in a measure their skill as swimmers. 512 515

Adair says:

"Except the Choktah, all our Indians, both male and female, above the state of infancy, are in the watery element nearly equal to amphibious animals, by practice: and from the experiments necessity has forced them to, it seems as if few were endued with such strong natural abilities,—very few can equal them in their wild situation of life."[70]

He attributes the deficiencies of the Choctaw in this particular to an absence of deep rivers or creeks in their country and he was so much impressed by the failing that he mentions it four times and gives it as the principal cause of the greater part of the losses they had suffered in their wars with the Muskogee.[71] How much truth there may have been in this we do not know. Whatever there was could probably have been traced to something in their environment or their customs.

While in later times, at least, the ancient Creeks did not have meals at regular hours as with us, they had two meals at irregular hours, one between 7 and 10 in the morning, the other around 2 in the afternoon. There was always a pot of sofki ready into which anyone could dip whenever the spirit moved him, and Swan says they resorted to it about once an hour.[72] This was their only supper. Labor was performed early by both men and women, and ordinarily it was laid aside about 2 o'clock, after which a ball game might be indulged in, and in the evening a dance until late at night. 512 264

[68] The etymology is probably altogether wrong.
[69] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 75.
[70] Ibid., p. 406.
[71] Ibid., pp. 388, 391-392, 394, 404.
[72] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.

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512 The following cross-section of a Seminole Indian village "in action" is given by Bartram, and is interesting in this connection:

"As I continued coasting the Indian shore [i. e., the west shore of the St. Johns River] . . . on doubling a promontory, I suddenly saw before me an Indian settlement, or village. It was a fine situation, the bank rising gradually from the water. There were eight or ten habitations, in a row or street, fronting the water, and about fifty yards distant from it. Some of the youth were naked, up to their hips in the water, fishing with rods and lines; whilst others, younger, were diverting themselves in shooting frogs with bows and arrows. On my near approach, the little children took to their heels, and ran to some women who were hoeing corn; but the stouter youth stood their ground, and, smiling, called to me. As I passed along, I observed some elderly people reclined on skins spread on the ground, under the cool shade of spreading Oaks and Palms, that were ranged in front of their houses: they arose, and eyed me as I passed, but perceiving that I kept on without stopping, they resumed their former position." [73]

The Annual Cycle

805 821 Adair says that the Indians divided the year into four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, and numbered the years by any one of them. He gives the names of these periods in the Cherokee and Chickasaw languages. The last are Otoolpha, Tóme palle, Ashtòramóona, and Ashtòra.[74] He derives Otoolpha from "oolpha, the name of a bud or to shoot out," but I am unable to identify the word in Choctaw unless it is *àlba*, "vegetation, herbs, plants, weeds," and it may be a Chickasaw term. Tóme palle signifies "bright and warm" or "warm brightness." Palle, or pàlli, is a Chickasaw word and it would seem from Byington's dictionary [75] that it was later used by itself to signify "summer." The next name would be in Choctaw *hàshtula himona* or *hàshtulàmmona*, "the beginning of winter," and the last *hàshtula*. *Hàshtula* means "winter" in Choctaw as well as Chickasaw, but autumn is *hàshtulahpi*, "beginning of winter," the significance being about the same. The Choctaw, however, use *tofa* for summer and *tofahpi* for spring.

In Creek, while the distinction of four seasons was probably made, at least at times, out of regard for the sacred number four, summer and winter were, as Swan tells us, principally used in counting the years, and the months were divided into two series which were supposed to correspond to those two seasons but in fact cut both summer and winter about in half.[76] The existence of the two series

[73] Bartram, Travels, pp. 90-91.
[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 74.
[75] Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[76] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 276-277.

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accounts for a discrepancy between the statements of Adair and Swan, the former asserting that the year began with "the first appearance of the first new moon of the vernal equinox,"[77] while the latter placed it at the time of the busk,[78] though even then the correspondence is not perfect. Nevertheless Adair says in another place that from the period of the busk "they count their beloved, or holy things."[79] Adair's first statement was no doubt influenced by a desire to square Indian and Hebrew customs, and it is perfectly evident that from the Creek point of view the busk was the real new year. The Creek months were named as follows:

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WINTER SERIES

August, Hayo łàko, "much heat" (or "big ripening" month).
September, Otowoskutci, "little chestnut" (month).
October, Otowoski łàko, "big chestnut" (month).
November, Iholi or Yihull, indicating a change in the weather.
December, Łáfo łàko, "big winter" (month).
January, Łáfo tcusi, "little winter" (month).

SUMMER SERIES

February, Hotàli hàsi, "wind month."
March, Tasahtcutci, "little spring" (month).
April, Tasahtci łàko, "big spring" (month).
May, Ki hàsi, "mulberry month."
June, Kàteo hàsi, "blackberry month."
July, Hayutci, "little warmth" (or "little ripening") (month).

The list recorded by Swan, which is divided as above, is the oldest known. Other lists were made by Buckner and Herrod, Loughridge and Hodge, Gatschet, and the writer. My own was obtained from Jackson Lewis and agrees substantially with that given above except in the interpretation of the names for September and October. Lewis called these "little-change-of-weather month" and "big-change-of-weather month," respectively, deriving them evidently from *otuhi*, "damp," "moist," and a term *waski*, "to scatter," appearing in *ùski waski*, "drizzling rain." In the face of all of the other authorities this can hardly be accepted. Buckner and Herrod[80] invert the names given December and January, calling the former Łáfo tcusi and the latter Łáfo łàko. They stand alone in this. All authorities except Jackson Lewis interpret *Iholi*, "frost month," but, while this may be correct, the usual word for "frost" is *hituti*.

A note by Doctor Gatschet states that they attempted to restore the months to their proper positions in the annual cycle by inserting a supernumerary month every second year. No doubt some such device was resorted to, but it was probably only in later times that the correction was made with such regularity.

[77] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 78. A writer in Schoolcraft says "they compute the year from the budding of the trees." And he adds that it consisted of an indefinite number of moons. (Ind. Tribes, vol 1, p. 271.)
[78] Swan, op. cit., p. 276.
[79] Adair, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
[80] Grammar of the Muskoke, or Creek Language, p. 20.

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The native names for the months in Alabama and Koasati have almost passed out of memory. The following is a nearly complete list, but there is still some doubt as to whether the terms are all accurately applied. A in parenthesis indicates the Alabama term, K the Koasati term.

August, Tà'koia waya' hase', "Wild peaches ripe moon," (A).
September, ?.
October (?), Tokobe' hàse', "Frog moon" (A).
November, Oki lûtca', "Black water" (water black with leaves, etc.) (A). Bohole'x tcoba', or Boholo's kona', "Whippoorwill moon" (the former a big, the latter a small variety) (K).
December, Łà'fi tcoba', "Big winter" (K).
January, Łà'fotcose', or Łà'fi otcose' "Little winter" (K).
February, ?.
March, Mahàle' hase', "Wind moon" (A and K).
April (?), Nasà'ltci hase', "Planting moon" (A and K).
May, Bà'ktco tàbàtle' hase', "May haws ripe" (A and K).
June, Hase' bàka'pka, "Half way month" (because the sun then turns south again) (A). Hase' tàtcoláfka' (K).
July, Behe' lebàtka' hase', "Mulberries ripe" (A). Behe' waya' hase', "Mulberries ripe" (K).

The Alabama term for June is given on the authority of John Scott, the chief of the tribe; the others are from George Henry, a Koasati, Celissy Henry and Charlie Thompson, Alabama Indians. The last thought that there was also a "yellow leaf" month.

On comparing the Creek and Alabama lists it is seen that four of the names agree in both and two of these, the terms for December and January, agree in application also, while the application of the term Windy moon differs so slightly that it is evidently intended for the same period. The Mulberry months in these lists are, however, two months apart, and there is evidently some mistake. This may be due to a failure in the memories of my Alabama and Koasati informants, or it may have begun in aboriginal times on account of the lack of agreement between the number of lunations in successive solar years. Evidently some rough correspondence must have been brought about in ancient days by shifting the names slightly in order to make them fit the seasonal change to which they referred. Such a shift was by no means confined to the Alabama, for it appears in the lists of Choctaw months recorded by Cyrus Byington, in which the Wind month is given as June–July, Mulberry month as September–October, and Blackberry month October–November.[23] The appearance of these names in Choctaw also shows that certain of the month names were once identical throughout the South, although at the same time it is probable that there was considerable local variation.

[23] Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn., art. Àbàki.

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In the Yuchi calendar recorded by Doctor Speck five months agree with those in Swan's list, with but slight variation, both in name and in the period of the year to which they were applied. It seems rather curious that these all belonged to the summer series.[84] 805 821

Adair says of the Indians of his acquaintance: "They pay great regard to the first appearance of every new moon, and, on the occasion, always repeat some joyful sounds, and stretch out their hands toward her—but at such times they offer no public sacrifice."[85] And in another place he remarks that they "annually observed their festivals . . . at a prefixed time of a certain moon."[86]

House building was a social affair and was distributed between the spring and fall. Adair gives a very lively account of the operation. 221 342

"While the memory of the bleak pinching winds lasts, and they are covered with their winter-blackened skins, they turn out early in the spring, to strip clap-boards and cypress-bark, for the covering of their houses: but in proportion as the sun advances, they usually desist from their undertaking during that favourable season; saying, 'that in the time of warm weather, they generally plant in the fields, or go to war; and that building houses in the troublesome hot summer, is a needless and foolish affair, as it occasions much sweating,'—which is the most offensive thing in life to every red warrior of manly principles. On this account, if we except the women chopping firewood for daily use, it is as rare to hear the sound of an ax in their countries, as if they lived under the inhospitable torrid zone; or were nearly related to the South-American animal Pigritia, that makes two or three days journey in going up a tree, and is as long in returning. When the cold weather approaches, they return to their work, and necessity forces them then to perform what a timely precaution might have executed with much more ease. When they build, the whole town, and frequently the nearest of their tribe in neighboring towns, assist one another, well knowing that many hands make speedy work of that, which would have discouraged any of them from ever attempting by himself. In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finish, a good commodious house."[87]

"They first trace the dimensions of the intended fabric and every one has his task prescribed him after the exactest manner."[88]

There was, of course, nothing like a week among them in olden times, though Bartram assures us that the Creeks at one of the towns through which he passed remained quietly in their houses on Sunday out of respect to the white people.[89] The Alabama have the following 512 805

[84] Speck, in Amer. Publ. Univ. Mus., Univ. Pa., vol. i, p. 67.
[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76.
[86] Ibid., pp. 66-68.
[87] But see p. 372.
[88] Adair, op. cit., p. 427.
[89] Bartram, Travels, p. 426.

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512 805 terms for the days of the week: ni"ta holo', "holy day," Sunday; ni"ta ho'lin ni"ta, "day after holy day," Monday; ni"ta ato'kla, "second day," Tuesday; ni"ta tutcī'na, "third day," Wednesday; ni"ta ostā'ga, "fourth day," Thursday; átá'lapi, "fifth day," Friday; ni"ta holosī, "little holy day," Saturday. Christmas is ni"ta holo' tcoba', "big holy day," in Koasati, and Kilisme', "Christmas," in Alabama.

221 After the busk men and women alike devoted the rest of the summer largely to the cultivation and harvesting of their crops. In the fall took place the Skunk Dance. After that the hunting began, and the men were away from town much of the time, but, when there was plenty of food or the game was near town, ball contests in which hunting played a part took place, accompanied with feasting and dancing, and these lasted until very cold weather.

574 The following account of these feasts and sports was given me by one of the Texas Alabama and is typical:

Sometimes a woman would make a ball and give it to one of the men who in turn must kill a deer for her. This the women cut up and prepared for all of the people in the village and they assembled at the ball ground to eat it. Then they feasted, played ball, and frequently danced in the evening. Sometimes several balls would be made at the same time and given out by as many women. After the ball or balls were used up another woman made one for another man and the games and feasts were thus continued at the pleasure of the tribe. Sometimes, when a woman gave a ball to a man in this way, she would say she wanted bear meat. Then they would play ball for a while, after which the man would go out with three or four others and kill a bear. They gave this to the woman, who distributed the meat as before. While the men were away the women were out after kanta roots[50] and they prepared a quantity of kanta bread. Kanta was always eaten with bear meat and corn bread (and potatoes) with deer meat. When the kanta was used up the men went for bear once more and the women went to the store and bought wheat flour. These celebrations lasted for some time.

Sometimes, when a woman gave out a ball in this way, she would say she wanted squirrels and the men would kill enough of them for the village, bring them to her and let her distribute them, when the same festivities were repeated. Again she might say she wanted coffee, and the man whom she addressed would go and buy enough for the village. It was brought to the ball ground and prepared there. This giving was often repeated many times.[51]

221 Often, however, the families were separated all winter, those who were related camping together. In the old country, at least, all but

[50] The word kanta was applied to several species of smilax.

[51] See also pp. 326-327, 356-358. Charlie Thompson, my informant, and another Indian now long dead first began to have dances after the white man's style, and now they are all of that character.

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the old people usually remained in the camps during that time. 221
Bossu says:

"The savages usually set out on the hunt at the end of October. [224]
The Allibamons go to a distance of 60, 80, and even 100 leagues from their village, and they carry along with them in their pirogues their entire family; they return only in March which is the season for sowing their fields. They bring back many skins and much smoked meat. When they have returned to their villages, they feast their friends, and make presents to the old people who have been unable to follow them, and who have protected the cabins of the village during this hunting period."[92]

War parties were usually started as soon as the weather began to warm up a little. The labor of planting was, as we shall see, [241]
interspersed with ball playing and dancing. Right afterwards the men went out again on a hunt. According to one of my informants they thought if they did not do this the crows would eat the corn and the weevil would get into the beans. Then their summer duties began once more, taking care of the harvest occupying first place. War, ball games, riding, horse racing, and dancing also consumed a great deal of the time. Women naturally made their pots and most of their baskets during this period of the year.

War

Out of consideration for standard classifications of customs I retain 721
the name "war" for this section, but it might rather be called "institutional killing," if not "institutional murder." For while the occasions of war were various and "retaliation" for past offenses by the hostile tribe and the necessity of placating the souls of the slain were always the professed objects, the truth of the matter was that war among the southern Indians was a social institution and warlike exploits necessary means of social advancement.[93] This being the case it is easy to see that the score between most tribes was certain never to be evened permanently and that only a social revolution could abolish the custom in spite of the alliances by which certain single units agreed to settle their differences on other grounds. Ambition for scalps was carried so far, Adair assures us, that "sometimes a small party of warriors, on failing of success in their campaign, have been detected in murdering some of their own people, for the sake of their scalps."[94] This result of economic or rather social determinism reminds us of that canny Scotch captain caught in the Baltic Sea in the act of supplying Russia with the sinews of war when his own

[92] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 51-52.

[93] Bossu gives the abduction of women as one of the most important causes of war. If this happened to the wife of a chief he says that the entire nation was obliged to avenge the insult.—Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 51. I confess to have read few accounts of war started in this manner.

[94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 392.

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721 country was engaged in fighting her, and of more recent dealings of the same kind. It shows also how the customs of a people react inevitably upon themselves for good or for evil.

642 In the case of the confederacies above mentioned the very abolition
721 of war between certain units increased the power of the aggregate body and at the same time their temptation to use this advantage in the exploitation of their less well-organized neighbors. And in the Creek confederacy, for instance, while its very existence depended on the fact that certain tribes had agreed to live without fighting, social advancement and the whole structure of the state was dependent on war to such a degree that a complete account of the institution involves an almost complete account of the Creek social system. This having already been given, we are now in a position to take up more particularly the method of waging war.

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FIG. 103.—Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans)

726 The Creek warrior fought almost naked. He wore, of course, the breechclout and belt, also a pair of moccasins. His face and the upper part of his body were painted red and black. He carried a pack in which were an old blanket, some parched ground corn, cords, and leather with which to repair his moccasins. His weapons consisted

[41] in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt. Adair mentions a javelin which would be a short spear or throwing knife.[95] In later times the bow and arrow gave place to the gun, though the former were used along with the latter as late as Adair's time. The war club (Átasa) was, however, the principal symbol of the institution. Stiggins describes it as "shaped like a small gun about 2 feet long, and at the curve near where the lock would be is a thin square piece of iron or steel with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about 2 inches."[96] It is remembered at the present day as an implement like a combined hatchet and knife, which could either be retained in the hand or thrown. One form of headdress of a Creek warrior is shown in the accompanying illustration, taken from the work of Romans (fig. 103).

721 Intertribal warfare among the southern Indians was suppressed so long ago that not much is remembered regarding it. In this

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 388. [96] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 38.

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particular the earlier writers were at a better advantage even than in other matters connected with the customs of the aborigines. Perhaps no account of native Indian warfare ever published excels that given by James Adair. We have frequently had to remark on the excellence of his information and have often quoted him, but in this place he surpasses himself. 721

War expeditions were undertaken as early in spring as possible and lasted through the summer. Adair remarks "in our Indian-trading way, we say that, when the heat of the new year enables the snakes to crawl out of their lurking holes, the savages are equally moved to turn out to do mischief."[97] He gives the following account of the disturbances leading up to wars and the method of raising and conducting a war party: 726

"Should any of the young warriors through forwardness, or passion, violate the treaty of peace, the aggressing party usually send by some neutral Indians, a friendly embassy to the other, praying them to accept of equal retribution, and to continue their friendship, assuring them that the rash unfriendly action did not meet with the approbation, but was highly condemned by the head-men of the whole nation.[98] If the proposal be accepted the damage is made up, either by sacrificing one of the aggressors, of a weak family, or by the death of some unfortunate captive, who had been ingrafted in a wasted tribe. If a person of note was killed, the offended party take immediate satisfaction of their own accord, and send back the like embassy, acquainting them, that as crying blood is quenched with equal blood, and their beloved relation's spirit is allowed to go to rest, they are fond of continuing the friend-knot, and keeping the chain of friendship clear of rust, according to the old beloved speech: but, if they are determined for war, they say *Mattle, Mattle*, 'it is finished, they are weighed, and found light.'[98a] In that case, they proceed in the following manner.

"A war captain announces his intention of going to invade the common enemy, which he, by consent of the whole nation, declares to be such: he then beats a drum three times round his winter house, with the bloody colours flying, marked with large strokes of black,—the grand war signal of blood and death. On this, a sufficient number of warriors and others, commonly of the family of the murdered person, immediately arm themselves, and each gets a small bag of parched corn-flour, for his war stores. They then go to the aforesaid winter house, and there drink a warm decoction of their supposed 726 796

[97] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 347.

[98] Says Bossu: "When there is among them a raiser or disturber of the public peace, the old people speak to him thus: 'You can go, but remember, that if you are killed, you will be disavowed by the nation, that we will not weep for you at all, and that we will not exact vengeance for your death.' Such a disorderly life is branded among these people, as everywhere else, with the last degree of contempt."—Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 50-51.

[98a] Chickasaw ma, "that"; ali "it is ended."

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726 holy consecrated herbs and roots for three days and nights, sometimes without any other refreshment. This is to induce the deity to
[796] guard and prosper them, amidst their impending dangers. In the most promising appearance of things, they are not to take the least nourishment of food, nor so much as to sit down, during that time of sanctifying themselves, till after sunset. While on their expedition,
[785] they are not allowed to lean themselves against a tree, though they may be exceedingly fatigued, after a sharp day's march; nor must they lie by, a whole day to refresh themselves, or kill and barbecue deer and bear for their war journey. The more virtuous they are, they reckon the greater will be their success against the enemy, by the bountiful smiles of the deity. To gain that favorite point, some of the aged warriors narrowly watch the young men who are newly initiated, lest they should prove irreligious, and prophane the holy fast, and bring misfortunes on the outstanding camp. A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youthful days observed one of their religious fasts; but under the greatest suspicion of his virtue in this respect, though he had often headed them against the common enemy: during their three days purification, he was not allowed to go out of the sanctified ground, without a trusty guard, lest hunger should have tempted him to violate their old martial law, and by that means have raised the burning wrath of the holy fire against the whole camp. Other particulars of this sacred process for war, have been related in their proper place.

"When they have finished their fast and purifications, they set off, at the fixed time, be it fair or foul, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, as they march.[99] The war-leader goes first, carrying the supposed holy ark: he soon strikes up the awful and solemn song before mentioned, which they never sing except on that occasion. The rest follow, in one line, at the distance of three or four steps from each other, now and then sounding the war whoo-whoop, to make the leader's song the more striking to the people. In this manner they proceed, till quite out of the sight, and hearing of their friends. As soon as they enter the woods, all are silent; and, every day they observe a profound silence in their march, that their ears may be quick to inform them of danger: their small black eyes are almost as sharp also as those of the eagle, or the lynx; and with their feet they resemble the wild cat, or the cunning panther, crawling up to its prey. Thus they proceed, while things promise them good success; but, if their dreams portend any ill, they always obey the supposed divine intimation and return home, without incurring the least censure. They reckon that their readiness to serve their country,

[99] "To this day, a war-leader, who, by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always sanctifies himself, and his outstanding company, at the end of the old moon, so as to go off at the appearance of the new one by daylight; whereas, he who has not sufficiently distinguished himself must set out in the night."—Adair, pp. 99-100.

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should not be subservient to their own knowledge or wishes, but always regulated by the divine impulse. I have known a whole company who set out for war, to return in small parties, and sometimes by single persons, and be applauded by the united voice of the people; because they acted in obedience to their *Nana Ishtohoollo*,[99a] 'or guardian angels,' who impressed them in the visions of night, with the friendly caution.[1] As their dreams are reckoned ominous, so there is a small uncommon bird, called the 'kind ill messenger,' which they always deem to be a true oracle of bad news. If it sings near to them, they are much intimidated: but, if it perches, and sings over the war camp, they speedily break up. . . .

"Every war captain chuses a noted warrior, to attend on him and the company. He is called Etissû, or 'the waiter.' Every thing they eat or drink during their journey, he gives them out of his hand, by a rigid abstemious rule—though each carries on his back all his travelling conveniencies, wrapt in a deer skin, yet they are so bigoted to their religious customs in war, that none, though prompted by sharp hunger or burning thirst, dares relieve himself. They are contented with such trifling allowance as the religious waiter distributes to them, even with a scanty hand. Such a regimen would be too mortifying to any of the white people, let their opinion of its violation be ever so dangerous.

"When I roved the woods in a war party with the Indians, though I carried no scrip, nor bottle, nor staff, I kept a large hollow cane well corked at each end, and used to sheer off now and then to drink, while they suffered greatly by thirst. The constancy of the savages in mortifying their bodies, to gain the divine favour, is astonishing, from the very time they beat to arms, till they return from their campaign. All the while they are out, they are prohibited by ancient custom, the leaning against a tree, either sitting or standing: nor are they allowed to sit in the day-time, under the shade of trees, if it can be avoided; nor on the ground, during the whole journey, but on such rocks, stones, or fallen wood, as their ark of war rests upon. By the attention they invariably pay to those severe rules of living, they weaken themselves much more than by the unavoidable fatigues of war: but, it is fruitless to endeavor to dissuade them from those things which they have by tradition, as the appointed means to move the deity, to grant them success against the enemy, and a safe return home."[2]

[99a] I.E. "Holy great ones."

[1] In another place (p. 213) Adair refers to this again and cites an instance in the war between the Creeks and Chestaw. Stiggins says that nearly a thousand Creek warriors were upon one occasion routed by 17 Chickasaw, thanks to an unaccountable panic with which the former were seized.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 379-382.

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In an earlier part of his work Adair gives another account of the organization of the war party and adds a considerable description of the sacred ark:

"When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times around his dark winter-house, contrary to the course of the sun, sounding the war-whoop, singing the war-song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinsmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the base contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts: he assures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men; that the love of order, and the necessity of complying with the old religious customs of their country, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now, those hinderances are removed: he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him, and sanctify themselves for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient religious law.

[783] "By this eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirst of revenge, and intense love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend, and which they constantly instil into the minds of their youth—a number soon join him in his winter-house, where they live separate from all others, and purify themselves for the space of three days and nights, exclusive of the first broken day. In each of those days they observe a strict fast till sun-set, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, lest unusual hunger should tempt them to violate it, to the supposed danger of all their lives in war, by destroying the power of their purifying beloved physic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying physic, is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-snake-root, which as hath been before observed, they apply only to religious purposes. Sometimes after bathing they drink a decoction made of the said root—and in like manner the leader applies aspersions, or sprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are such strict observers of the law of purification, and think it so essential in obtaining health and success in war, as not to allow the best beloved trader that ever lived among them, even to enter the beloved ground, appropriated to

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the religious duty of being sanctified for war;[3] much less to associate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen) on the same war design;—they oblige him to walk and encamp separate by himself, as an impure dangerous animal, till the leader hath purified him, according to their usual time and method, with the consecrated things of the ark. . . . 726 796

"The Indian ark is of a very simple construction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood securely fastened together in the form of a square. The middle of three of the sides extend a little out, but one side is flat, for the conveniency of the person's back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably close with hiccory-splinters; it is about half the dimensions of the divine Jewish ark, [just stated to have been three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height] and may very properly be called the red Hebrew ark of the purifier, imitated. The leader, and a beloved waiter, carry it by turns. It contains several consecrated vessels, made by beloved superannuated women, and of such various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given significant names to each. The leader and his attendant, are purified longer than the rest of the company, that the first may be fit to act in the religious office of a priest of war, and the other to carry the awful sacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *Hetissu*, or 'beloved waiter,' feeds each of the warriors by an exact stated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, lest by intemperance they should spoil the supposed communicative power of their holy things, and occasion fatal disasters to the war camp."[4] 726 778

In another place Adair says:

. . . "It is also highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor sit on the bare earth while they are carrying it against the enemy. On hilly ground where stones are plenty, they place it on them: but in level land upon short logs, always resting themselves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often saw the woods full of such religious war-reliques. . . . *Opae* [Hopaii], 'the leader,' obliges all during the first campaign they make with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they lie by, from sun-rise to sun-set—and after a fatiguing day's march, and scanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-snake-root very plentifully, in

[3] In another place Adair says: "But a few weeks since, when a large company of these warlike savages were on the point of setting off to commence war against the Muskohge, some of the wags decoyed a heedless trader into their holy ground, and they stript him, so as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And, on account of the like trespass, they detained two Indian children two nights and a day, till their relations parents paid the like ransom." (pp. 161–162.)

[4] Adair, Hist. Am. Indn., pp. 180–181.

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726 order to be purified—that they have also as strong a faith of the power
778 and holiness of their ark, as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole. . . .

"The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own sanctified warriors, or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemey touch it in the woods for the very same reason. . . .

727 "The leader virtually acts the part of a priest of war, *pro tempore*, . . . If they obtain the victory, and get some of the enemeies scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct of some of the followers of the beloved ark. . . .

726 "The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even
834 with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. . . . The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains." [5]

This law of sexual abstinence accounts for the comparative respect with which female captives were treated by most of the eastern Indians.[6]

726 Adair cites the case of an Indian iconoclast who went to war without the accompaniment of an ark, to the great anxiety of his friends. He has the following to say regarding the numbers taking part in an expedition and their method of conducting it after they had left home:

"It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various, and uncertain: sometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. . . .

"The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, lest their tracks should be discovered by being too numerous: but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuses to out-number a common company, that they may strike the blow with greater safety and success,

[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 181-184.

[6] Cf. Ibid., p. 184.

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as their art of war is chiefly killing by surprise; confident that in case of a disappointment, their light heels will ensure their return to their own country. When a small company go to war, they always chuse to have a swamp along side of them, with a thick covert for their shelter, because a superior number will scarcely pursue them where they might reasonably expect to lose any of their warriors. When they arrive at the enemies hunting ground, they act with the greatest caution and policy. They separate themselves, as far as each can hear the other's travelling signal, which is the mimicking such birds and beasts as frequent the spot. And they can exactly imitate the voice and sound of every quadruped and wild fowl through the American woods. In this way of travelling, they usually keep an hundred yards apart on the course agreed upon at camp. When the leader thinks it the surest way of succeeding against the enemy, he sends a few of the best runners to form an ambuscade near their towns: there, they sometimes fix the broad hoofs of buffalos, and bear's paws upon their feet, to delude the enemy: and they will for miles together, make all the windings of these beasts with the greatest art. But, as both parties are extremely wary and sagacious, I have known such arts to prove fatal to the deluders. At other times, a numerous company will walk in three different rows by way of a decoy, every one lifting his feet so high, as not to beat down the grass or herbage; and each row will make only one man's track, by taking the steps of him who went before, and a gigantic fellow takes the rear of each rank, and thereby smooths the tracks with his feet. When they are convinced the enemy is in pursuit of them, at so considerable a distance from the country, as for themselves not to be over-powered by numbers, they post themselves in the most convenient place, in the form of an half-moon, and patiently wait a whole day and night, till the enemy runs into it; and in such a case, the victory at one broadside is usually gained.

"When they discover the tracks of enemies in their hunting ground, or in the remote woods, it is surprising to see the caution and art they use, both to secure themselves, and take advantage of the enemy. If a small company be out at war, they in the day time crawl through thickets and swamps in the manner of wolves—now and then they climb trees, and run to the top of hills, to discover the smoke of fire, or hear the report of guns: and when they cross through the open woods, one of them stands behind a tree, till the rest advance about a hundred yards, looking out sharply on all quarters. In this manner, they will proceed, and on tiptoe, peeping everywhere around; they love to walk on trees which have been blown down, and take an oblique course, till they inswamp themselves again, in order to conceal their tracks, and avoid a pursuit. . . .

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726 "When the invaders extend themselves across the woods, in quest of their prey, if they make a plain discovery, either of fresh tracks, or of the enemy, they immediately pass the war-signal to each other, and draw their wings toward the centre. If the former, they give chace, and commonly by their wild-cat-method of crawling, they surround, and surprise the pursued, if unguarded—however, I have known them to fail in such attempts; for the Indians generally are so extremely cautious, that if three of them are in the woods, their first object is a proper place for defence, and they always sit down in a triangle, to prevent a surprise. When enemies discover one another, and find they can take no advantage, they make themselves known to each other; and by way of insulting bravado, they speak aloud all the barbarities they ever committed against them; that they are now, to vindicate those actions, and make the wound for ever incurable; that they are their most bitter enemies, and equally contemn their friendship and enmity. In the mean while, they throw down their packs, strip themselves naked, and paint their faces and breasts red as blood, intermingled with black streaks. Every one at the signal of the shrill-sounding war-cry, instantly covers himself behind a tree, or in some cavity of the ground where it admits of the best safety. The leader, on each side, immediately blows the small whistle he carries for the occasion, in imitation of the ancient trumpet, as the last signal of engagement. Now hot work begins—The guns are firing; the chewed bullets flying; the strong hiccory bows a twanging; the dangerous barbed arrows whizzing as they fly; the sure-shafted javelin striking death wherever it reaches; and the well-aimed tomohawk killing, or disabling its enemy. Nothing scarcely can be heard for the shrill echoing noise of the war and death-whoop, every one furiously pursues his adversary from tree to tree, striving to incircle him for his prey; and the greedy jaws of pale death are open on all sides, to swallow them up. One dying foe is intangled in the hateful and faltering arms of another: and each party desperately attempts both to save their dead and wounded from being scalped, and to gain the scalps of their opponents. On this the battle commences anew—But rash attempts fail, as their wary spirits always forbid them from entering into a general close engagement. Now they retreat: then they draw up into various figures, still having their dead and wounded under their eye. Now they are flat on the ground loading their pieces—then they are up firing behind trees, and immediately spring off in an oblique course to recruit—and thus they act till winged victory declares itself.

727 "The vanquished party makes for a swampy thicket, as their only asylum; but should any of them be either unarmed, or slightly

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wounded, the speedy pursuers captivate them, and usually reserve them for a worse death than that of the bullet. On returning to the place of battle, the victors begin, with mad rapture, to cut and slash those unfortunate persons, who fell by their arms and power; and they dismember them, after a most inhuman manner. If the battle be gained near home, one hero cuts off and carries this member of the dead person, another that, as joyful trophies of a decisive victory. If a stranger saw them thus loaded with human flesh, without proper information, he might conclude them to be voracious cannibals. . . . Their first aim however is to take off the scalp, when they perceive the enemy hath a proper situation, and strength to make a dangerous resistance. Each of them is so emulous of exceeding another in this point of honour, that it frequently stops them in their pursuit.

"This honourable service is thus performed [7]—They seize the head of the disabled, or dead person, and placing one of their feet on the neck, they with one hand twisted in the hair, extend it as far as they can—with the other hand, the barbarous artists speedily draw their long sharp-pointed scalping knife out of a sheath from their breast, give a slash round the top of the skull, and with a few dextrous scoops, soon strip it off. They are so expeditious as to take off a scalp in two minutes. When they have performed this part of their martial virtue, as soon as time permits, they tie with bark or deer's sinews, their speaking trophies of blood in a small hoop, to preserve it from putrefaction, and paint the interior part of the scalp, and the hoop, all around with red, their flourishing emblematical colour of blood."[8]

"When they have succeeded in killing the enemy, they tie firebrands in the most frequented places, with grape vines which hang pretty low, in order that they may readily be seen by the enemy. As they reckon the aggressors have loudly declared war, it would be madness or treachery in their opinion to use such public formalities before they have revenged crying blood; it would inform the enemy of their design of retaliating, and destroy the honest intention of war. They likewise strip the bark off several large trees in conspicuous places, and paint them with red and black hieroglyphics, thereby threatening the enemy with more blood and death."[9]

"They are now satisfied for the present, and return home. Tradition, or the native divine impression on human nature, dictates to them that man was not born in a state of war; and as they reckon they are become impure by shedding human blood, they hasten to

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[7] Speak's Tuskegee informant said that this act "was accompanied with a whoop terminating in several tremulous throat tones in imitation of a turkey's gobble. This was to announce success to the band." (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.)

[8] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 392-393. A single scalp was often cut up and distributed among the warriors. Adair mentions a case in which a scalp of a Koasati had been taken by some Choctaw and the warriors of the separate towns divided it and carried the parts to their respective homes. (Adair, p. 393.)

[9] Adair, op. cit., p. 148.

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observe the fast of three days, as formerly mentioned, and be sanctified by the war-chieftain, as a priest of war, according to law. While they are thus impure, though they had a fair opportunity of annoying the common enemy again, yet on this account they commonly decline it, and are applauded for their religious conduct, by all their countrymen. Indeed, formerly, when the whole combined power of the French, and their Indians, was bent against the warlike Chikkasah, I have known the last sometimes to hazard their martial virtue and success, and to fight three or four companies of French Indians, before they returned home; but the leaders excused themselves, by the necessity of self-defence. They have no such phrase as the 'fortune of war.' They reckon the leader's impurity to be chief occasion of bad success; and if he lose several of his warriors by the enemy, his life is either in danger for the supposed fault, or he is degraded, by taking from him his drum, war-whistle, and martial titles, and debasing him to his boy's name, from which he is to rise by a fresh gradation. This penal law contributes, in a good measure, to make them so exceedingly cautious and averse to bold attempts in war, and they are usually satisfied with two or three scalps and a prisoner." [10]

The following account of the torture inflicted upon prisoners is given by the same author:

"It has been long too feelingly known, that instead of observing the generous and hospitable part of the laws of war, and saving the unfortunate who fall into their power, that they generally devote their captives to death, with the most agonizing tortures. No representation can possibly be given, so shocking to humanity, as their unmerciful method of tormenting their devoted prisoner; and as it is so contrary to the standard of the rest of the known world, I shall relate the circumstances, so far as to convey proper information thereof to the reader. When the company return from war, and come in view of their own town, they follow the leader one by one, in a direct line, each a few yards behind the other, to magnify their triumph. If they have not succeeded, or any of their warriors are lost, they return quite silent; but if they are all safe, and have succeeded, they fire off the Indian platoon, by one, two, and three at a time, whooping and insulting their prisoners. They camp near their town all night, in a large square plot of ground, marked for the purpose, with a high war-pole fixed in the middle of it, to which they secure their prisoners. Next day they go to the leader's house in a very solemn procession, but stay without, round his red-painted war-pole, till they have determined concerning the fate of their prisoners. If any one of the captives should be fortunate enough to get loose,

[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 392.

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and run into the house of the archi-magus, or to a town of refuge, he by ancient custom, is saved from the fiery torture—these places being a sure asylum to them if they were invaded, and taken, but not to invaders, because they came to shed blood.

"Those captives who are pretty far advanced in life, as well as in war-gradations, always atone for the blood they spilt, by the tortures of fire. They readily know the latter, by the blue marks over their breasts and arms; they being as legible as our alphabetical characters are to us. Their ink is made of the soot of pitch-pine, which sticks to the inside of a greased earthen pot; then delineating the parts, like the ancient Picts of Britain, with their wild hieroglyphics, they break through the skin with gair-fish-teeth, and rub over them that dark composition, to register them among the brave; and the impression is lasting. I have been told by the Chikkasah, that they formerly erazed any false marks their warriors proudly and privately gave themselves—in order to engage them to give real proofs of their martial virtue, being surrounded by the French and their red allies; and that they degraded them in a public manner, by stretching the marked parts, and rubbing them with the juice of green corn, which in a great degree took out the impression.

"The young prisoners are saved, if not devoted while the company were sanctifying themselves for their expedition; but if the latter be the case, they are condemned, and tied to the dreadful stake, one at a time. The victors first strip their miserable captives quite naked, and put on their feet a pair of bear-skin maccaseenes, with the black hairy part outwards; others fasten with a grape-vine, a burning fire brand to the pole, a little above the reach of their heads. Then they know their doom—deep black, and burning fire, are fixed seals of their death-warrant. Their punishment is always left to the women; and on account of their false standard of education, they are no way backward in their office, but perform it to the entire satisfaction of the greedy eyes of the spectators. Each of them prepares for the dreadful rejoicing, a long bundle of dry canes, or the heart of fat pitch-pine, and as the victims are led to the stake, the women and their young ones beat them with these in a most barbarous manner. Happy would it be for the miserable creatures, if their sufferings ended here, or a merciful tomahawk finished them at one stroke; but this shameful treatment is a prelude to future sufferings.

"The death-signal being given, preparations are made for acting a more tragical part. The victims arms are fast pinioned, and a strong grape-vine is tied round his neck, to the top of the war-pole, allowing him to track around, about fifteen yards. They fix some tough clay on his head, to secure the scalp from the blazing torches. Unspeakable pleasure now fills the exulting crowd of spectators, and the circle fills with the Amazon and merciless executioners—The

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727 suffering warrior however is not dismayed; with an insulting manly voice he sings the war-song! and with gallant contempt he tramples the rattling gourd with pebbles in it to pieces, and outbraves even death itself. The women make a furious on-set with their burning torches: his pain is soon so excruciating, that he rushes out from the pole, with the fury of the most savage beast of prey, and with the vine sweeps down all before him, kicking, biting, and trampling them, with the greatest despite. The circle immediately fills again, either with the same, or fresh persons: they attack him on every side—now he runs to the pole for shelter, but the flames pursue him. Then with champing teeth, and sparkling eye-balls, he breaks through their contracted circle afresh, and acts every part, that the highest courage, most raging fury, and blackest despair can prompt him to. But he is sure to be over-power'd by numbers, and after some time the fire affects his tender parts.—Then they pour over him a quantity of cold water, and allow him a proper time of respite, till his spirits recover, and he is capable of suffering new tortures. Then the like cruelties are repeated till he falls down, and happily becomes insensible of pain. Now they scalp him, in the manner before described: dismember, and carry off all the exterior branches of the body, (pudendis non exceptis) in shameful, and savage triumph. This is the most favourable treatment their devoted captives receive: it would be too shocking to humanity either to give, or peruse, every particular of their conduct in such doleful tragedies. . . .

"Not a soul, of whatever age or sex, manifests the least pity during the prisoner's tortures: the women sing with religious joy, all the while they are torturing the devoted victim, and peals of laughter resound through the crowded theatre—especially if he fears to die. But a warrior puts on a bold austere countenance, and carries it through all his pains:—as long as he can, he whoops and out-braves the enemy, describing his own martial deeds against them, and those of his nation, who he threatens will force many of them to eat fire in revenge of his fate, as he himself had often done to some of their relations at their cost.

"Though the same things operate alike upon the organs of the human body, and produce an uniformity of sensations; yet weakness, or constancy of mind derived from habit, helps in a great measure, either to heighten, or lessen the sense of pain. By this, the afflicted party has learned to stifle nature, and shew an outward unconcern, under such slow and acute tortures: and the surprising cruelty of their women, is equally owing to education and custom. . . ."[11]

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 396-391. Romans seems to think that the Creeks were the most cruel of all southern Indians. He says: "As hospitable as this nation is to friends, as irreconcilably inhuman are they to their enemies; there is hardly an instance of one miserable prisoner's ever having escaped their barbarity; the torments they put the wretched victims to, are too horrid to relate, and the account thereof can only serve to make human nature shudder." (Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 9.)

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Next comes the disposition of the scalps, rejoicing over their victory, and the conferring of new war titles: 727

"When the Indians have finished their captive tragedies, they return to the neighboring town in triumph, with the wild shrieking oise of destroying demons: there, they cut the scalps into several pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houses of their deceased relations—whose deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they esteem not revenged till then, and thus their ghosts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of rest, till, after a certain time, they return again to live for ever in that tract of land which pleased them best, when in their former state.[11a] They perform this supposed religious duty with great solemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with soft voices, their grateful song of triumph to *Yo He Wah;* while the favoured warriors echo their praises of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine presence, for their victory; and the happiness of sending the spirits of their killed relations from the eaves of their houses which they haunted, mourning with such painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo*, like the suffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they represent all the wild-cat movements they made in crawling to surprise the enemy, and their wolfish conduct in killing with safety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by surprise. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down slowly on tip-toe in a bent posture, looking sharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the supposed enemy be either defeated by stratagem, or open battle. Then they strut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have rushed on with his eyes shut, improvident of danger; but having wisely considered that his bare breast was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himself from tree to tree, and by his skilful conduct vanquished the hateful enemy, without exposing his own valuable life to danger. All people praise, or blame another's conduct, in proportion to the parity or disparity it bears to their own standard, and notion of virtue.

"In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound or easy, under an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wished for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody 727 703 796

[11a] See succeeding article, p. 511.

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727 colours are displayed, and most of the young people are dancing and
703 rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return
796 and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant warrior on that joyful day wears deer-skin maccaseenes, painted red, his body is anointed with bear's oil, a young softened otter-skin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine swan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with the various streaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a standing posture, they alternately deliver a long oration, with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors, who died nobly in defence of their country. At the conclusion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the scepter, or wand. He then gladly answers, and runs whooping to, and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head, and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner, they proceed with the rest of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this strong caution, 'Remember what you are (such a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved speech.' This is equal to the bold virtuous lessons of the honest Romans, and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of the honourable station, that they should always aspire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itself. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a swan, at the lower end, where it surrounds his temples, and it is curiously weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it sit easy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the skilful artist warps close together, a ringlet of the longest feathers of the swan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform position, he, in the exactest manner, ties them together with deer's sinews, so as the bandage will not appear to the sharpest eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top, and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they use in constituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which causes them to be three or four inches higher than the former." [12]

[12] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 397-399.]

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There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,[13] but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son. 727 703 562

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English."[14] 727 648

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection: 727 796

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop*. When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable Yo, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred[15] notes, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

[13] For one such see Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 62.

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 316.

[15] Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these meaningless syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

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"The leader's *Hetissu*, or 'waiter,' placed a couple of new blocks of wood near the war pole, opposite to the door of the circular hot-house, in the middle of which the fire-place stood; and on these blocks he rested the supposed sacred ark, so that it and the holy fire faced each other. The party were silent a considerable time. At length, the chieftain bade them sit down, and then enquired whether his house was prepared for the solemn occasion, according to his order the day before; being answered in the affirmative, they soon rose up, sounded the death whoop, and walked round the war pole; during which they invoked and sung three times, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, in the manner already described. Then they went with their holy things in regular order into the hot-house, where they continued, exclusive of the first broken day, three days and nights apart from the rest of the people, purifying themselves with warm lotions, and aspersions of the emblematical button-snake-root, without any other subsistence between the rising and the setting of the sun.

"During the other part of the time, the female relations of each of the company, after having bathed, anointed, and drest themselves in their finest, stood in two rows, one on each side of the door, facing each other, from the evening till the morning, singing Ha Ha, Ha He, with a soft shrill voice and a solemn moving air for more than a minute, and then paused about ten minutes, before they renewed their triumphal song. While they sung, they gave their legs a small motion, by the strong working of their muscles, without seeming to bend their joints. When they had no occasion to retire, they have stood erect in the same place, a long frosty night; and except when singing, observed a most profound silence the whole time. During that period, they have no intercourse with their husbands; and they avoid several other supposed pollutions, as not to eat or touch salt, and the like.

"The leader, once in two or three hours came out at the head of his company, and raising the death whoop, made one circle round the red painted war pole, holding up in their right hands the small boughs of pine with the scalps fixed to them, singing as above, waving them to and fro, and then returned again. This religious order they strictly observed the whole time they were purifying themselves, and singing the song of safety, and victory, to the goodness and power of the divine essence. When the time of their purification and thanksgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themselves, returned in the same manner, and anointed again, according to their usual custom.

"They joined soon after in a solemn procession, to fix the scalps on the tops of the houses of their relations who had been killed without revenge of blood. The war chieftain went first—his religious attendant followed him; the warriors next, according to their rising merit; and the songstresses brought up the rear. In this order they went

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round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'[16] Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*."[17] 727 796

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay."[18] 791 784

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,[19] but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.[20] In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.[20] Adair continues regarding this matter: 727 782

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

[16] Last year I heard the Choktah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a sacrificial anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evenings, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskohge.—Note by Adair.

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 166-167.

[18] Ibid., p. 168.

[19] Ibid., p. 154.

[20] Ibid., p. 155.

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727 what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before
782 their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Oce-Ass* and *Keesah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly."[22]

721 From all this it may be seen that the main object of fighting was
554 not to defeat the enemy from any such sentiment as devotion to country or desire for plunder, but to obtain scalps and thereby social advancement and to placate the souls of the departed. From this fact and the heavy penalties laid upon the war leader in case of failure it transpired that the Indians seldom attacked against odds unless they believed their attack to be unexpected. A small, resolute
726 body time and again beat off odds that could easily have wiped them out had it not been for the great fear of even slight loss on the part of the attackers. Adair mentions an instance in which 80 Choctaw would not attack the party to which he belonged, consisting of about 40 Chickasaw with women and children to protect, because they know that their presence had been discovered.[23] On another occasion he states that 17 Chickasaw, accompanied by their wives and children, fought off more than 60 Choctaw.[24] In the time of
[722] an attack on the town or camp, Adair says, "It is usual for the women to sing the enlivening war songs; and it inflames the men's spirits so highly that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an instance of the Indians running off, though, from a numerous enemy and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands."[25] In another connection Adair mentions as a war custom the killing of a great number of captives because the leader of the war party had been wounded and his life was despaired of.[26] He cites an instance in which a Chickasaw had been killed by some Choctaw after having been given food and, since this fact was cast up against the Choctaw by the avenging party, it would seem to have been contrary to native laws of war. This is further strengthened by the fact that the Chickasaw thus killed was not scalped. In consequence the Chickasaw left the Choctaw whom they killed in retaliation also unscalped.[27]

These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Indi., pp [illegible].
[23] Ibid., pp. [illegible].
[24] Ibid., p. [illegible].
[25] Ibid., p. [illegible].
[26] Ibid., p. [illegible].
[27] Ibid., p. [illegible].

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ever we can get independent testimony from writers familiar with other tribes. As Adair's account is the best, I have chosen it as a nucleus about which to assemble the facts recorded by others. From the Alabama living in Texas I have obtained a little information confirmatory of what Adair tells us concerning the ark. 726

According to traditions they formerly had an ark which they took to war and which enabled them to defeat all of their enemies. When they camped they hung this ark upon a tree, or anything else, a short distance in front of them, and if a cry was heard coming from it during the night it meant that next day they would find and kill enemies. If the cry was like that of a woman, it meant that they would find and kill a woman, for the cry meant that the ark had caught the enemy. If no cry was heard from the ark, they would kill no one. 726 778

My informant spoke as if the tribe were possessed of but a single medicine of this kind, but there was probably at least one to each town and most likely more.

By the Indians of Tuskegee Speck was told that one of the medicines in the war bundle or "ark" "was believed to be parts of the horns of a certain mythical snake that was captured and killed by the people after it had destroyed many of them for generations. These horns were believed to render the warriors immune to wounds. Another object remembered as part of the bundle's contents was cedar leaves, *atcína*. When a warrior became wounded he called for the *hobáya* to come to him and give him an emetic of the *atcína* which was thought to insure recovery. A wounded man had little hope for recovery if this could not be done."[28] The "snake medicine" is also mentioned by Hawkins,[29] along with a medicine derived from the bones of a supernatural mythic panther, destroyed in the distant past by the remote ancestors of the Creeks. This last also appears in the migration legend related by Chekilli.[30]

Before proceeding to the Creek customs proper, some scraps of evidence may be added regarding ancient Alabama war customs as contained in the traditions concerning their wars with the Choctaw. 726

The Alabama and Choctaw fought against each other for a long time. They used to take each other's scalps. A party of Indians would come near an enemy's house and hide, and, if a man came out of it, they would kill and scalp him and run off. They attacked on dark nights when the people in the houses could not see, and covered themselves with leaves so that they could not be detected even if the people hunted about outside. If a woman went down to a creek to wash clothing she would perhaps be killed and scalped by a man

[28] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. 2, p. 112. [29] See p. 438. [30] See p. 36.

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726 lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

The Choctaw once captured an Alabama boy. When he grew up the Choctaw fought against the Alabama, and he helped them, so the Alabama wanted to capture him. They went to a conjurer and asked his aid. He promised them that he would aid them and told the women to get sticks with which to whip the prospective captive. Then the Alabama captured him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him for a long time. After a while they piled weeds all about him and set them on fire but still he did not die. Then they tied dry grass around him by means of a rope fastened about the tree, set it on fire, and danced about him shaking their rattles. When he was nearly dead he fell down, and they shook their gourd rattles over him until he expired.

721 The best account of institutional killing among the Creeks them-
554 selves, except that of Milfort, is given by Swan and is as follows:
561 "Every individual is at liberty to choose whether or not he shall engage in any warlike enterprise. But the rage of young men to acquire war-names, and the thirst of plunder in the elder ones and leaders, are motives sufficient to raise gangs of volunteers to go in quest of hair and horses at any time when they are disengaged from hunting. It is little matter with them what the pretence for going to war may be. They think that force constitutes right; and victory is an infallible proof of justice on their side; and they attack as boldly as they are indefatigable in securing a scalp, or to obtain plunder.

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair.

727 "When a young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches
554 the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-whoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him a man and a warrior,

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worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly. 727 554

"Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Este dogo, i. e. *you are nobody* [isti toko, 'person is not']; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once. 721 554 578

"The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen. 726

"When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity. 727

"It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

"Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government." [21] 721

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars:

"They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The 726

[21] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 279-282.

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726 final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of the chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy. On a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red, black, and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders, their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt. . . . They all take their seats as they come. When assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square where he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other; in a very little time their singing and dancing, is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns. When they are assembled on their way to their enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above.

"I will try to return to the former subject. After a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man, woman, and child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relations, let them be far or near. After they have collected all their kindred, they are ready to commence hositlities on the enemy. Then if one of the other nation is seen by them he is certainly destroyed; their petty wars are wars of extermination. They commence by small parties on venture, not man against man but tribe against tribe. It is a praiseworthy action for a man or a party of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man, who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he [the slayer] was not afraid to go into his enemy's country but achieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped." [22]

726 The following statement from Hawkins gives an excellent idea of
622 the voluntary character of war parties, and the relation of the war
701 to the civil chiefs. War "is always determined on by the Great Warrior [i. e. the Tástánągi łáko]. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have

[22] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 34-35.

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been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk. 726 622

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off." [23] 701

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says: 726

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanĭdja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[24] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by [25] and Is-te-pau-pau,[26] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic." [27]

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which 726 177 642

[23] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

[24] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.

[25] This is intended for taito yabi, "buried snake." The Creek chief Chiocta told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.

[26] Isti papa, "person eater."

[27] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

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726 177 642 several towns joined. There was not before or after this time the same unity of action, not even in the Creek-American War. The general correctness of Milfort's account is indicated by numerous points of agreement with the facts recorded by Adair and the other writers quoted above; in particular the prominent position he gives the war club as a war symbol tallies exactly with every scrap of information derived from other sources. The war medicines spoken of by Hawkins and in Chekilli's migration legend do not appear here; they were probably carried only by the head chief, or perhaps only by the chief of Kasihta.

Milfort claims to have been instrumental in doing away with the custom of burning captives at the stake,[58] but from what Bartram says[59] it is evident that it had begun to decline several years before. Milfort also says that he induced the Indians to rate the taking of a prisoner at three scalps which should belong to the captor.[60]

His account follows:

726 "When he [the head war chief] had made known the necessity of calling together the warriors, a club was immediately exposed in public, part of which was painted red; that signified that a part of the nation, that is the young men, must hold themselves in readiness to march; for if the club had been colored red all over the entire nation would have had to prepare itself, something which happens only under extraordinary circumstances. The manner of painting this club red also lets each particular chief know at the same time how many men he must bring with him to the appointed rendezvous, so that the head war chief is always certain of the number of soldiers he will have at his disposal, a number which he regulates according as circumstances demand, and which he is able to fix absolutely.

[211] "When it is thus necessary to assemble the warriors at a common rendezvous, the head war chief has a club partly colored red given to each subordinate chief; it is usually accompanied by a certain number of little sticks, which serve to inform the warriors who carry them into the different cantons of the nation, of the day when they must be at the general rendezvous, with the number of young men needed for the march. Each day at sunrise a stick is thrown away, and the day on which they throw away the last must be that of their arrival at the place of meeting; there have been few cases of delay in this general muster. In order to provide against every slip of the memory, the bearers of the red club are obliged to give to each chief every day the watchword, which is usually the name of the place and the day of the meeting. I am going to give here a more detailed account of this red club, to say how it is given and what is its use.

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[58] Milfort, Mém., p. 219. [59] Milfort, op. cit.
[60] Bartram, Travels, p. 311.

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"Before the Indians were acquainted with firearms, they used in combats only arrows and clubs; they have now entirely abandoned these arms, but they have preserved the club, as a sign of war only, and have replaced it in battle with the tomahawk or little hatchet. 726

"When the nation is forced to take arms, the head war chief or Tastanégy has exposed in the public squares a club, part of which is painted red; he also sends one to each band chief, accompanied by a number of sticks equal to that of the days which must elapse before he must present himself at the rendezvous. The head chief has absolute authority in fixing this day. 726 796

"When this club comes, each band chief has the drum beaten in front of the grand cabin [teokofa] of the town or village where he lives. All of the inhabitants repair thither immediately; he makes known to them the day and the place where he is going to light his fire; he repairs to this place before the appointed day, and lights the fire by rubbing two sticks of wood against each other; he places it in the middle of a square formed of four stakes, which is only large enough to hold the number of warriors which he wishes to assemble.

"At daybreak the chief places himself between the two stakes which face the rising sun; he holds in his hand a bundle of sticks. When a warrior enters the enclosure, which is open only on this side, he throws down a stick and continues until he reaches the last, when the number equals the number of soldiers which he needs. All of those who present themselves afterward are not admitted, and return home to take their hunting weapons, leaving directions where they are going to hunt, so that they can be found if they are needed. Those who thus present themselves too late are ill received when they return to their families, who reproach them for the lack of enthusiasm which they have shown in defending their fatherland.

"The warriors who are within the enclosure take there, for three days, a war medicine, of which I will speak presently; their women bring their arms and the things needed in the campaign; they place everything a hundred paces from the square; they add to these a little sack, in which is some corn or maize meal, an ounce of which suffices to make a pint of porridge. It is only necessary to dilute it with cold water and in five or six minutes it becomes as thick as porridge cooked over the fire: two ounces are sufficient to nourish a man for twenty-four hours. The savages make use of this porridge only when they are in the presence of the enemy, because then they are unable to go hunting.

"The three medicine days having expired, the chief leaves with his warriors, in order to be present at the general rendezvous indicated by the head chief. Independently of this medicine, taken generally, each band chief has a particular medicine, or rather

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726 796 talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition.[a]

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

726 272 "When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

727 [a] Elsewhere Milfort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained: "When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

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because the circumstances do not demand the great one. It is for the sagacity of the chief to turn this superstition to advantage. 726 272

"This medicine, of the moral effect of which I have just spoken, has two effects purely physical. The first is that the Indians are very fond of getting drunk on strong liquors, and it is necessary to find a means of depriving them of these without exciting their murmurs. The medicine, great or little, offers this means, since, before taking it, they may not drink any liquor, a matter which they observe very religiously; and the chief, having the right to order it when he thinks that it is proper, can, in that way, preserve the utmost sobriety in the army. The second is that this medicine is really purgative, and the warrior thus purged is less endangered by the wounds which he receives, and which, in consequence, heal very promptly unless they are mortal. These people have still another means of diminishing the danger from their wounds, which is to fight almost naked. They recognize that a woolen garment, some particles of which almost always remain in the wounds, makes them much more difficult to heal and more dangerous. Thus shrewdness and religion, supporting each other, lend mutual assistance, and turn to the profit of those who know how to use them. [273]

"The Moskoquis observe, during war, a very rigorous discipline; they can neither eat nor drink without the order of their chiefs. I have seen them go without drinking, even when swimming across a river, because circumstances had obliged their chief to forbid it to them under pain of depriving them of their little war medicine, that is, of the influence of the talisman." [41] 726

"When they go to war they observe a very rigorous discipline. At the moment when they approach the enemy, they march in single file, the chief of the party at their head, and so arrange it that all the following warriors step in the footprints of the first. Even those are sometimes concealed by the last man by means of grass. In this manner they prevent the enemy from telling their number. When they halt or camp they form a circle, and leave open only one passage large enough to admit one man. They seat themselves with their legs crossed, and each has his gun beside him. The chief faces the entrance of the circle, where no soldier can go out without his permission. When it is time to rest he gives the signal, and then no one is allowed to move. The awaking is also by a signal.

"It is usually the head chief who indicates the positions,[42] and who has the sentinels placed charged with caring for the safety of the

[41] "I have already said that the great medicine or general medicine is taken before setting out."—Milfort. It is not altogether clear whether Milfort means that they were to be threatened with deprivation of the little war medicine taken internally or the medicine sack, but the former was probably intended. Milfort, Mém., pp. 238-240.

[42] Elsewhere he tells us that particular clans had the right to certain positions when on a war expedition. "These same [privileged] families, that is, the young warriors who belong to them, usually march to war ahead, and the war chief takes care to preserve this prerogative, unless circumstances compel another disposition. It is a means of emulation from which he sometimes derives great advantage." (p. 253.)

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726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it." [42]

727 554 703 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

701 726 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

[42] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217-219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 425-427.

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combat. A cry, repeated to left and right, informs all of the warriors of the danger to which their chief is exposed. Immediately all of the bodies of reserves unite and march to the place where the head chief is in order to compel the enemy to leave him; if he is dead they would all die rather than abandon his body to the enemy without having carried off his scalp. They attach such honour to the loss of this scalp that, when the danger is too great, and they are unable, in spite of all their efforts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, the warrior who is nearest to the chief kills him himself, removes his scalp, and takes to flight uttering a cry which is known only to savages, and repairs at once to the place which had been indicated by this same chief whither they should retire in case they were beaten. All of the under chiefs, informed by this cry of the death of the head chief, prepare to retreat; and as soon as it [the retreat] is brought about, before taking any other measure, they proceed to the nomination of a new head war chief in order that the enemy may not perceive the loss of the first which they have suffered.[46] 701 726

Bartram speaks of a "royal standard" made of the tail feathers of the *Vultur sacra*, "which is called by a name signifying the eagle's tail." "This," he goes on to say, "they carry with them when they go to battle, but then it is painted with a zone of red within the brown tips; and in peaceable negotiations it is displayed new, clean, and white; this standard is held most sacred by them on all occasions, and is constructed and ornamented with great ingenuity. These birds seldom appear but when the deserts [i. e., uninhabited areas] are set on fire (which happens almost every day throughout the year, in some part or other, by the Indians, for the purpose of rousing the game, as also by lightning)."[48] 726

This can only have been the calumet, which was often detached from the pipe and borne about separately. It is not mentioned by the other writers as an article carried along by a war party, unless Adair has it in mind when he says that the Muskogee "had exchanged their bloody tomohawks, and red and black painted swans wings, a strong emblem of blood and death, in confirmation of their offensive and defensive treaty."[47] It may be that their swan-feather crowns were painted and worn in war but he nowhere so says. He mentions the war pipes, however, to which the tribal beaus used to fasten fawns' trotters, small pieces of tinkling metal, or wild turkey-cock spurs "with the addition of a piece of an enemy's scalp with a tuft of long hair hanging down from the middle of the stem, each of them painted red: and they still observe that old custom, only they choose bell-buttons, to give a greater sound."[48]

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[46] Milfort, Mém., pp. 249-254.
[47] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 262.
[48] Bartram, Travels, pp. 149-150.
[48] Ibid., pp. 6-7

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726 Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present
302 day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war[49] but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

726 Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow
789 feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To conteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as ina hĭta, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

701 Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.[49a] They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called hobayi mi'ko, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as tâstânâgi lâko. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the hobayutci, "little-far-away." Third came the tâstânâk hobayi, "far-away-warrior," fourth the tâstânâkutci, "little warrior," fifth the lihomâhti or "trailer," and sixth the lĭhomahtûtci, or "little trailer." These two last were

[49] Milfort, Mém., pp. 32-34.

[49a] See p. 367 and also pp. 617-620 in the second paper of this volume.

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scouts whose duties were to determine whither the enemy had gone. Seventh and lastly there was an officer known as the minkiso or inki'su, who looked after the supplies—i. e., he was the head of the commissary department. If another tribe had committed some depredation the sufferers would send runners out who uttered a peculiar whoop, and when this was heard the people would meet at some designated spot and these officers would put themselves at their head. Or if some young men desired to go out after scalps they would signify their desire and these officers would head them. 701

As it seems unlikely that so many officers would go out at the same time in order to satisfy the thirst for glory of one or two youths, we are probably to understand that this represents the complete quota of officers for a party of some size. That the leader of every party was ordinarily called hobayi seems to be established by the testimony of Adair[50] and Jackson Lewis. Adair states that he was a kind of temporary war priest, and Jackson Lewis, as above stated, declared that he was always selected from among those men who had received the training of a doctor.[51] Doctor Speck's informant, it will be noticed, distinguishes the hobayi or "hobáya" from the war leader ("*imíssi*"), and lays particular emphasis on the religious functions of the former. He is described as "a shaman and prophet," as "a busy man in battle," who "besides carrying the fetishes and administering the emetic . . . had to sing and shout certain songs and formulas which would frighten and confuse the enemy."[52] It is possible that, while the war leader was normally a hobayi, one who had received a doctor's training, there were exceptions, and that, in such cases, for reasons that we can well appreciate, it was thought necessary that a hobayi accompany the expedition. This would account very satisfactorily for the discrepancies between Doctor Speck's description of a war party and the others. 701 791

It will be remembered that Bartram, in his account of the chunkey yard, speaks of two "slave posts" to which captives were tied when they were to be tortured and burned to death.[53] It is doubtful whether the number and position of these was very definite. They are still faintly remembered by some of the old Indians and are said to have been in the shape of war clubs (atasa). It is also recalled that they tied grass about the bodies of the captives and set it on fire. As in the case of the Chickasaw, older captives were usually burned at the stake, and the younger ones adopted unless they had been devoted in advance. 727

[50] See p. 411. Mr. McCombs says that only the mikos ranked higher.
[51] See p. 426.
[52] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.
[53] See p. 173.

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721 775 From Adair's account it will be seen that killing and scalping had a religious as well as a social basis, the former being the necessity the people felt themselves under—in this respect like the ancient Greeks—of placating the souls of the dead. There is every reason to think that ancient Creek belief was practically the same, but this side of the institution appears to have died first, the social advancement to be won through scalps being a more persistent motive.

361 712 In the most ancient times stockades, in which natural features were taken advantage of and which sometimes had moats, played a great part in warfare, especially in regions often harried by war parties. It is significant that the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition do not mention such structures until they reached the tribes near Tennessee River—i. e., the frontiers of the Muskhogean peoples toward the north.[54] In this quarter they were probably subject to incursions of Cherokee, Iroquois, and Shawnee and other Algonkian peoples. Stockades were again found along Alabama River, and from thence to the Mississippi—i. e., on the western Creek boundary. Ulibahali and a deserted town near it were stockaded, also Mabila, Chickasaw, and Alibamo.[55] The following description of a stockade is given by Ranjel:

"Three days march southeast of Tuasi (Tawasa) and two days before they came to Talisi (Tulsa) the Spaniards "came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong."[56]

Similar to this is Elvas's account of the stockade of Ulibahali. "The fence," he says, "which was like that to other towns seen afterwards, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles of the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loopholes for archery." [57]

Methods of constructing fences of this character were well known throughout the Southeast, and Le Moyne gives what purports to be a picture of one seen in Florida, though it appears to be utterly unreliable.[58]

411 When De Soto and his companions entered the temple, or rather ossuary, of Talimeco they found there "breastplates like corselets

[54] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 15, 108.
[55] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 85, 90, 104, 108; vol. II, pp. 18, 34, 115, 125, 126, 136.
[56] Ibid., vol. II, p. 115.
[57] Ibid., vol. I, p. 85.
[58] This description is given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 379-380. Cf. also Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 129-134.

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and headpieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off; and also very good shields."[59] Farther on the Indians who came across the Mississippi to oppose the Spaniards "had shields made of canes joined, so strong and so closely interwoven with such thread that a crossbow could hardly pierce them."[60] The existence of armor and shields among the southern Indians is therefore proved, although they were given up soon after white contact because the introduction of guns rendered them useless. 411

In their fights with the Spaniards the Indians usually went naked, and they had carried the science of warfare with the bow and arrow to a high level, as the Spaniards freely testify. Elvas says: "The Indians are exceedingly ready with their weapons, and so warlike and nimble, that they have no fear of footmen; for if these charge them they flee, and when they turn their backs they are presently upon them. They avoid nothing more easily than the flight of an arrow. They never remain quiet, but are continually running, traversing from place to place, so that neither crossbow nor arquebuse can be aimed at them. Before a Christian can make a single shot with either, an Indian will discharge three or four arrows; and he seldom misses of his object. Where the arrow meets with no armour, it pierces as deeply as the shaft from a crossbow."[61] He adds that the arrows with heads generally broke on a target, but those made of sharpened cane would go through, and they would split against armor but penetrate it.[62] Cabeza de Vaca, in speaking of an encounter between the people of Narvaez and the Apalachee, says: "There were men that day who swore they had seen two oak trees, each as thick as the calf of a leg, shot through and through by arrows, which is not surprising if we consider the force and dexterity with which they shoot. I myself saw an arrow that had penetrated the base of a poplar tree for half a foot in length."[63] Says Ranjel, in describing the battle of Mabila: "The arrow shots were tremendous, and sent with such a will and force that the lance of one gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, made of two pieces of ash and very good, was pierced by an arrow in the middle, as by an augur, without being split, and the arrow made a cross with the lance."[64] By means of arrows on which flaming tree moss had been tied houses and other constructions were set on fire by the Florida Indians as described and illustrated by Le Moyne. The Chickasaw used another device to fire their town when it was occupied by the Spaniards, the same resorted to by Gideon. They brought fire past the sentinels in little pots, two to four getting by at a time.[65] 726 411

[59] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, p. 101.
[60] Ibid., p. 126.
[61] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 26-28.
[62] Jour. of Alvar. Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Bandelier Narr., p. 31.
[63] Bourne, op. cit., vol. II, p. 127.
[64] Ibid., pp. 29-32.

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726 De Soto found the Apalachee as intrepid and warlike as did Narvaez. To Garcilasso, Alonso de Carmona thus described them and their method of fighting:

"Those Indians of Apalache are very tall, very valiant and full of spirit; since, just as they showed themselves and fought with those who were with Pamphilo de Narvaez, and drove them out of the country in spite of themselves, they kept flying in our faces every day and we had daily brushes with them; and as they failed to make any headway with us, because our Governor was very brave, energetic, and experienced in Indian warfare, they concluded to withdraw to the woods in small bands, and as the Spaniards were going out for wood and were cutting it in the forest, the Indians would come up at the sound of the axe and would kill the Spaniards and loose the chains of the Indians whom they brought to carry back the cut wood and take the Spaniards' scalps, which was what they most prized, to hang upon the arm of their bows with which they fought; and at the sound of the voices and of arms we would immediately repair thither, and we found the consequences of a lack of precaution. In that way they killed for us more than twenty soldiers, and this happened frequently. And I remember that one day seven horsemen went out from the camp to forage for food and to kill a little dog to eat; which we were used to do in that land, and a day that we got something we thought ourselves lucky; and not even pheasants ever tasted better to us. And going in search of these things they fell in with five Indians who were waiting for them with bows and arrows, and they drew a line on the ground and told them not to cross that or they would all die. And the Spaniards, who would not take any fooling, attacked them, and the Indians shot off their bows and killed two horses and wounded two others, and also a Spaniard severely; and the Spaniards killed one of the Indians and the rest took to their heels and got away, for they are truly very nimble and are not impeded by the adornments of clothes, but rather are much helped by going bare." [66]

Canoe fights took place at times, most frequently in Florida or on the Mississippi. The following from Garcilasso will give some idea of a canoe fight and of the strategy employed by the Indians:

"When the enemy had been some time following us in order to reconnoitre, they separated their fleet into three divisions. The troops of Quigaltanqui put themselves at the head, but they could not really learn whether he commanded them himself, although they often heard him mentioned in the songs of the barbarians. Afterwards, all the vessels of the fleet advanced to the right towards the bank of the river, and got the lead. Those of the first division immediately attacked our caravels, in crossing to the other side of the

[66] Garcilasso in Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 151-152.

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river, and covered them with arrows, so that there were several Spaniards wounded. The first division was no sooner on the left than it recrossed and came and recovered its place; nevertheless, always advancing beyond the brigantines. The second division, which crossed after having attacked with fury, returned to the right and placed itself at the head of the first. The third passed in the same manner, and having showered a quantity of arrows upon the soldiers, they rejoined those of their party and came and posted themselves in front of the second division. In the mean time, as our caravels did not cease rowing, they arrived at the position of the barbarians who had first attacked them, and who began to attack them in the same manner as before. The others also attacked, each in their order and their accustomed manner, and harassed the Spaniards all the day. Even during the night they tormented them, but not with so much persistency, for they made but two attacks, the first a little before sunset, and the other before daybreak." [66]

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A little beyond he records the adroit manner in which the Indians withdrew before a party of Spaniards who were advancing in canoes, suddenly rushed upon them from all sides, and upset their boats, thereby destroying all but four of the occupants.[66] Doubtless such scenes as these were many times repeated in desperate intertribal wars waged along this river and in the coast regions.

Peace making was, naturally enough, a prerogative of the miko or civil chief and his counsellors, as Hawkins says.[67] He adds that "peace talks are always addressed to the cabin of the Mic-co," and that in some cases, where the resentment of the warriors has run high, the Micco and council have been much embarrassed." [67]

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The only accounts of peace making ceremonies of any length are two from Adair. They are in a way complementary but indicate some slight divergence in the customs under different conditions. His first statement is as follows:

"When two nations of Indians are making, or renewing, peace with each other, the ceremonies and solemnities they use, carry the face of great antiquity, and are very striking to a curious spectator, which I shall here relate, so far as it suits the present subject. When strangers of note arrive near the place, where they design to contract new friendship, or confirm their old amity, they send a messenger a-head, to inform the people of their amicable intention. He carries a swan's wing in his hand, painted all over with streaks of white clay, as an expressive emblem of their embassy. The next day, when they have made their friendly parade, with firing off their guns

[66] Garcilasso in Shipp's History of De Soto and Florida, pp. 466-467.
[67] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

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and whooping, and have entered the beloved square, their chieftain, who is a-head of the rest, is met by one of the old beloved men, or magi, of the place. He and the visitant approach one another, in a bowing posture. The former says, *Yò, ish la chu Anggóna!*[70] . . . The other replies, *Yah—Arahre-O, Anggona.*[71] The magus then grasps the stranger with both his hands, around the wrist of his right hand, which holds some green branches—again, about the elbow—then around the arm, close to his shoulder, as a near approach to the heart. Then his immediately waving the eagles tails over the head of the stranger, is the strongest pledge of good faith." [72]

The later statement runs thus:

"I can not however conclude this argument, without a few remarks concerning the Indian methods of *making peace*, and of renewing their old friendship. They first smoke out of the friend-pipe, and eat together; then they drink of the *Cusseena*, using such invocations as have been mentioned, and proceed to wave their large fans of eagles-tails, concluding with a dance. The persons visited, appoint half a dozen of their most active and expert young warriors to perform this religious duty, who have had their own temples adorned with the swanfeather-cap. They paint their bodies with white clay, and cover their heads with swan-down; then approaching the chief representative of the strangers, who by way of honour, and strong assurance of friendship, is seated on the central white or holy seat, 'the beloved cabin' (which is about nine feet long and seven feet broad),[72a] they wave the eagles tails backward and forward over his head.[72] Immediately they begin the solemn song with an awful air; and presently they dance in a bowing posture; then they raise themselves so erect, that their faces look partly upwards, waving the eagles tails with their right hand toward heaven, sometimes with a slow, at others with a quick motion; at the same time they touch their breast with their small calabash and pebbles fastened to a stick about a foot long, which they hold in their left hand, keeping time with the motion of the eagles tails; during the dance, they repeat the usual divine notes, Yo, etc., and wave the eagles tails now and then over the stranger's head, not moving above two yards backward or forward before him. They are so surprisingly expert in their supposed religious office, and observe time so exactly, with their particular gestures and notes, that there is not the least discernible discord. . . .

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[70] Yo, excl.; ishla, then hast come; cha, sign of interrogation; a-hona, my friend.

[71] Yoa, yes; alali, I am come; O, strengthening particle; a-hona, my friend.

[72] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 60.

[72a] The dimensions given show that Adair is speaking merely of the central section of the west bed. See pp. 161, 165.

[72] When they are dissatisfied, or intend to declare war, they will not allow any of the party against whom they have hostile views, to approach the white seat; as their holy men, and holy places, are considered firmly bound to keep good faith and give sure refuge.—Adair.

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"The Indians can not shew greater honour to the greatest potentate on earth than to place him in the white seat—invoke Yo He Wah, while he is drinking the Cusseena, and dance before him with the eagles tails. When two chieftains are renewing, or perpetuating friendship with each other, they are treated with the same ceremonies. And in their circular friendly dances, when they honour their guests, and pledge themselves to keep good faith with them, they sometimes sing their divine notes with a very awful air, pointing their right hand towards the sky. Some years ago, I saw the Kooasahte Indians (two hundred miles up Mobile River) perform this rite with much solemnity; as if invoking the deity by their notes and gestures, to enable them to shew good-will to their fellow-creatures, and to bear witness of their faithful vows and conduct." [74] 728

A peace-making ambassador, besides carrying the swans' wings, was provided with eagles' tails, white beads, white pipes, and tobacco.[75] When Adair visited the Choctaw for the purpose of concluding peace with them, they tied strings of beads about his neck, arms, and legs, and in return he presented to them silver arm-plates, gorgets, wrist plates, ear bobs, and so on.[76]

Agriculture

Agriculture among the Creeks had both an economic and a social side. We are here concerned only with the latter. Each town, in addition to small garden plots worked by individual families, or rather by their female members, had a large common field located as near the town as possible. This was planted with corn chiefly, although beans, squashes, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, and rice are mentioned by early travelers, the last three contributions from the whites. The allotments of the different households were separated by a narrow strip of grass, poles, or any suitable natural or artificial boundary. In caring for this the town acted together, under the charge of an overseer said to have been appointed annually. He called the men to the square by going through the town blowing upon a conch shell or uttering a loud cry. Immediately they gathered with hoes and axes, and then marched in order to the field as if they were going to battle, headed by their overseer. The women followed in detached parties bearing the provisions for the day. Anyone who attempted to shirk was fined. In the field they also worked together, beginning with the patch at one end and going through to the last. In this way they prepared the field, planted it, and cultivated it from time to time until the harvest was ready. While they were at work they sang certain special songs. Generally they suspended work early in the afternoon and indulged in ball games or other sports, which were 241

[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 167-169.
[75] These things are commended by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 269-270, and 318.
[76] Ibid., p. 321.

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241 followed by a dance in the evening. While the corn was in the ground the young people, under the supervision of some of their elders, were stationed in the fields, where small shelters were often built for them, and drove away any animals and birds coming to disturb it. The boys were armed with bows and arrows, and had acquired such skill with these that Bartram says they loaded themselves with squirrels, birds, and other small game in the course of the day.[77] According to the same writer the men took turns patrolling the field at night, "to protect their provisions from the depredations of night rovers, as bears, raccoons, and deer, the two former being immoderately fond of young corn, when the grain is filled with a rich milk, as sweet and nourishing as cream; and the deer are as fond of the Potatoe vines."[77]

When the harvest was ripe all proceeded to the field in the same manner, but this time each family garnered from his own plot. The women made sacks out of cowskins, and the corn was carried home in these after it had been shucked. Then it was laid away in rows in the different granaries, the better corn farther back as that which would last longest, the worse nearer the entrance. A portion of the harvest, however, each family contributed to a large corncrib, which Bartram says was called "the king's crib."[78] This constituted a [621] reserve supply upon which to fall back when the private granaries gave out. Or it was used to succor other towns, to feed travelers, to supply to war parties, and so on. It was, in fact, a kind of public commissary.

I was told that the ground of the hilis-haya or physic maker was planted by some of the old women in return for his services. This must refer to his garden plot. At Tukabahchee and Kealedji it was close to the northwestern edge of the grounds.

Hunting

224 Hunting and the ball play were close rivals for the second place after war in the esteem of the ancient Creeks. The former was of course a necessity and has its strictly economic side which does not here concern us. A few words may, however, be said regarding it from the social and religious points of view.

Elsewhere I have spoken of the ancient rights to hunting grounds and of the times of the year when hunting expeditions were undertaken.[78a]

The Creeks usually took medicines and washed their guns in them before they went after game. The Alabama, and probably the Creeks in general, steamed themselves thoroughly in the sweat house and then plunged into a cold stream before they set out. If several

[77] Bartram, Travels, p. 102. [78] Ibid., p. 510. [78a] See pp. 236-237, 404-406.

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hunters were going together they took the sweat bath one at a time. While they were out they put Indian tobacco (hitci pakpagi) under every campfire both going and returning in order to keep away the maleficent spirits of the dead. Before leaving home the hunters prepared a pot of medicine. The last of the ingredients to be put into this were four sticks of miko hoyanidja which went on top. This medicine was used for four successive days, and afterwards the four sticks of miko hoyanidja were taken out and carried along by the party. Afterwards the same medicine was employed by them in all kinds of ways, as an emetic, to bathe in, steam in, etc. If the hunter were not successful he might use another such as the "devil's shoestring" or a vine called itco hiliswa ("deer medicine"). These matters were of course under the direction of a medicine man, since one of these accompanied each party. According to an Alabama informant when deer were killed each hunter gave the medicine man a skin by way of payment, but this probably applied only when the hunt was reasonably successful.

Eakins says that each hunting party made its own regulations regarding the distribution of the game. "The person who starts an animal and wounds it, is entitled to the skin. The meat is divided according to agreement. Each one bags his own game. In cases of thefts from traps, the offenders are punished by law." [79]

When an Alabama hunter gave a bear bone to his dogs he laid it down near by, for if he threw it some distance off he feared that the bear would run away. In fact he threw bear bones far from him at no time. Dishes soiled with bear grease must not be washed at the creek, but instead a bucket of water must be brought to the camp and the dishes must be washed there. The same thing must be done with dishes soiled with deer grease; deer bones could, however, be thrown anywhere. If these regulations were not observed it was believed the hunters would kill nothing. Boys were not allowed to wrestle about in camp: if they did a bear would jump upon someone and kill him. After his return the successful hunter divided his meat among all of the houses in the yard and sent a little to his own parents. Nevertheless, the cooking was done by each family separately. "I have often observed," says Bossu, "that when they returned from the chase the chiefs took great care, before dividing the food, to set aside the share of the old men who were to return to the widows and the orphans whose fathers had been killed in war in defense of the fatherland." [80]

After an Indian had chased a bear, deer, or other game animal for a long time until he had become tired and sweaty he would take a fish-tooth scratcher and scratch one thigh until the blood ran. This would prevent him from getting tired out. Long ago the Indians

[79] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 278. [80] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 26-27.

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224 scratched their bodies all over so that the loss of blood would lighten them and they would be able to run long distances without becoming weary. Regarding the Indian runners in his time Adair says:

"Though some of us have often ran the swiftest of them out of sight, when on the chase in a collective body, for about the distance of twelve miles; yet, afterward, without any seeming toil, they would stretch on, leave us out of sight, and out-wind any horse." He reinforces this statement by telling how the Choctaw chief Red Shoes had run down and killed a French trader mounted on a fast horse.[81]

Means of Communication

202 The languages of the southern Indians are matters for separate discussion, and, as our classification is based on language, that in itself will indicate the number of dialects so far as they are known. Some other means of communicating intelligence were also in existence. I shall speak presently of mnemonic devices such as notches, knots, beads, and pictures.[81a] Smoke signals were also in use. In the Elvas account of the De Soto expedition we read that "so soon as the Christians appeared in sight of land [near Tampa Bay, Florida], they were descried, and all along the coast many smokes were seen to rise, which the Indians make to warn one another."[82] And I was told myself that when the Seminole in Oklahoma went out hunting they divided into parties which preserved the proper distance from one another by smoke signals. They would light a fire, and, as the film of smoke rose they would stop it at intervals by throwing a blanket over it. Whooping also formed a kind of means of communication. The death whoop and the whoop of the successful warrior coming in with a scalp were well known. Adair also speaks of "the whoop of friendship," "the whoop of defiance," and the "news whoop."[83] Most interesting of all was a sign language. The exist-
201 ence of such a language among the Plains Indians is well recognized and by them it was carried to a high point of development. It is not so well known that there was such a language among the southern Indians, but the existence at least of a rough and ready device of the kind seems to be proven by Adair, who says:

"The present American Aborigines seem to be as skilful Pantomimi, as ever were those of ancient Greece or Rome, or the modern Turkish mutes, who describe the meanest things spoken, by gesture, action, and the passions of the face. Two far-distant Indian nations, who understand not a word of each other's language, will intelligibly converse together, and contract engagements, without an interpreter, in such a surprising manner, as is scarcely credible."[84]

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[81] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 212.
[81a] See pp. 452–456.
[82] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. 1, p. 22.
[83] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 155, 156, 254, 273, 276, 277, 291, 312, 322, 328.
[84] Ibid., p. 79.

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Travel and Greetings

The material I have collected under this head may well be introduced by the following from Adair, which pictures the primitive customs in that regard very satisfactorily: 484 574

"When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they enquire for a house of their own tribe [i. e., clan]; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never saw the persons before—they eat, drink, and regale themselves, with as much freedom, as at their own tables; which is the solid ground covered with a bear-skin. It is their ususal custom to carry nothing along with them in their journies but a looking-glass, and red paint, hung to their back—their gun and shot pouch—or bow and quiver full of barbed arrows; and, frequently, both gun and bow; for as they are generally in a state of war against each other, they are obliged, as soon as able, to carry those arms of defence. Every town has a statehouse, or synedrion, as the Jewish sanhedrin, [i. e., the tcokofa] where, almost every night, the head men convene about public business; or the town's-people to feast, sing, dance, and rejoice, ... as will fully be described hereafter. And if a stranger calls there, he is treated with the greatest civility and hearty kindness—he is sure to find plenty of their simple home fare, and a large cane-bed covered with the softened skins of bears, or buffaloes, to sleep on. But, when his lineage is known to the people, (by a stated custom, they are slow in greeting one another) his relation, if he has any there, addresses him in a familiar way, invites him home, and treats him as his kinsman." [85]

Bartram has the following to say about the hospitality of these people and it is confirmed in the main by Adair who remarks like all early writers that hospitality was considered a cardinal virtue among them and its absence a serious blemish.[86] 574

"A man goes forth on his business or avocations; he calls in at another town; if he wants victuals, rest or social conversation, he confidently approaches the door of the first house he chooses, saying 'I am come'; [and] the good man or woman replies, 'You are; it's well.' Immediately victuals and drink are ready; he eats and drinks a little, then smokes tobacco, and converses either of private matters, public talks, or the news of the town. He rises and says, 'I go!' the other answers, 'You do!' He then proceeds again, and steps in at the next habitation he likes, or repairs to the public square, where are people always conversing by day, or dancing by night, or to some more private assembly, as he likes." [87]

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[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 17-18. [86] Ibid., p. 17. [87] Bartram, Travels, pp. [illegible].

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574 The following from Stiggins may also be included:

"The most prominent and I believe it to be the most uniform feature in their national character which shows itself constantly is in their civility and innocent deportment to each other and especially to a stranger that may travel among them and is sociable and seems to wish to conform to their customs and manners, without being self important or asking too many impertinent questions, which will often disgust them and conclude in bad consequences. . . . [One 'churlish of his eatables'] is termed by them a (nobody). So of all people they are the most tenacious of their reputation in hospitality, for on the entrance of a stranger into one of their huts he is immediately requested to sit down and as an introduction to his acquaintance he is asked his residence, destination, and business. Such questions are so common to them that they are replied to satisfactorily and in a brief manner, and in the meanwhile he is supplied with eatables, which is uniformly done at every house at which he may call. Their provisions bestowed on an acquaintance or stranger are put forth with a welcome which need not be doubted, should it compose the last morsel that they have got, as the provisions they bestow on a man are one of the links of their chief pride, and to doubt his hearty welcome in that case would unutterably hurt his feelings."[68]

Although Romans was no lover of the Creeks his testimony in this particular is equally favorable. He says:

"They are very hospitable and never fail of making a stranger heartily welcome, offering him the pipe as soon as he arrives, while the good women are employed to prepare a dish of venison and homany, with some bread made of maize and flour, and being wraped in maize leaves, baked under the ashes; when it is served up they accompany it with bears fat purified to a perfectly chrystalline oyl, and a bottle of honey with which last article the country abounds, and it is so good a quality, as in my opinion to exceed that of *Calabria* and *Minorca*.

"In the lower nation and the allied tribes, there are many who keep rice by them and have plenty of beef; of all which articles they are profusely liberal, and I believe had they only a single potatoe, they would share it with a stranger. In the fruit season they never fail to accompany these regales with melons, peaches, plums, grapes, or some other wild fruit.

"After the traveller is made welcome by his host, the latter introduces him into the assembly, which is kept every evening at a place called the square, of which we find one in each town. At this place he is entertained with tobacco and cassine drink; this is also the common resort of their old men and warriors to deliberate on matters of peace and war, to judge what steps are to be taken for the welfare

[68] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 12.

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of the nation, and to decide the fate of their neighbours; so that this square doth not ill answer to the description we have of the Roman *Forum* or Athenian *Areopage;* the evening ends in a dance, which is the common practice every night." [90] 574

The public welcome extended to visitors from other tribes is perhaps well exemplified in Bartram's account of the way in which he was received by the Oconee chief, called by the British "the Cowkeeper," when he visited him at his town in Florida near Alachua. He says:

"We were welcomed to the town, and conducted by the young men and maidens to the chief's house, which stood on an eminence, and was distinguished from the rest by its superior magnitude, a large flag being hoisted on a high staff at one corner. We immediately alighted: the chief, who is called the Cowkeeper, attended by several ancient men, came to us, and in a very free and sociable manner, shook our hands, or rather arms, (a form of salutation peculiar to the American Indians) saying at the same time, 'You are come.' We followed him to an apartment prepared for the reception of their guests.

"The pipe being filled, it is handed around; after which a large bowl, with what they call, 'thin drink,' [sofki?] is brought in and set down on a small low table. In this bowl is a great wooden ladle; each person takes up in it as much as he pleases, and after drinking until satisfied, returns it again into the bowl, pushing the handle towards the next person in the circle; and so it goes round." [91]

Attention is called to the shaking of the arms. This was evidently but one form of the usual American Indian greeting by rubbing the body of oneself and the visitor. [576]

When Milfort reached the town of Coweta after traveling westward from the Georgia settlements he was taken to the square ground, given ási to drink, and afterwards conducted to the old men who sat in the cabin on the east side of the square ground, and who were probably isti áteagági. They made him "a speech of welcome" and then an orator made him a long address lasting nearly an hour. At each pause in this address the assembly shouted "Ka" ("Yes"), and at the end all said "Mado" ("Very good" or "thank you")! Afterwards all of the old men marched past him shaking his hands in turn and presenting their tobacco pouches so that he might take a pinch of tobacco from each. And last of all an old man presented him with a tobacco pouch made of swanskin.[91] He adds that this tobacco pouch was white as a sign of peace and friendship, and he claims that his reception had been particularly cordial because

[90] Romans, Nat. Hist. F. and W. Fla., pp. 92-93.
[91] Bartram, Travels, p. 182; see also Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 17-18.
[91] Milfort, Mém., pp. 208-209. The shaking of hands was of course a later substitute for rubbing the body.

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574 of the affection which the Creek Indians retained for the French nation.[92]

In the following quotation from Stiggins something of the native etiquette and the native psychology associated with these gatherings is shown:

"I have observed among them another trait of national character. In the public meetings whether for black drink or national council the Indians appear studiously to wish to shew an importance in themselves and an independence of character for they will perceptibly assume a grave, sedate, consequential deportment, especially their chiefs, and head men. They would appear for a while to a bystander to be careless of all nature and each other. At length nature seems to predominate and shew their true disposition. When they commence smoking the spell seems to be removed for after a few draws of smoke from their pipe they cordially hand it to the next with whom it is optional to make use of the contents of the pipe or pass it to the next man, which is frequently done. By a constant repetition of such civilities a familiarity is engendered in the community at large by slow degrees that would not have taken place otherwise, as they seldom have any interesting conversation to impart or attend to with a stranger. [With the latter] it is customary with them to use hesitation. Even should they wish to converse with him they accost each other with studied and manifest civility to which they reciprocally receive an answer equally ceremonious and apposite until an acquaintance takes place."[93]

576 The common Chickasaw greeting as recorded by Adair 150 years ago has been given in translation above. The host said *Ish-la chu?* (*Ishla cho?*), "Are you come?" and the guest replied *Arahre-O* (*Alali-o*), "I am come."[94]

This was similar to the Creek form of salutation. When a Chiaha, for instance, came to visit a Coweta, the two towns being close friends, the latter would say, "My big friend (ànhisi lăko), are you come?" and the Chiaha would reply "Yes, I am come." If the Coweta were the visitor the formula was the same, and it was the same if the two individuals belonged to another pair of friendly towns such as Kasihta and Tàlwà lăko. What greetings passed between men of opposing towns I have not heard.

The following greetings were in use among the Alabama in Texas. *Boso' tcika'noso'*, "howdy, are you good?" or *boso* alone, to which the reply was *tcăkā'noso'*, "I am well." Another was *ticihoke'po'*, "you are not sick," and the reply *tcahoke'pobe'*, "I am not at all sick." Another was *tci'matiksahâme'*, "how are your family?" Reply, *oi-hat hokā'nobe'*, "they are all well." Another: *isnapo'*, "how are you?" Reply, *tcăkā'nobe'*, "I am well." The first two are the oldest forms.

[92] Milfort, Mém., p. 211. [93] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 26. [94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 66.

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Adair and Swan both remark on the apparent coldness exhibited by a married couple on meeting after a long separation. Adair says: 593

"I shall give an instance of this [incapability for lasting affection]. If the husband has been a year absent on a visit to another nation, and should by chance overtake his wife near home, with one of his children skipping along side of her; instead of those sudden and strong emotions of joy that naturally arise in two generous breasts at such an unexpected meeting, the self-interested pair go along as utter strangers, without seeming to take the least notice of one another, till a considerable time after they get home." [95]

Swan says:

"When a man meets his wife and children, after the absence of some months, in which time she has not heard a word from him, it is with a perfect seeming indifference. Perhaps the first word spoken will be—So, you have got back again, I see. He answers—Yes. She may then reply—Momuscha [Mohmistca]—i. e., Very well—and there ends the conversation. The man reserves the tale of his adventures, to be told to his other friends over a cup of black drink the next morning, at the square; and there it is retailed, in a tedious, circumlocutory conversation of many hours." [96]

As I have explained in another connection this "coldness" was principally etiquette and custom rather than native character.

The terms for "husband" and "wife" were not used by a married couple, because it was thought a married pair were too nearly connected to employ anything so formal. If they had to use any expression it would be "my old man" or "my old woman."

A man would not speak to his mother-in-law nor a woman to her father-in-law, or vice versa. They communicated through the wife or the husband. One of these tabooed couples would go a long way around to avoid meeting the other, and it was thought that if they did speak to each other or even touch each other they would itch all over. In speaking about such a person the other used the dual number. This information was obtained particularly from the Alabama in Texas. Chickasaw custom was about the same. 606

The usage may have differed among the constituent tribes of the Confederacy, however, for one of the best living authorities on old Creek customs (1924) declares that there was no regulation of "bashfulness" in force between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and that the only time when the latter avoided his mother-in-law was for about a week before and a week after his marriage because he was actually bashful.

If the Indians have friendly dealings with you they always want to associate you with them in some way, particularly by giving you sofki or other food, as has happened several times in my own case. 571

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 98.

[96] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274-275.

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571 I have been told that a Creek woman would never cut off a piece of tobacco for a man but would always bite it off, while she would cut off a piece for herself and never bite it. The cutting off of tobacco was thought to imply the severance of friendship. I have been 572 unable to confirm this. Friendships of the kind common among Indian tribes generally outside of all blood or other natural affiliations were frequently struck up and were cemented by mutual scratching. Swan says:

"Scratching is also practised among young warriors, as a ceremony or token of friendship. When they have exchanged promises of inviolable attachment, they proceed to scratch each other before they part. This is more frequently done in drunken frolics than any other time. After a rum-drinking, numbers of them appear covered with blood, and lacerated from their shoulders down to their heels. Such marks of friendship are indelible, and effectually remind them of their friendly promise so long as they live." [97]

571 The southern tribes had the usual Indian dread of ridicule and the usual willingness to indulge in it at anyone's expense, even at times when pity and sympathy would appear more in order. Says Adair: "If the Indians saw their grandmother break her neck by a fall from a horse, or any other accident, they would whoop and halloo." [98]

Yet ridicule was seldom carried far. Stiggins says:

"To my knowledge they are not a people to utter a remark or word to hurt the feelings of any one, without they would be in a state of intoxication, for should they press a joke even on a friend or acquaintance so far as to be disagreeable and likely to ruffle his temper they will immediately surcease, apologize, and withhold, and it rarely happens to hear one of them at any time reflect on the conduct or reputation of another. If there should be a man of general bad [626] repute [the matter] will be taken up and related by one of their miccos without pointing out any person in particular, but [he will] lay open the ill consequences in any person of such, and such, ill conduct. His comments would be more pointed and acrimonious should there be an instance of a person in the town so churlish of his eatables as to be inhospitable to one of their own people, [and] especially to a traveling stranger." [99]

TRADE

439 The standards of value to be presently discussed show that trade was developed even in pre-Columbian times. The inland tribes could furnish mica, copper, pipe stone, flint for arrows, and angelica roots, while the coast tribes had sea shells, dry fish, *Ilex vomitoria*, and salt. This last commodity was also obtained from the trans-Missis-

[97] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.
[98] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 298.
[99] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 16.

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sippi tribes by those on the eastern side. When Bartram was on the Suwanee River, Fla., he learned that the Indians of that region went trading and hunting in their cypress canoes all along the coast as far as the southern end of Florida and even to Havana. He himself encountered a party which had just returned from the latter place. He states that they carried thither in trade "deer skins, furs, dry fish, bees-wax, honey, bear's oil, and some other articles."[1] Elsewhere he notes that the same articles, minus the dry fish, were traded to the American settlers and several Indians had become very well to do in consequence of this industry.[2] The following from Swan shows how and where they obtained their firearms at the end of the eighteenth century.

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"The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The chief has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

"If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting: a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or $50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country."[3]

That some of the Indians of this tribe readily took to trading is reiterated by Romans, who says: "There are few towns in this nation where there is not some savage residing, who either trades of his own flock, or is employed as a factor."[4]

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Counting

The Muskhogean systems of numeration are all decimal. In Adair's time the Chickasaw figured out mercantile transactions on the ground, a system which they called yakâ-ne Tlâpha,[5] or "scoring on the ground."[6] They made single marks for each unit and a cross for 10. Adair believed that this latter mark was borrowed from the whites, but I have seen computations by the northwest coast peoples in which straight marks are used for units and a cross inserted to mark off every 20 units, the system of notation being vigesimal with them. The cross in the south may have been used for the same purpose in marking off tens. It is to be added that Adair's statements are confirmed by Eakins.[7] Eakins also says that they used

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[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 235.
[2] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 30.
[3] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 263.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 93-94.
[5] Yakni lapa, "ground spread out."
[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 77.
[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 273.

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802 their fingers in counting from one decimal to another.[8] One of my Creek informants in using his fingers to aid his memory began with the little finger of his left hand, which he doubled over, and followed with his other fingers in order. Then he passed to his right hand where he again began with the little finger and proceeded as before.

804 Measures of length were based on various parts of the body, as was originally the case with us, the fingers, hands, arms, etc., being used.

Distances between places far apart were measured by the time consumed in getting from one to the other—i. e., by the number of camps or "sleeps" or by the number of moons. Regarding their

805 sense of the passage of time generally Swan has the following very pertinent remarks:

"They count the number of days or years, either past or to come, by tens. Having no exact method of keeping or reckoning their time they seldom tell nearer than within one month of the time any remarkable occurrence took place in the preceding year; but circumstances, or any speeches that might have attended such occurrence, they remember accurately. There is not one in the whole nation knows how old he is."[9]

The natural measures of time marked off by the altered positions of the sun and moon—i. e., days, months, and years, and their subdivisions—have already been discussed. When they wished to keep in mind a certain number of these or to remember certain ones among them they employed several devices.

805 211 The commonest method of determining a fixed date in the future upon which some event was to take place was by wrapping up a number of short sticks into a little bundle and throwing one away each day. When but one remained the person who had the bundle knew that the appointed day had arrived. This was the method employed every year to enable all of the families of each town to assemble on the busk ground at the proper date. As many bundles were distributed as there were families and the head of each family threw away the sticks. It is to be noted that a stick was thrown away immediately on receipt of the bundle—i. e., the count began with the day on which the bundle was received; in fact the messenger who brought the bundle usually threw away the first stick himself. This is said by French writers to have been the method by which the date of the Natchez massacre was fixed, and the tribes confederate to the conspiracy were able to tell when to rise. Such sticks were called "the broken days," and according to Adair the same name was applied to certain square notched sticks which were used for a similar purpose. In the latter case the sticks were sent about with a definite

[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 273. [9] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277.

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number of notches in them and each day the man in charge cut one notch out. At other times notches were made instead of being cut out, especially when the future date was indefinite.[10] I have seen this method employed on the north Pacific coast. Eakins saw still another method in use among the Creeks in recording the days of the week. This consisted of a series of holes made in a board into which a peg was inserted.[11] 805 211

A third and particularly important method is mentioned by Adair. It was the use of cords on which were a definite number of knots. The time was determined by untying one of these knots each day, or perhaps by tying it, similarly to the usage in the case of notches. They employed all these devices not merely to keep run of the days but of the months and years as well, and Adair says of the last: "They count certain very remarkable things, by knots of various colours and make, after the manner of the South-American Aborigines."[12] Of course Adair is referring to the famous quipu of Peru, and it is very interesting to find that our southern tribes had a similar mnemonic system, especially as he implies that this was used to some extent to mark important events in past history. Adair's statement also serves to confirm an analogous assertion by Milfort, except that, according to the latter, beads strung on threads took the place of knots. Still there is no good reason why both devices should not have been employed. The idea once established would have seized upon any convenient means of expression. Milfort's statement runs thus:

"Since my arrival among the Creeks the old chiefs had often spoken to me of their ancestors, and they had shown me the belts (banderoles), or species of chaplets, which contained their histories. These chaplets were their archives; they are of little seeds like those which are called Cayenne pearls; they are of different colors and strung in rows; and it is on their arrangement and their pattern that their meaning depends. As only the principal events are preserved on these belts and without any details, it sometimes happens that a single chaplet contains the history of twenty to twenty-five years. These pearls are placed in such a manner as to preserve the various periods exactly; and each year is easily distinguished by those who know the arrangement."[13] 211

It furthermore appears from the speech of Chekilli to Governor Oglethorpe painted on a bison skin[14] that pictorial mnemonics or "picture writing" was known. 212

[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 75.
[11] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 273.
[12] Adair, op. cit., p. 75.
[13] Milfort, Mémoire, pp. 47-48. Such devices were in use also among the tribes of the Carolinas and Virginia.
[14] See p. 33.

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212 These facts all tend to show that the Creeks anciently had made some endeavors to record their history and serve to strengthen our respect for certain of the features of their migration legends. It will also prevent us from dismissing as an altogether idle tale De la Vente's assertion that the Natchez had preserved a record of 45 or 50 of their Great Suns.[15] At the best the attempts were, of course, crude, but in Peru the device of the quipu seems to have preserved a great amount of extremely valuable history extending to a remote antiquity.

436 Before white contact value was measured by means of shell money, but we have not from the southern Indians as full an account of this as from the northern Indians. The following from Adair contains nearly all that we know about it:

"Before we supplied them with our European beads, they had great quantities of wampum; (the Buccinum of the ancients) made out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking. With these they bought and sold at a stated current rate, without the least variation for circumstances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loss or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reasons ever so strong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-skins was the price of a large conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's forefinger; which they fixed to the crown of their head, as an high ornament—so greatly they valued them." [16]

Games

526 As with so many other American tribes, the two-goal ball game, resembling in many respects that known as lacrosse, was the leading game among southern Indians. I will begin an account of it by prefixing Adair's description as he witnessed it among the Chickasaw, though the Creek game as it has come down to us differed in several important particulars. He says:

[525] "The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game; and is such severe exercise, as to shew it was originally calculated for a hardy and expert race of people, like themselves, and the ancient Spartans. The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews. The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thongs. Between these, they catch the ball, and throw it a great distance, when not prevented by some of the opposite party, who fly to intercept them. The goal is about

[15] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., vol. i, p. 37.

[16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 176. Cf. also Lawson, Hist. Car., pp. 315-317. The use of the term "wampum" here is erroneous: wampum was of a wholly different type.

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five hundred yards in length: at each end of it, they fix two long bending poles into the ground, three yards apart below, but slanting a considerable way outwards. The party that happens to throw the ball over these, counts one; but, if it be thrown underneath, it is cast back, and played for as usual. The gamesters are equal in number on each side; and, at the beginning of every course of the ball, they throw it up high in the center of the ground, and in a direct line between the two goals. When the crowd of players prevents the one who catches the ball, from throwing it off with a long direction, he commonly sends it the right course, by an artful sharp twirl. They are so exceedingly expert in this manly exercise, that, between the goals, the ball is mostly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing sticks, without falling to the ground, for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. It is surprising to see how swiftly they fly, when closely chased by a nimble footed pursuer; when they are intercepted by one of the opposite party, his fear of being cut by the ball sticks, commonly gives them an opportunity of throwing it perhaps a hundred yards; but the antagonist sometimes runs up behind, and by a sudden stroke dashes down the ball. It is a very unusual thing to see them act spitefully n any sort of game, not even in this severe and tempting exercise. 526

"Once, indeed, I saw some break the legs and arms of their opponents, by hurling them down, when on a descent, and running at full speed. But I afterward understood, there was a family dispute of long continuance between them: that might have raised their spleen, as much as the high bets they had then at stake, which was almost all they were worth. The Choktah are exceedingly addicted to gaming, and frequently on the slightest and most hazardous occasions, will lay their all, and as much as their credit can procure.

"By education, precept, and custom, as well as strong example, they have learned to shew an external acquiescence in every thing that befalls them, either as to life or death. By this means, they reckon it a scandal to the character of a steady warrior to let his temper be ruffled by any accidents,—their virtue they say, should prevent it. . . . To move the deity to enable them to conquer the party they are to play against, they mortify themselves in a surprising manner; and, except a small intermission, their female relations dance out of doors all the preceding night, chanting religious notes with their shrill voices, to move *Yo He Wah* [17] to be favourable to their kindred party, on the morrow. The men fast and wake from sunset, till the ball play is over the next day, which is about one or two o'clock in the afternoon. During the whole night, they [578

[17] Adair is reverting again to his favorite theory that these meaningless syllables had reference to the Jehovah of the Hebrews, from which people he believed the American Indians were descended.

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526 are to forbear sleeping under the penalty of reproaches and shame; which would sit very sharp upon them, if their party chanced to lose the game, as it would be ascribed to that unmanly and vicious conduct. They turn out to the ball ground, in a long row, painted white, whooping, as if Pluto's prisoners were all broke loose: when that enthusiastic emotion is over, the leader of the company begins a religious invocation, by saying *Yah*, short; then *Yo* long, which the rest of the train repeat with a short accent, and on a low key like the leader: and thus they proceed with such acclamations and invocations, as have been already noticed, on other occasions. Each party are desirous to gain the twentieth ball, which they esteem a favourite divine gift. As it is in the time of laying by the corn, in the very heat of summer, they use this severe exercise, a stranger would wonder to see them hold it so long at full speed, and under the scorching sun, hungry also, and faint with the excessive use of such sharp physic as the button snake root, the want of natural rest, and of every kind of nourishment. But their constancy, which they gain by custom, and their love of virtue, as the sure means of success, enable them to perform all their exercises, without failing in the least, be they ever so severe in the pursuit."[18]

The Chickasaw ball stick as here described differs considerably from that of the Creeks and was probably like the one used by the Choctaw. The goal was also arranged very differently. The fullest account of a Creek game given by early writers is from Pope, in the case of an actual contest witnessed by him. It is as follows:

. . . "He [Alexander McGillivray] invited me to a Ball-Match, about 10 miles from his house, between two Townships. Sixty-two alert young Fellows were selected from each Town. The Goals were set up about a quarter of a Mile apart, near the Center of an extensive Campaign or Prairie.—They consist of two blazed Saplings fixed in the Ground about 10 Feet asunder at either End, thro' which every Time either Party throws the Ball with their Rackets, they are entitled to count one—The Number of the Game is arbitrary.—Midway between the Goals, the Ball is thrown up alternately by two old Men, who are mutually chosen by the contending Parties to decide all Controversies which may arise in the course of the Game—Upon throwing up the Ball a violent Struggle ensues between the Parties which sometimes lasts 8 or 10 Minutes, before either Side can give it a cast; and when they do, there are others of their Opponents ready to intercept and give it an adverse Direction.—On this Game Property to a very considerable Amount is generally risqued, consisting of Broaches, Bracelets, Gorgets, Medals, paints, Arms and Ammunition piled up in a pyramidal Form. Sometimes their whole Family Stock of Food and Raiment is hazzarded.—A dislocated Joint or Fractured

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 399-401.

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Bone is not uncommon: Suffer what they may, you'll never see an angry look or hear a threatening Word among them. 526

"The Players divest themselves of all their Cloaths, except their Flaps. They ingeniously disguise themselves with various coloured Paints and assume the Semblance of Rattle-Snakes entwin'd. Spiral Streaks of *red*, *white* and *blue*, alternately adorn their other Parts.—The vanquished Party immediately upon the Conclusion of the Game, betake themselves to their Heels, in Order to avoid the Scoffs and Ridicule of their boastful Conquerors."[19]

It will be noticed that the goals described here agree somewhat with those mentioned by Adair, both differing from the modern goals in having no crossbar at the top. Bartram speaks as if there were but one "pillar" at each end to which the ball was carried by the opposing party.[20] This is the style in vogue at the present day among the Choctaw of Mississippi. In the first section of the present paper some further information regarding the ball game will be found.[20a]

Under another heading I have said a great deal about the social significance of the ball game and I have explained that the regular games were played only between towns belonging to the two opposite fires. I have also given the traditional origin—or a traditional origin—of these encounters—i. e., as a substitute for war. In common parlance it was often called "the brother of the war." The social divisions concerned in the ball game have been treated at length. Among the Texas Alabama, in which the older organization has been long broken down, various other ways of dividing up were resorted to. One of the prominent men among the Yuchi assured me that one of the oldest divisions in that tribe was between the men who had children and those who had none. 526 619

To frame the ball sticks pieces of hickory were tapered off, steamed and turned over at the ends, to the right for a right-handed player and to the left for a left-handed man, after which the ends were bound over on the handle. Two buckskin cords were then run across each opening and fastened through small holes made with an awl, thus furnishing a cage for the ball. Lard was next heated, and rubbed at the base of each loop. The loops were then inserted into a crack in a wall or floor and bent sideways a trifle so that the player could hold the ball between the two sticks. I was told that the makers of these sticks did not fast while at work but that after they were done medicine was put on them. The ball was made exactly as described by Adair, of deer hair covered with a piece of dressed deerskin tied by means of deerskin thongs. The ball sticks formerly 526

[19] Pope, Tour, pp. 49-51. For another printed account see "Narrative of a Mission to the Creek Nation," by Col. Marinus Willett, pp. 109-110, copied into Pickett's History of Alabama, pp. 59-60, and Claiborne, Miss., vol. i, pp. 455-457.

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. 372.

[20a] See pp. 49-51.

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526 used by the Choctaw and Chickasaw were not as powerful as the Creek ball sticks.

As has already been stated, in games between the Whites and Tcilokis the former wore white crane feathers in their hair and the latter eagle feathers. They had no other clothing in olden times except the breechclout and moccasins. Fastened over the breechclout behind was often a "tiger tail." It was used because this animal is strong and courageous. If the father of a player had belonged to the Panther clan that would be an additional reason for selecting it. A bison tail, and eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers were also used because they belonged to "masterful animals." I am told that the paint had no significance except that red was generally used as representing war, the ball game being "brother of the war." Nevertheless, I believe that in ancient times the paintings did sometimes have significance. If the other adornments were adopted with the idea of assisting the player there is every reason to suppose that the paintings would sometimes be put on with the same object in view. The following account of the manner in which a regular match game was conducted was given me by Jackson Lewis.

Each party calls the other itc inkipai'a, and each person so names one who always opposes him in the ball play. In proposing a game a messenger from one town goes to the chief of another and says, "Here is a proposition to engage you in a game," upon which he lays down a ball stick with a feather tied to it. The chief then calls his people together, especially those who are interested in the game, and says: "We are challenged by our well-known opponents. What are you going to do?" Then they count noses to see whether they have enough expert ball players to stand a contest. If they decide that they can do so they send word back "We will try you one game." Then each town selects four contract makers who meet at some appointed place midway between the towns to arrange the terms of the contest. They agree when to play, where to play, but above all who are to play on each side—i. e., whether the men married into both towns are to play, the men married out and living elsewhere, etc. One side says "We will play our sons-in-law," which another will object to, saying. "No, but we will play our sons," etc. The referees on both sides are very sharp to see that no advantage is yielded to the enemy. Finally they settle upon the terms or else call the game off. In each party of four chosen to make the contract there must always be one man of the Bear clan.[21] Although the contract makers do not agree to have wrestling when the young men are going into a contest the old men will say to them, "You are now privileged to treat your opponents in any way you choose." Wrestling is called ikan wa'kita, "lying down on the ground." Now, after both towns have encamped in the

[21] This statement applies particularly to Upper Eufaula.

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neighborhood of the place selected, the eight referees agree upon the precise plot of ground upon which it shall be played. The people of each town fell trees and lay the logs round their camps for the spectators to sit upon while the ball dance is held. The spectators sit in a semicircle. The dancing is carried on almost entirely by the women, though there is some dancing by the men. After the women have danced four times to songs sung by the others they retire to a distance, and those who have been selected to play take their ball sticks, and rush out, yelling, whooping, running around, and making hideous shouts. This is called ya'hkita. The drum is beaten during all of this time. This whole performance is repeated four times during the night, and it takes until midnight or a little longer. The players have the ball they expect to use next day tied to a twig and the twig set in the ground with the end directed toward the camp of their opponents "much as cannon are trained on the enemy." After the dance the women retire, while the men may sit around in their seats until daylight when the game begins. That time having come they cut down a sapling 12 to 16 feet high and about 6 inches thick, and split it in two.

They carry this from the place where they have been dancing to their end of the selected ball ground. Then they agree about the distance apart of the two goals which is generally from 150 to 200 yards. There they dig holes and set the two pieces upright about 3 to 3½ feet apart. Across the top they put a crosspiece. After the goals have been set up the players on each side go up to the median line and throw their sticks down so that they match each other, the end of each stick on one side being directly opposite the end of a stick on the other side. This is to show that the number of players is exactly even on each side. Meanwhile the players jest with one another, and all kinds of things are wagered by the men and women of both parties. All the details are fixed in advance. Then three places are marked off, one exactly half way between the goals, the two others half way from the center to each goal. Each side divides its players into parties, placing one in the center, one at each of the midway points, and one near each goal. Finally a person steps to the center and throws the ball up into the air about 10 feet, whereupon all the players rush in, and each tries to throw it toward his own goal. The struggle now rages furiously. Two persons are appointed, one from each side, who sit midway between the goals. Each is provided with 10 sticks, and when a point is made by one side the representative of that side sticks one of his sticks into the ground. After all 10 are stuck in they begin to withdraw them until the representative of one side has withdrawn all, making 20 points, when the side he represents wins, and the scorers say Ilâtitô'tôtô', "He is dead, dead, dead, dead." Then the winners run to their

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526 goal and whoop and rush around it raising the samɔ ya'hki'a. As many play on each side as the eight referees agree upon, sometimes as many as 60. The game sometimes lasted till dark unless it broke up in a fight. Meanwhile each side has a medicine man back in the woods making medicine as hard as he can for his own side. Any doctor may be selected, but they are so suspicious that only one of whose sympathies they are certain is likely to be chosen. Jackson Lewis was once induced to make medicine for the Indians of a Choctaw town, and he sent them some medicine to rub on their bodies. They were successful, the opposing side making but one goal.

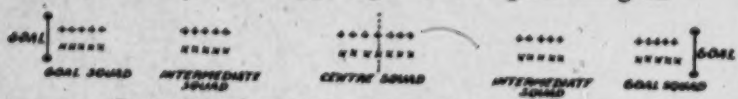

FIG. 104.—Arrangement of players at the opening of the Creek ball game

The following notes, furnished by Zachariah Cook, supplement the foregoing in many important particulars:

The sides pair off as indicated in the accompanying sketch (fig. 104), each party facing the other and occupying one side all the way along. If the ball goes under the crossbar of the goal and between the side posts it counts, or if it hits the posts or crossbar, no matter from which side thrown. Each side has previously provided itself with a medicine ball, called "a chief ball," inside of which is a measuring worm, because that is a worm supposedly invisible to a bird, and so the ball will not be seen by the other party.[21a] After either side has made its third goal it can use this ball to make its fourth; that having been accomplished, they go on playing with a common ball. Behind the goal post is a dish in which is a piece of the hide of a bull turtle and some medicine. The ball is supposed to be attracted to the dish like a turtle to the water. They also paint medicine on the ball stick strings so as to attract the ball to them. For these things they depend entirely on the medicine maker (hilis-haya) and follow his directions, but who is making the medicine for them is kept a secret. The ball posts are only conjured a little just after they are cut. The medicine maker also prepares a medicine out of the track of a wolf and the burrow of a crawfish to rub on the shoulders of the players.

The first ball to be thrown up is not by the regular ball throwers, but by the best speaker they can find who gives a talk first, counselling fair play, etc., and then throws the ball, saying, "Here goes up a ball for twenty stakes." Afterwards the regular throwers are used, one from each side.

The man representing the side that challenges begins. The paints that were put on their bodies were only for ornament. There

[21a] It seems that part of a "snake's nest" was also an efficient medicine to be used in this manner. See p. 462.

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is a man at each goal to see that the goals are made fairly, and two men on each side (called mâdjokâlgi) to umpire and keep order. They tell the players to play hard without fighting. Sometimes they have four of these men on a side. There is also one scorer for each side, each provided with a number of broken sticks. Each scores for his own side, sticking one stick after another in the ground until there are 10 and then withdrawing them until all of the sticks belonging to one side are out. 526

If any one gets knocked out in play they even up again by throwing down their ball sticks opposite each other to be sure that neither side has an advantage. The players wear red fringes around their necks, and cows' tails, panthers' tails, and bison tails on their buttocks. They run with the ball or throw it, whichever way will advance the ball fastest. When they are through, the winning side marches around its goal, goes home, and has a "stomp dance." The others may set a time and hold a "stomp dance" afterwards.

A man had to play on the side of his own town even against the people of the town into which he had married, but if he lived in a third town not involved in the game, he could join the town that asked him first. This, therefore, gave a man an opportunity to play on the side opposite that of his proper town, but in olden times it is probable that it did not happen very often. When preparing for the ball game at Tcatoksofka the town chief talked the players over with one heniha (of the Wind clan) and one man of the Raccoon clan, or sometimes he consulted two members of each clan. According to Zachariah Cook, at Tukabahchee there were two men known as imagâlgi who divided up the men or else called upon some experienced men to do it for them. Two mikâgi had charge of the women's dance. Although Jackson Lewis speaks of the place where the contest was to be held as being agreed upon in advance by the eight men who arranged it, this was not done finally until just before the game, each side fearing lest the opponents should bewitch it. This was given me as the reason why it was not known where the Talahasutci and Łiwahali Seminole were going to play in the summer of 1913. When the wife of a ball player was pregnant the doctor prepared a medicine for him different from that taken by the others. The middle ground, half way between the ball posts, was called wâskita; and each station halfway between that point and either goal was known as nâlkâptkâ'ga. The side which threw through one goal called the other party fûlûdjî and vice versa. It is asserted that there was little or no fighting in olden times during the ball game, and this assertion is borne out by what the older writers tell us—although legs and arms were sometimes broken in the scrimmages—but in recent years it has been almost impossible to play a game through without a free fight. A game between the Nuyaka and Łapłâko towns ended 526 578 177

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526 578 177 this way, and the same fate befell one started between the Eufaula and Abihka towns. In the latter case the very first time the ball was thrown up a free fight began which lasted three hours, and, according to report, the county sheriff and his deputies were utterly unable to stop it.

526 Sometimes the parties to a ball game had to march some distance to reach the place agreed upon for the encounter. When that was the case they would go by easy stages, hold a rally in the evening, the night before, and dance all night. I have one account which states that they held such a dance the first evening, reached the place appointed the next day, held another dance there, and then began the game. A great amount of property was wagered on the outcome of one of these games by both men and women, who whould even strip clothing off of their bodies for that purpose.

It is to be observed that the Indian attitude with reference to the goals is just opposite to that taken by white men in their games, for with us the idea is to drive the ball through the enemy's goal, but the Indian considered that he was bringing the ball home to his own goal.

526 802 Among the Texas Alabama the method of counting points was different from that used by the Creeks, but it was probably a later innovation. There a straight line was drawn and transverse marks made on one side of this for one party and on the other side for the other party, twelve constituting the game. Figure 105 will illustrate.

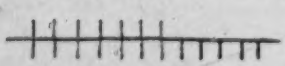

FIG. 105.—Alabama method of recording scores in the ball game

526 788 I will now give an account of a practice game between Łaplako Indians witnessed by myself in 1913. We drove from Wetumka Sunday afternoon, July 27, and found the Indians seated on logs around the dance ground while the medicine maker at the other end was blowing into the medicine (pl. 7, *b*). There were two tubs, each said to contain miko hoyanīdja, but each treated differently by the doctor, so that the men drank from both. He did his work very deliberately, sitting motionless for a long time and afterwards taking some time in blowing into the medicine. He probably did this four times, though we did not watch him long enough to be certain. He sat facing the east. After that the yatika made an announcement and all went to the medicine, formed two rows, facing east, and took the medicine in the usual manner, afterwards vomiting it out, though some did not choose to take it (pl. 7, *c*). Before and during this ceremony the chief held in his hand a short stick on the end of which was fastened two balls and a bunch of small sticks. The last were the scoring sticks; the former comprised a large ball with which they were going to play next day and a smaller ball, the "chief ball" above mentioned, used when one side has scored three goals. It is said that each side

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has such a ball but I saw only one. When they went to take medicine each player took his ball sticks and belt down from the rack, on which they were hung in pairs, and when his turn came to take medicine each first poured a little upon these. The chief led and poured a little upon the balls. When all were through and had gotten back to their seats announcement was made that the players would be scratched. This was done on the west side of a large oak tree west of the medicine man's position. Each player in turn placed one hand on the tree and raised one leg at a time to the scratcher who scratched him four times on the back of the calf and four times on the thigh in front just deep enough to draw blood. He was also scratched four times on the upper arms and four times on the lower arms. 526 788

Meanwhile the medicine maker was treating more medicine, water having been brought by water boys, and soon after the scratching was completed they took medicine again. Previously, a number of boys had been sent to get wood for the fire to be built up that night, although a fire had been smoldering in the middle of the dance ground all the afternoon. After they had taken medicine for the last time the fire was poked up a little. The yatika, who was a Tukabahchee Indian, now made a short speech, when all ran and got their ball sticks, and marched around a little tree that had been set up near the medicine. After circling about it a few times they filed off to the stream and bathed. Some time later they came back and were dismissed to supper with another short speech. After supper they danced the "old dance" four times when the dance became free to all, both men and women joining in. Dancing continued almost all night.

On the day of the ball game, July 28, 1913, we reached the grounds about 8 a. m. The two sides were already made up. After waiting to see that all were present, each side went off by itself and held a council. Then each leader made a speech and they filed off to dress for the game. Presently they came back, part retaining their "store clothes," part wearing only the breechclout and belt with perhaps a feather in the hair. One or two had red paint on their faces and at least one wore a tiger tail strapped straight up along his back. Each party walked to its own goal and circled about it for a few minutes, shouting. Then they lined up across the center and after some parley threw down their sticks opposite each other to see that the numbers were even. Then they went to their appointed places, the ball was thrown up, and the game began. The sides were called simply "East" (hasosa) and "West" (akalatka) and the two scorers, each marking up for one side, sat on the south side of the grounds. As the game proceeded the enthusiasm increased, the rival sides shout- 526

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526 ing "hasosa," "akalatka." The game lasted from about 9 until 10.30 and ended in favor of the west side by a score of 20 to 16.

Another very ancient game was called by white traders the chunkey game and gave its name to the chunk yards of Creek towns, later devoted solely to the single stick game to be described presently. The chunkey, although once extremely popular, could be played by but few persons on a side and never had the significance, so far as we know, of the game already considered. It has now passed out of use so completely as barely to be remembered, but there are several accounts of it by those French writers who tell us of the tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley,[22] and Adair has the following excellent description:

"The warriors have another favourite game, called *Chungke;* which, with propriety of language, may be called 'Running hard labour.' They have near their state house, a square piece of ground well cleaned, and fine sand is carefully strewed over it, when requisite, to promote a swifter motion to what they throw along the surface. Only one, or two on a side, play at this ancient game. They have a stone about two fingers broad at the edge, and two spans round: each party has a pole of about eight feet long, smooth, and tapering at each end, the points flat. They set off a-breast of each other at six yards from the end of the play ground; then one of them hurls the stone on its edge, in as direct a line as he can, a considerable distance toward the middle of the other end of the square: when they have ran a few yards, each darts his pole anointed with bear's oil, with a proper force, as near as he can guess in proportion to the motion of the stone, that the end may lie close to the stone—when this is the case, the person counts two of the game, and, in proportion to the nearness of the poles to the mark, one is counted, unless by measuring, both are found to be at an equal distance from the stone. In this manner, the players will keep running most part of the day, at half speed, under the violent heat of the sun, staking their silver ornaments, their nose, finger, and ear rings; their breast, arm, and wrist plates, [525] and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their middle. All the American Indians are much addicted to this game, which to us appears to be a task of stupid drudgery: it seems however to be of early origin, when their fore-fathers used diversions as simple as their manners. The hurling stones they use at present, were time immemorial rubbed smooth on the rocks, and with prodigious labour; they are kept with the strictest religious care, from one generation to another, and are exempted from being buried with the dead. They belong to the town where they are used, and are carefully preserved."[23]

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[22] See Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 90-91.

[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 401-402.

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At the present time the game next in importance to the one first described is the single pole game. Every square ground is supplemented with a circular area having a single pole 25 to 30 feet high in the middle. This circular area is all that is left of the old chunkey yard already described. Sometimes there is a sacred yard and pole not used in actual games, a second pole in another place being devoted to the play. The games here were of a purely social character; I have not heard that any ceremonies or medicine performances accompanied them. They play this game down to the present time, especially on Sundays, and the men and women play against each other, although sometimes the women are allowed to strengthen their forces by choosing two of the best male players. The ball used is similar to that employed in the men's game, and the men are obliged to throw it with their ball sticks, while the women use their hands. As elsewhere described, on the top of the pole is hung a cow's or horse's skull, or a wooden image such as a fish, as in the Fish Pond towns; at Eufaula, an eagle is used. Part way up the pole is a mark and if anyone throws the ball so as to hit the pole above this his or her side scores one, while if it hits the skull or image at the top it scores more, sometimes five. The following is perhaps an older form of counting. If the skull or image is hit it counts one. If the pole above the mark is hit twice in succession by one side it counts one also, but if the side makes one hit and then the other makes one the score of the first is canceled. The whole number of points, as in the case of the men's game, was 20, and scored in the same manner by sticking ten sticks into the ground and then pulling them out again. Jackson Lewis, speaking of an earlier time, said that they generally managed to let the women win, and then the men went after game which the women cooked, the whole ending with a feast and dance. This was evidently in connection with the social feasts more specifically described elsewhere.[23a]

Hitchcock gives the following lively picture of a game which he witnessed in the Creek country in 1842:

"The players mingle, or scatter about as they please, the men on one side of the game and the women on the other aided by a few men. The men use sticks, the women their hands. The chief throws the ball up nearly vertically, standing near the pole,—the game has commenced. All rush to sieze the ball, men and women pell mell together. One gets it. His party tries to give him an opportunity of throwing it. The opposite party, to embarrass him, rush on him, catch his arm, and in the whirl he loses the ball. Another rush. A woman gets it. She holds it firmly in one hand and walks towards the pole followed and surrounded by men and women. She is about to throw it. A ball stick is interposed over her. She

[23a] See pp. 404, 455-526.

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526 sees one of her own side a little way off and tosses the ball to her. The latter catches it and, throwing it instantly, hits the pole. There is a general scream and one point is marked to the women's side. The ball is taken and thrown up as before, and again the play is all life. A man bearing the ball is pursued. He rushes along with it in his sticks with his arms extended upward, strikes his foot against an obstacle, and falls to the ground headlong, losing the ball. There is a loud laugh and a general rush after the ball. A woman is near it. The ball is rolling on. She leans forward. She thinks she can reach it by throwing herself at full length on the ground, and doing so, reaches forward to grasp it but misses it and it is seized by another. And thus the play proceeds." [24]

It is perhaps to the above game that Le Moyne refers when he says, in describing a game of the Florida Indians: "In the middle of an open space is set up a tree some eight or nine fathoms high, with a square frame woven of twigs on the top; this is to be hit with the ball, and he who strikes it first gets a prize." This description is accompanied by a picture showing such a pole,[25] but it is of doubtful reliability. This game is at least as old as the time of Adair.[25a]

In later times the Creek men and women also played against each other in a kind of game of football. Two goals were made, each of two sticks inclining to a point at a height of about 4 feet. The game was to drive the ball through these goals. It was thrown up in the middle and the men were allowed only to kick it while the women might use their hands also.

They also pitched arrows against each other. If the arrow of one player touched the feather of the other's arrow he kept it.

525 Both the Creeks of Oklahoma and the Alabama of Texas remember a game played with four pieces of cane, each half of a section made by splitting the cane lengthwise. This was primarily a women's game but men sometimes played it also. The canes were thrown into the air by each player in turn and the points determined by counting the number of canes with the convex and the concave sides up. Among the Alabama the following system of counting was in use. If all of the canes came to rest with their rounded sides up it counted 10; if all came to rest with their concave sides up it counted 5; if three came down concave side up and one convex side up it counted 3; if two were convex and two concave it counted 2; and if three were convex side up and one concave side up it counted 1.

Among the same people these canes were employed in lieu of dice in a game something like pachisi. A board was laid out as in the accompanying figure (fig. 106), sometimes not more than 10 by 15 inches in dimensions, but sometimes designed on a bearskin of a

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[24] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [25] Le Moyne, Narr., p. 13 (Ill.). [25a] See p. 551.

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width of 4 feet and a length of 6 or 7 feet. At these latter as many as four men and four women would sometimes play; at the smaller ones, four or five in all. Counters were moved around from the starting point at the middle of the left side to the same point again. To pass the place marked "5" five points were needed, and four of these points, the four in the corners, had a special name, sáktciyi, "crawfish feet."

The game of "hiding the bullet," elsewhere known as the "moccasin game," was played with a bullet or buckshot and a number of hats, gloves, etc. Each player was provided with 15 strips of cane of the size of a match. Each tried his hand in turn at concealing the bullet under one of the hats or gloves. As long as the one who guessed failed to find the bullet he continued to pay out cane strips. If he guessed right before all of his canes were gone he took the ones he had lost back. If he found the bullet on one of the first three trials he made four points; if he lost on them he lost four points.

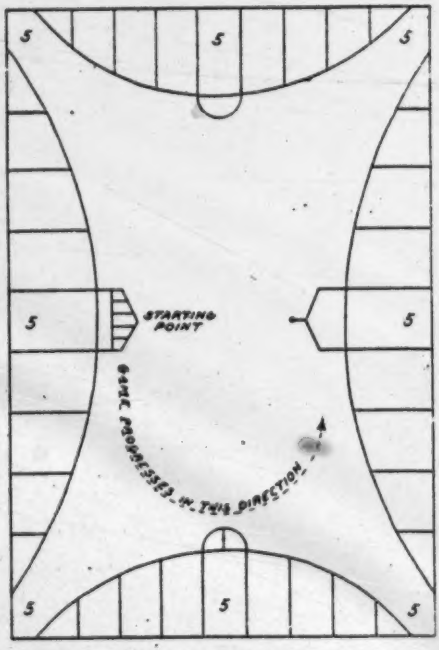

FIG. 106.—Design marked upon a bear skin in preparation for an Alabama game resembling pachisi

Jackson Lewis told of another game which they used to play by the hour at night. They took a number of grains of corn, gouged out the germinal parts and blackened them. Then they put them into a wide shallow basket known as a tiwa, tossed them up into the air, and let them fall upon the ground. The players bet as to whether there would be more black or more white sides uppermost.

Jackson Lewis also told of a game called Tcato tcáli'tcka, "rolling a stone," sometimes played between drinks at the busk. A large marble was rolled along the narrow excavated path shown in the accompanying diagram (fig. 107) in the endeavor to roll it into one of the five holes in the side of the wider excavation, each of which counts a certain

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525 number of points. The hole outside and some distance away counts 10. The marble used was made of the same kind of soapstone as were pipes. This game is referred to by Hawkins, who calls it Thla-chal-litch-cau, [Łī tcálitcka], "roll the bullet." [28]

524 The following is a simple boys' game current among the Alabama for many years but apparently not aboriginal. One boy would make a circular mark on the ground by digging his heel into it and moving

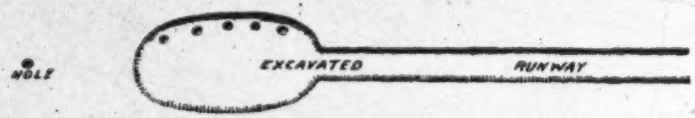

FIG. 107.—Preparation of ground for the Creek game of Tcato tcálitcka

his foot around on that as an axis. Then he would take another boy on his back, carry him to the place and drop him there. Then all of the other boys came together and each put a hand on his hair. Each would pretend to pull out hairs, and they would offer them to him as if they were money, telling him to buy such and such things with them. When the last had spoken all ran away and the first boy chased them, catching one after the other until he had caught all. The same thing was repeated over again and again until they got tired.

[28] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.

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[For a tabular list of clans and a comparison and discussion of clanship in this group with that in selected tribes of the Southeast, see 1: Swanton, NN11 Creek, category 116, pp. 114-120.]

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[For seating arrangements at ceremonials in square grounds, see category 621]

[Descriptions and diagrams of Creek town squares and square-ground buildings are filed in category 344]

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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND MEDICAL PRACTICES OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By JOHN R. SWANTON

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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND MEDICAL PRACTICES OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By John R. Swanton

GENERAL REMARKS

114 771 The southern Indians, like other peoples, dealt not only with their environment as it was but with their environment as they conceived it to be, and one of the most important branches of ethnology is that which concerns this latter concept. Unfortunately, at the present day comparatively little may be gathered regarding their attitude on the broader aspects of belief that is free from suspicion of white influence, while on the other hand no early traveler among the Indians was sufficiently interested in them and sufficiently sympathetic to obtain and transmit a correct account of it. The writer who most nearly filled these requirements was the trader Adair so often quoted in previous papers, but unfortunately his assistance on this particular side of aboriginal life is seriously injured by a prepossession that the Indians were descendants of "the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel," and he read this prepossession into all of the religious activities of the people observed by him. Particularly he concluded that the meaningless vocalic sounds used by his red friends in songs were so many forms of the name Jehovah and that their repetition was a conscious or subconscious adoration of the Hebrew deity. Nevertheless he was an acute and honest observer and faithful recorder of the things he actually heard and saw, so that it is usually possible to separate the facts from his deductions. With his help, the little that is furnished us by other writers, the information that I have myself been able to collect, and that obtainable from native myths and legends, the following outline of Creek religious beliefs has been put together.

THE COSMOS

772 Like all other primitive peoples, the southeastern Indians conceived of the earth as a flat plane overarched by a solid vault. To General Hitchcock Tukabahchee miko expressed the opinion that the world is square. Eakins, whose information comes principally from an Alabama Indian, says "they generally entertain the belief that the earth is a square figure, and entirely surrounded by water; and by going to the verge of the plain, they could step off."[1] And, in another

[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 269.

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place he observes "they believe the sky to be a material mass of some kind" and "that it is of a half-circular form, but that its truncations do not touch the earth."[3] The vault or sky was supposed to rise and fall upon the earth at intervals so that, by watching his opportunity, a person could pass under its edge. According to the same authority and my native informant, Jackson Lewis, the old people believed that the stars were stuck upon the under side of the sky, some of them, along with the sun and moon, revolving around the earth.[3] The constellation of the Great Dipper was called Pilo hagi, "the image of a canoe." The North Star was known as Kolasniegu, "the stationary star," the Morning Star as Hayátitca, "bringer of daylight," and the Pleiades as Tukábofká.[3] A few other constellations and stars were also named.[4] Meteors were supposed to be "excrement cast upon the earth," and they mixed what they took for this with their medicines.[5]

Comets were thought to portend war. Some Natchez and Cherokee beliefs regarding them may here be inserted. In the language of the former a comet was called an'c tsū'ná, "chief of war"; it was believed to portend trouble for the whole people and a short life for the chief, or for the white men's President. The Cherokee are said to have called it "the big lion"; with them it was also a sign of war. The following story of a comet well illustrates the belief regarding such bodies and incidentally shows the small value of information when it comes from the superstitious. Watt Sam was my chief Natchez informant.

"Thirty one or thirty two years ago [from 1912] Watt Sam's grandmother, his brother, his sister, and Nancy Taylor, all of whom except the last are dead, had the following very singular experience. They lived close to Twin Springs, a mile to three-quarters of a mile north of where Watt Sam now lives. They were going to the cow lot a little after dark to turn the cows out when they heard a noise wī'dzidzidzidziti, and, looking up, they saw a snake chasing the moon. They were so frightened that they ran back to the house without letting the cows out. The snake chased the moon to a point half way between the zenith and the western horizon and stopped. Then it began moving its head back and forth, and they could see something green that looked like a snake's tongue. Its body extended half way across the sky, the tail being pointed toward the east. They could see something at the end of its tail which looked like rattles four feet long and a foot wide. The markings were like those of a diamond-backed rattlesnake. Its head was

[3] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 269.

[3] Longbridge and Hodge have tesk-lofka.—English and Muskokee Dictionary.

[4] From the Natchez I heard of a right-angled constellation which they called dē'gōl gauā'gap, "the elbow stars." A tailed star, probably a meteor, was known as a "smoke star" (dē'gōl be'p'gubla).

[5] Schoolcraft, op. cit.

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about four feet broad. They walked out into the yard and looked at it while the snake and moon remained still. Then they got frightened and went into the house, and the three children went to sleep. Their grandmother, however, was in distress, and did not know what to do. She went to the door every little while to look at the snake. By and by she got sleepy and fell into a doze. Then she awoke, went to the door, and looked again. She could not see it very plainly because it had grown dim. Then she went to bed again and slept a very long time, and when she looked once more she could see nothing of the snake and the moon had gone back to the east, to the place from which it had started. Watt was at Muskogee at that time with his mother. He has asked a number of people but never learned of anyone else who had seen this snake. At the time when this happened Creek Samy, an old Cherokee Indian, was out in the yard of his house with some other Indians playing cards. They did not see it either, but when they heard about it they said it was a lion that had flown across the sky. They claimed that a lion flew across the sky twenty or twenty-five years before that."

The galaxy was called poya fik-toálk innini, "the spirits' road."[7] The aurora borealis was supposed to indicate changes in the weather "and always for the worse."[8]

The sun and moon were considered the abodes of powerful beings, or at least as connected with such beings; the former was evidently associated with the chief deity of the southern Indians to be considered below. Tukabahchee miko quoted the old people to the effect that the sun must be a great way off, "for if it came near it would burn everything up." When the sun or moon was eclipsed they said that a great toad (sâbâkti) was about to swallow it, and in order to help drive it away they discharged their guns at it and shot at it with arrows until they "hit" it. Instead of a toad, Eakins was told of a "big dog," representing perhaps a distinctively Alabama idea.[9] My own informants asserted that the moon was not shot at when eclipsed, but this is an error. Tuggle adds his testimony to what has been given and on the occasion of a total eclipse of the moon, October 22, 1790, Caleb Swan says: "The Indians in all the surrounding [Creek] villages are yelling with fear, and firing guns in all directions. They have an opinion, on those occasions, that a frog is swallowing the moon; and make all their most hideous noises to frighten it away."[10] Adair tells us that the Indians of his acquaintance rejoiced at the appearance of the new moon[11] from which

[7] It was known to the Natchez as wéagup ñ'lo, "dog trail," because it is supposed to have owed its origin to a dog who dragged a sack of flour along it, spilling the flour as he went, but this is also a Cherokee story (Mooney, Cherokee Myths, p. 239). A Cherokee informant added that his people sometimes said that the dog caused this whiteness from having gotten his paws into mortar.

[8] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 289.

[9] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 309.

[10] Ibid. p. 284.

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76; see also Bartram, Travels, p. 495.

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772 it is probable that they considered its waxing and waning either as a successive birth and death of entirely distinct bodies or as a wasting away and regrowth of one and the same. Another idea is suggested by Bartram in a footnote: "I have observed the young fellows very merry and jocose, at the appearance of the new moon, saying, how ashamed she looks under the veil, since sleeping with the sun these two or three nights, she is ashamed to show her face, &c." [13] In this connection might be quoted a speech which Pope states was delivered by an old doctor to the Coweta, Kasihta, and Broken Arrow people, after a very wet season, in which he says that the moon "had covered her face with a bear-skin" and concealed the stars with the tails of numerous beaver.[14] These declarations sound genuine though there is abundant evidence of "reading in" in parts of this speech. The moon was supposed to be inhabited by a man and a dog. Eakins, who makes this statement, also refers to a native idea that it is "a hot substance." [14] This smacks of white acculturation.

The rainbow was believed to be a great snake called Oskin-tatcâ, "cutter off of the rain," its connection with clearing weather being well understood. "The old people knew," says Tuggle, "when they saw 'O-cee-kee-eer-tah-cher' that the rain would stop and that enough rain would never fall to drown the earth." He adds the important information that the rainbow cut off the rain by resting its two ends "on great springs of water." The Natchez call it et gwâht, "house neck." People spoke of running past it.

They believed in inhabited worlds—i. e., planes, both below and above that on which we dwell. Tuggle says:

"The earth is a very small island. . . . Indians live [on this and] also in the world under the earth. The third world is the sky world. The people of 'Esar-kee-tum-me-see' the Source of Life, the Life Controller, live in the sky world.

"Some say people (Indians) came down from the sky world, others say that they sprang from the earth, the soil, and hence the earth is man's mother and therefore sacred, and man cannot sell his own mother."

Tukabahchée miko told General Hitchcock that there are people living in the water and under the ground as well as upon the ground, and that the old people told him they had heard the drum [to accompany their dances].[15] Eakins heard of a succession of inhabited planes underneath ours.[16] On the other hand no one seems to have 775 mentioned a belief in more than one world above. This world above was thought to be the realm of departed souls as well as the dwelling place of many supernatural beings. The latter were considered benef-

[13] Bartram, Travels, p. 496.
[14] Pope, Tour, p. 61.
[15] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[16] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 289.
[17] Schoolcraft, op. cit.

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icent and are said by Adair to have been called by the Chickasaw "Hottuk Ishtohoollo" (Hàtàk ishtò holo, holy great men) or "Nana Ishtohoollo" (Nana ishto holo, holy great persons). With them he contrasts the "Hottuk ookproose (Hàtàk okpulosi), or "Nana ookproose (Nana okpulosi)," "very bad men," or "very bad people," who, he says, were supposed to inhabit the dark regions of the west.[17] While Adair and other writers were likely to have interpreted Indian beliefs in the light of Christian teachings I believe this statement to be in the main correct. Swan mentions a good and bad region to which the souls of the dead go, and he says that a good spirit was over the one and an evil spirit—isti fàtcasigo, "person not good"—over the other.[18] This has a still stronger appearance of Christian influence, and, as I do not find the bad ruling spirit spoken of again by other writers, it may be doubted whether there was such a conception. 775

THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Unlike the case of the bad spirit, a great good spirit ruling in the world above is mentioned by all early writers yet it is a question whether this was a native conception or not; the ease with which this spirit could be identified with the Christian deity and the fact that it was so identified in later times render the aboriginal character of the entire conception somewhat doubtful. The older Creeks assert that the name by which this being is now generally known, Hisagita imisi—now abbreviated to Hisagita misi—"the breath holder," is not the original term, but came in use after contact with white people. In explanation of the name it should be said that when an official was sent out in charge of a body of men at the time of the busk he was called an imisi, or "holder," because he held the body of men together. According to one informant the old name for God was Puyàfiktca làkàt, "the great spirit," but this man was a Baptist preacher and I believe the idea originated with the white people. Jackson Lewis, one of my best native informants, said that he recollected very well when the old people instead of calling the deity Isagita imisi used the term Ibofànaga (or Ibofànga), which means "the one above us." Nevertheless, as we find the name Hisagita imisi used by Adair[19] and all those of his contemporaries who enter deeply into the subject of Creek religion, we must assume that it is at least as ancient as the other term. What Lewis had in mind is probably indicated by another statement of his that in order not to use the term "Master of Breath," which was a very sacred name, directly, people often spoke of "the ones over and above us." The plural form in use here 776

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 24.
[18] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 269-270; Hitchcock (Ms. notes) reports a similar belief.
[19] Adair, op. cit., p. 105.

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776 suggests that originally the Creeks may have intended by the expression and the ceremonies directed toward the sky all of the spirits in the world above collectively. But, while there is probably some truth in this view, it seems pretty clear from the statements of early writers and mention of the "One Above" by the Chitimacha, Atakapa, and most of the other southeastern peoples, that they recognized a chief among these. Such a being was undoubtedly believed in by the Natchez, for their entire social system revolved about him, and there is every reason to think it was a prevailing southern belief. Bossu says that the Alabama called their supreme deity "Soulbiéche,"[20] a word probably derived from solopi, "ghost," or "spirit," and ēsa, or īsa, "to live," to "dwell."

776 821 Adair gives the Chickasaw name of the supreme deity as "Loak-Ishtō-hoollo-Aba" [Luak Ishto Holo Àba], which appears to signify "the great holy fire above," and indicates his connection with the sun. Adair adds that he "resides as they think above the clouds, and on earth also with unpolluted people. He is with them the sole author of warmth, light, and of all animal and vegetable life."[21] His name at once suggests the Ùwa' shīl ("Big fire") of the Natchez, which was their name for the sun, the highest object of their worship, or rather the abode of that highest object, and a connection between the Chickasaw and Natchez conceptions is thereby indicated. As to the regard in which the sun was held among the Creeks, Bartram says: "At the treaties they first puff or blow the smoke from the great pipe or calumet towards that luminary; they look up towards it with great reverence and earnestness when they confirm their talks or speeches in council, as a witness of their contracts; and also when they make their martial harangues and speeches at the head of their armies, when setting out, or making the onset, etc."[22] The idea involved, however, was probably much broader than that of the mere visible sun, because the latter was not considered a particularly imposing object. Adair says: "The American Indians do not believe the Sun to be any bigger than it appears to the naked eye. . . . Conversing with the Chikkàsah archi-magus, or high-priest, about the luminary, he told me, 'It might possibly be as broad and round as his winter-house; but he thought it could not well exceed it.'"[23] Compare, also, the statement of their beliefs which some Chickasaw are reported to have given to John Wesley: "We believe there are four Beloved Things above; the Clouds, the Sun, the clear Sky, and He that lives in the clear sky."[24]

Little else remains regarding the attributes of this deity which has not been entirely obscured by European beliefs. To show how far such beliefs had worked into the native conception, I will cite the

[20] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 48.
[21] Adair, op. cit., p. 19.
[22] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 26.
[23] Adair, op. cit., p. 19.
[24] Jones, Hist. of Savannah, p. 85.

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following stories regarding the "Breath Holder" which were related to one of my oldest informants, a man born in Alabama before the migration to Oklahoma, by a very old Hitchiti Indian. This man said that a child was born in a certain country and a time came in the history of those people when children were to be killed. Rather than lose their child its parents put it into a basket, pitched it with gum, and set it afloat upon the water. Afterwards it was seen by the king, who told an attendant to bring it in, and he did so. Fascinated by its beauty he adopted it and reared it. One day after he grew up this child was walking along and saw a man planting seed. He asked him what it was and the man answered "I am planting stones." Later he went to this place again, dug into the earth, and found a great many stones there. Another time when he met this man the latter had some white corn flour. He threw a handful of this into the air and it turned into white water herons found along streams, the feathers of which were used in the Creek peace dance. The old man said that the man who did this was Christ and added that "a darn Frenchman came along and killed him." The myth of seed turning into stones is recorded in various versions by Dähnhardt, in his Natursagen, vol. II, p. 95, under the heading Die Verwandlung des Saatfeld. The other is a well-known episode in apocryphal church history. The first part of the narrative is of course taken from the story of Moses.

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One further point regarding this spirit deserves notice, as it is certainly not European in origin, and that is his connection, in the minds of the Indians, with the sacred fire as several times mentioned by Adair. In one place he says, "they worship God, in a smoke and cloud, believing him to reside above the clouds, and in the element of the, supposed, holy annual fire."[25] Further on he goes into this more at length, as follows:

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"Though they believe the upper heavens to be inhabited by Ishtohoollo Aba, and a great multitude of inferior good spirits; yet they are firmly persuaded that the divine omnipresent Spirit of fire and light resides on the earth, in their annual sacred fire while it is unpolluted; and that he kindly accepts their lawful offerings, if their own conduct is agreeable to the old divine law, which was delivered to their forefathers."[26]

Again, he quotes a Chickasaw seer to the effect that "he very well knew, the giver of virtue to nature resided on earth in the unpolluted holy fire, and likewise above the clouds and the sun, in the shape of a fine fiery substance, attended by a great many beloved people."[27] Adair backs these statements up with the following incident, which is of more importance than his bare assertion, and especially in this connection, as it is from the Creeks instead of the Chickasaw:

[25] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 25. [26] Ibid, p. 116. [27] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

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"In the year 1748, when I[1] was at the Koosah on my way to the Chikkasah country, I had a conversation on this subject, with several of the more intelligent of the Muskohge traders. One of them told me, that just before, while he and several others were drinking spirituous liquors with the Indians, one of the warriors having drank to excess, reeled into the fire, and burned himself very much. He roared, foamed, and spoke the worst things against God, that their language could express. He upbraided him with ingratitude, for having treated him so barbarously in return for his religious offerings, affirming he had always sacrificed to him the first young buck he killed in the new year; as in a constant manner he offered him when at home, some of the fattest of the meat, even when he was at short allowance, on purpose that he might shine upon him as a kind God. And he added, 'now you have proved as an evil spirit, by biting me so severely who was your constant devotee, and are a kind God to those accursed nothings [i. e., the white people], who are laughing at you as a rogue, and at me as a fool, I assure you, I shall renounce you from this time forward, and instead of making you look merry with fat meat, you shall appear sad with water, for spoiling the old beloved speech. I am a beloved warrior, and consequently I scorn to lie; you shall therefore immediately fly up above the clouds, . . .'" [28]

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In still another place he says: "The Muskogee call the fire their grandfather—and the supreme Father of mankind Esakata-Emishe 'the breath master,' as it is commonly explained." [29] Fire is called "grandfather" to the present day.[30]

After describing the method of deadening trees and clearing fields among the southern Indians, Adair goes on thus:

"With these trees they always kept up their annual holy fire; and they reckon it unlawful, and productive of many temporal evils, to extinguish even the culinary fire with water. In the time of a storm, when I have done it, the kindly women were in pain for me, through fear of the ill consequences attending so criminal an act. I never saw them to damp the fire, only when they hung up a brand in the appointed place, with a twisted grape-vine, as a threatening symbol of torture and death to the enemy; or when their kinsman dies. In the last case, a father or brother of the deceased, takes a firebrand, and brandishing it two or three times round his head, with lamenting words, he with his right hand dips it into the water, and lets it sink down." [31]

All of the facts brought out must mean that an actual connection was supposed to exist between the sun and the busk fire and thus between the celestial deity behind the sun and this fire, and, as Adair himself points out elsewhere, that the renewal of the fire was an actual renewed presence of the deity among them, the old fire having

[28] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 116.
[29] Ibid., p. 156.
[30] Cf. Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 26.
[31] Adair, op. cit., p. 405.

[1] [i.e., Adair. -- Analyst]

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become polluted by long separation from its source.[32] It is unfortunate that we have no further information on this important point.

Swan, the only writer who has much to say of a great evil spirit, remarks that "they have an opinion that droughts, floods, and famines, and their miscarriages in war, are produced by the agency of the bad spirit. But of these things, they appear to have confused and irregular ideas, and some sceptical opinions."[33] I have already expressed doubts about the primitive character of the bad spirit but it is possible that a kind of dualism based on the opposing activities of the good and bad spirits collectively may have grown up.

Yahola and Hayū'ya were two important male deities supposed to reside together in the air without any other companionship. When novices were being instructed regarding the sacred medical formulæ and other mysteries in a way to be described presently the teacher sang songs in which the names of these two beings were mentioned very often. From the general drift of these songs it would appear that the two beings were perfect, clean, undefiled, and were in this manner implored to act as guardians and good geniuses of the pupils. To Jackson Lewis, to whom I am indebted for all of this important information, these beings seemed to endow one with strength, physical activity, and clearness of vision and thought. Yahola was also sometimes appealed to in sickness. If a person was shot and appeared to be dying some ginseng would be cut up and placed in a cup of water and a song sung over it containing the name of Yahola and appealing to his aid in this great emergency. Then the drink would be administered to the sufferer and by doing so it was thought that his life could be prolonged until a more thorough treatment could be undertaken. Also in cases of difficult childbirth the doctor would make medicine and over it utter an appeal to Yahola. "And," concluded Lewis, "this is the real Yahola, though you will find persons so named who do not know what the word means." This word was, in fact, employed in numerous war titles, and a cry called "the Yahola cry" and supposed to resemble the call of the deity himself, was uttered when black drink was taken, and on some other occasions during the annual busk. The name Hayū'ya gives us a clew to the four "Hi-you-yul-gee" from the four corners of the world who brought fire to the ancestors of the Creeks.

The being who produced thunder and lightning is identified by Adair with the supreme deity, for in one place he calls the latter "Ishtohoollo Aba Eloa" (the big holy one above who thunders).[34] He tries to represent what he conceives to be the native idea when he says that the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure

[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 166, 167.
[33] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[34] Adair, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

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"belonged only to the great beloved thundering chieftain, who dwells far above the clouds, in the new year's unpolluted holy fire." [35] We are here reminded of a doctor encountered by Pope, who spoke of "the great God of Thunder and Lightning and of Rain." [36] The real native idea seems to be set forth, however, in the following quotation:

"The Indians call the lightning and thunder, *Eloha* [Hiloha, is thunder] and its rumbling noise, *Rowah*, . . . and the Indians believe . . . that *Minggo Ishto Eloha Alkaiasto*, 'the great chieftain of the thunder, is very cross, or angry when it thunders' and I have heard them say, when it rained, thundered, and blew sharp, for a considerable time, that the beloved, or holy people, were at war above the clouds. And they believe that the war at such times, is moderate, or hot, in proportion to the noise and violence of the storm.

"I have seen them in these storms, fire off their guns, pointed toward the sky; some in contempt of heaven, and others through religion—the former, to shew that they were warriors, and not afraid to die in any shape; much less afraid of that threatening troublesome noise and the latter, because their hearts directed them to assist *Ishtohoollo Eloha*." [37]

Here it is said that the cause of the thunder and lightning was warfare between many celestial beings, not the prerogative of a single one.

Jackson Lewis stated that it used to be said that the thunder was a person who possessed missiles (lī, the word employed here, may mean an arrow, a bullet, a sting, or a thunderbolt) and would dart them out toward the earth with great noise. There is also, they said, a long snake that rises out of the water and can produce the same kinds of noises as the thunder man, but the noises of the former are accompanied by blue lightning and are without a bolt. These two sometimes amuse each other, the thunder man making noises and throwing his bolts down while the thunder snake thunders back and shows the blue lightning. The snake is sometimes in the ground or under a rock out of sight when this happens, and the thunder man throws his bolts into the trees or rocks near by. It has been thought by some that the thunder man kills the snake with his bolts. Lewis claimed to have seen thunderbolts (tinitki inli) which looked like crystals, or at least had similar facets. Sometimes they are found where a tree has been shivered by lightning and sometimes in the water, but if one puts his hand into the water to get them the hand will become paralyzed. They are of the colors red, yellow, white, and blue,[38] and thus seem to resemble the sabīa to be described presently, but they were not identified with these.

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[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 92.
[36] Pope, Tour, p. 60.
[37] Adair, op. cit., p. 65.
[38] In one place I have noted the colors as "blue, black, red, and white."

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It is interesting to compare with this the notes on the subject by Tuggle, written at a much earlier period: 776 821

"The Muskogee say of lightning that a little man rides a yellow horse, and when he shoots his arrows, it thunders. Sometimes he shoots at a tree.

"When lightning—'Ah-tee-ya-hal-tee' (Atoyahâti)—strikes a tree and slightly injures it, some say this is caused by the terrapin. When the tree is torn to pieces, this is caused by the big noise (thunder)."

Tuggle recorded the following regarding the wind:

"The Wind was very destructive. The people wanted him to go away.

"The Wind said: 'I am going away to the other end of the world. I will sometimes send some of my servants back to visit you. Some will be soft and gentle, some will be rough and loud. When the end comes, the last day, I will come with great power and will sweep all to one place from the four corners of the earth.'

"So the Wind went away."

Reference to the earth as an island has already been quoted. Further light on the native conception of it may be gained from the several creation stories, which are in fact stories of how the present order of things was instituted out of a previous order of things of an analogous nature. I have been told that there was once a long myth of this kind, most of which has been lost. The following fragments will, however, present the native idea in general outlines very well. The creation story and the flood story are so mingled that it will be well to include both. 773 [538]

The agent Eakins, who obtained most of his information from an Alabama Indian, says on this point:

"They believe that before the Creation there existed a great body of water. Two pigeons were sent forth in search of land, and found excrements of the earth-worm; but on going forth the second time, they procured a blade of grass, after which, the waters subsided, and the land appeared."[39]

Speck secured the following myth from a Tuskegee medicine maker:

"The time was, in the beginning, when the earth was overflowed with water. There was no earth, no beast of the earth, no human being. They held a council to know which would be best, to have some land or to have all water. When the council had met, some said, 'Let us have land, so that we can get food,' because they would starve to death. But others said, 'Let us have all water,' because they wanted it that way.

"So they appointed Eagle as chief. He was told to decide one way or another. Then he decided. He decided for land. So they

[39] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 288.

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773 looked around for some one whom they could send out to get land. The first one to propose himself was Dove, who thought that he could do it. Accordingly they sent him. He was given four days in which to perform his task. Now, when Dove came back on the fourth day, he said that he could find no land. They concluded to try another plan. Then they obtained the services of Crawfish (sàkdju). He went down through the water into the ground beneath, and he too was gone four days. On the fourth morning he rose and appeared on the surface of the waters. In his claws they saw that he held some dirt. He had at last secured the land. Then they took the earth from his claws and made a ball of it. When this was completed they handed it over to the chief, Eagle, who took it and went out from their presence with it. When he came back to the council, he told them that there was land, an island. So all the beasts went in the direction pointed out, and found that there was land there as Eagle had said. But what they found was very small. They lived there until the water receded from this earth. Then the land all joined into one." [40]

According to one of the fragments collected by myself, water covered everything in the beginning and no living beings existed except two red-headed woodpeckers, which hung to the clouds, with their tails awash in the waters.[41] When the water went down it left marks on their tails which remain to-day. It also left a muddy island, and on this seven persons were created, apparently by The One Above. By extending their thoughts these seven persons extended the boundaries of this island until it took on the dimensions of the present dry land. This fragment was from Tàl mutcàsi, late medicine maker of the Fish Pond and Àsilanabi towns. Big Jack, a leading repository of native lore among the Hilibi, said that anciently there was a flood of waters, upon which floated a canoe in which were some human beings and animals of all kinds. The opossum hung to the side of the canoe with its tail in the water, and that is how it happens to have a tail practically devoid of hair at the present time.[42] The red-headed woodpecker hung to the sky and the tip of his tail was discolored permanently. Afterwards the creatures wanted to get some earth. First the earthworm started down after it, but the fishes seized him and ate him up. Next the crawfish started down, but he did not come up again. Finally the dove flew away and brought earth from beyond the horizon, and from this the dry land of to-day was formed.

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[40] Memoirs Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 145-146.

[41] According to Tuggle they were sitting on the side of the ark, a later Christian adaptation. While Tuggle calls this bird "Phe-tuk-kee" (fituki), the yellow-hammer, my Alabama informants considered it was a bird a little larger than the common red-headed woodpecker (wahàwàgwà), called in their language ifiksa.

[42] See also Tuggle Ms.

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This last story and the one obtained by Doctor Speck are interesting because they combine the peculiar Southeastern tale in which a bird brings the first land with the well-known quest for earth beneath the waters, a story found over the whole of the eastern part of North America. 773

According to the idea of the southern Indians, something of the supernatural attached to every created thing, every animal, plant, stone, stick, body of water, geographical feature, and even to objects which man himself had made. While these things did, indeed, have certain characteristic appearances and activities which were "natural"—that is, the things normally expected from them—they owed these to a certain impression made upon them in the beginning of things, or at least at some time in the distant past, and it was not to be assumed that they were all the powers which such beings and objects—or, assuming the Indian point of view, we might say simply beings—possessed. The expected might give way at any moment to the unexpected. In such cases the thing itself might exert power in its own right or it might be a medium of power from another being. It might manifest this power at one particular time to one particular person, it might have the faculty of exerting its power constantly, or its power might be brought out from it by the observance of certain regulations. In such cases the response might be an infallible result of performing the regulations, or the charm might be capable of exercising a modicum of volition. 778

An ability to talk on occasion was attributed to animals. Once a prophet heard an owl and a dog talking to each other. The owl said, "People must be afraid of me." The dog answered, "No, but if there is a big stick lying across the road they will be afraid of that." "Would they be afraid of a bush?" inquired the owl. "They would not be afraid of that; they would go around it." "But would they not be afraid if I should get on top of the bush?" "If you do it, they will kill you." They disputed about this for some time and at last the owl perched on a bush in the middle of the road to try and scare passers-by, but in vain. 825

The beings most important in the lives of the Indians or those which, for any reason, were most conspicuous were of course the ones which attracted the most regard from them, were oftenest referred to in their stories, and were made the occasion of something approaching a cult. Still this statement needs modification, since some of their conceptions were the result of evolution, and can not be said to have been due to any apparently greater significance of the objects or creatures in the lives of the present-day Indians. It is even uncertain that they ever were of cardinal significance; some chance association, or the influence of foreign peoples, may have given them 776

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776 their superior position. It should be added that some of the beings by which they believed themselves to be surrounded were purely imaginary. Their attitude toward these was theoretically the same as that toward the common creatures, but as they were not of every-day experience, the supposed encounters with them were of course always believed to have supernatural significance.

825 According to both the early writers and the present day Indians, in ancient times the Indians would not willingly kill a wolf or a rattlesnake. I was told that not many stories were related about the former because it was considered the friend of the red men and they were afraid it would injure them.

Not many stories were told about snakes for fear of receiving injury, and Bartram says that the Indians whom he met would not willingly kill any sort of snake, believing that if they did so the spirit of the snake would excite or influence his living kindred or relatives to revenge the injury done to him when alive.[44] Upon one occasion he killed a rattlesnake that had driven some Seminole from their camp, whereupon several of them came to him and performed a kind of ceremonial dry scratching upon him. This was evidently in order to make the relatives of the snake believe that the injury had been atoned for.[45] Adair records that misfortune was predicted by a Chickasaw doctor because he (Adair) had killed one of these reptiles.[46]

A great deal was made of "masters of waters," water creatures such as the beaver, otter, and water snake. They are often associated together in the linking of clans. When I was in Oklahoma during a very dry season, which had been preceded by two or three very dry seasons, some of the Indians said that this was due to the fact that since the coming of the whites the masters of waters, who anciently protected the earth from dryness, had lost control.

776 Just as we find on the north Pacific coast and elsewhere that the
825 supernatural beings live when at home like men on earth, we hear in
539 Creek stories of animal towns scattered about like those of the Indians, each with its square ground, though of course there are always supernatural accompaniments, and curious features reminding one of the animals which live there. The following story gives an experience with the under water people.

A man who was at some distance from his town fasting in order to obtain medicine was once out after wood, and saw a man up the creek from him, whom he presently met and conversed with. When he got back, he picked up his kettle and started after water, but, on reaching the branch, he threw his kettle into it. Then he stripped off

[44] Bartram, Travels, p. 261, note.
[45] Ibid., pp. 258-261.
[46] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 272-273.

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his shirt and dived under water after it. Two little snakes then took hold of him and guided him along, making a way for him so that he could breathe exactly as if he were on land. By and by they came to a place like a Creek square ground, but the beds were all made of snakes plaited together, and there was a big turtle in front for a footstool. Then the old snakes said "Why did you bring that person here?" But as long as they had done so, the old people told him to sit down. When he tried to step on the turtle, however, it raised up, and it did this three times. The fourth time it stopped and he stepped on its back. When he was about to sit down the snakes began crawling, but at the fourth attempt they also stopped and he seated himself. Then they asked him if he wanted a feather which was fixed in the roof above his head, and he said "Yes," but, when he tried to seize it, it flew up out of reach. At the fourth attempt he got it. Again they said to him, "Do you want that hatchet?" "Maybe I do," he answered. This also rose out of his reach three times and the fourth time he got it. "If you are a man," they said, "let us see you strike off the head of that turtle." So he got off of the turtle's back, aimed a blow at its neck, and, zip! off flew its head while its blood spattered round about. "This will do for you," they said, and they gave him all sorts of instructions as to how he could visit them. From that time on he went back to see them frequently, but presently he began violating their instructions, and they in turn began to dash water on him, so that at last he could not reach them. The man's name was "Horned" (Yâbi odjâ). He used to dive under water and return about noon with a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark. There was a whirlpool under some rocks in the South Canadian below the standing rock near the mouth of the North Canadian, and there he said he saw some creatures that looked like dogs and he thought that they might be dangerous, but he said that they did him no harm. One day, however, he got drunk and was found dead on the bluff just above that place.

Another boy, a grandson of the preceding, was able to stay under water so long that his companions thought he was drowned. But one time he saw something that scared him, and afterward he remained on shore. He said that the place to which he went was like an open space. It was thought that his grandfather must have taught him how to stay under water, as he would come out in the same way carrying a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark.

My informant affirms that these are true stories, and that an old Indian named Judge Nokosi with whom he was acquainted knew "Horned" personally. "Horned" was a Tukabahchee; the grandson, a Łaplâko.

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A similar experience is related thus. It shows how a supernatural object was obtained for the inside of the "chief ball" used in the ball game.

An old Alabama doctor living in Oklahoma told a certain man to go into a creek to get part of the nest of a corduroy snake (tie snake) from a cave there, and he gave him a magic cane with which to quiet the serpents. The man went to the water, but, when he saw the snakes, he was afraid and went back. Then the doctor gave the cane to another man. This person went to the creek and began walking into the water, when it was just as if he were walking on dry ground. He saw the cavern with the snakes lying all about. Then he touched them with his cane and they did not hurt him. So he got a little of the nest of the snakes and brought it back, and that was what they put into the center of the ball with which they played.

According to one of my informants the "tie snake" referred to in this story was a long slender snake which made progress by a succession of jumps or flips and was so powerful that it could carry a full-grown horse along with it. Upon one occasion such a snake seized a horse near Wetumka, Okla., and was carrying it along to its den in this manner when the horse in its struggles kicked the snake on the head and killed it. Jackson Lewis, however, gave a somewhat different account of this snake, which I quote along with a story regarding it said by him to belong to very recent times.

The "tie snake" is an inch and a half in diameter and short, but it is very strong. It is white under the throat, but black over the rest of the body, and its head is crooked over like the beak of a hawk. It lives in deep water, usually in small deep water holes from which it makes excursions into the woods, drawing its prey down into the water to its den. There are many tales told of this tie snake, of which the following is a specimen.

A Creek Indian named Ogue hili īmāla, now dead, who used to live about 3 miles from Eufaula, told this to Lewis as a personal experience. He once owned a mare which had a colt. Having missed his mare from the range, he hunted for some time, and finally found her by means of the colt, which he saw running about but always returning to a certain spot. Finally he went to this place and saw that a large tree had been uprooted there, leaving quite a hole where its roots had been—a hole partially filled with water. There he found his mare with her hind quarters under water and her head and shoulders out. As he could not get her out alone he gathered his neighbors together and they went to the place with ropes which they tied about the mare's body and pulled on all together in order to draw her out. But their efforts were at first fruitless. Making a supreme effort, however, they were successful, whereupon the water seemed to flow in from all quarters and fill up the hole. The

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mare was not much hurt, and they took her away and cared for her until she recovered. Her hind quarters were at first numbed, however, and upon them was a spot about an inch and a half across from which the hair had been rubbed. The skin there became black and finally scaled off. When the hair came out again it was black and the animal was quite a curiosity on account of the black ring. Everybody, including Lewis, felt perfectly satisfied that a tie snake had caught this mare and dragged her into the water hole.

This snake is said to have originated from a transformed human being. Two hunters were out together and in a certain place they found two eggs. One of them was suspicious of these but the other was a rash, heedless youth, and he ate them. That night he began to feel strange and his companion observed that he was changing his shape. This change went on until he became a great serpent which continued to live in a water hole near by. Afterwards his mother came to see him and he recognized her but returned again into the water.[47]

In the Tuggle collection there is a note of another snake, known as "the sharp breasted snake,"[48] but I obtained a very much better account of this creature from Jackson Lewis. The two accounts disagree in no particular. Lewis's account is as follows:

The sharp-breasted snake is a serpent which goes along with its head up and its breast advanced. It is rarely seen but you can tell where it has passed along. These snakes are not thought to be very long, but they appear to vary in size. The largest would probably measure a foot and a half in diameter. With its sharp breast this snake tears up the earth, making a deep furrow. It is supposed to be covered with a crust of scales, and where it has touched against stones, and even rocks, it can be seen that they give way to its great power. It can cut through the roots of trees, making the trees keel over, and throw mud high up on the trunks of trees near by. These snakes, when they move in this way, appear to be changing their places of residence and this is always done during a rainstorm. You can see where lightning has struck all along where this snake has been. Such things prove to the Indians that such a snake exists. A Choctaw Indian named John Wesley, in the old Choctaw country south of the Canadian, told Lewis that one of these snakes had in some way been mortally wounded and lay up in the mountains. A number of people saw it and told Wesley about it, and he thought of going to see it but did not. The snake lay there until it was dead, however, and the skeleton was seen by people and spoken of frequently. Wesley knew where this could be found and told Lewis that if he came over they would go over there together and see the bones, but Lewis did not go. This happened in 1905.

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[47] For another version see pp. 71-72.

[48] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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825 The origin of the conception of this snake is without doubt to be
778 found in the tracks made by lightning, and the bones supposed to have been left by one of them might well have been those of some animal exposed at the time of a thundershower.

The horned snake was probably held in highest esteem by the Indians on account of the value placed upon its horns as hunting charms. The following account of it is mainly from Jackson Lewis.

This snake lives in water and has horns like the stag. It is not a bad snake. It crawls out and suns itself near its hole, and on one occasion Lewis claimed to have seen such a snake. It does not harm human beings but seems to have a magnetic power over game. If any game animal, such as a deer, comes near the place where this snake is lying it is drawn irresistibly into the water and destroyed. It eats only the ends of the noses of the animals which it has killed. The old Creeks sometimes got hold of the horns of this snake, and they were broken up into very minute fragments and distributed among the hunters of the Creek Nation. These fragments are red and look like red sealing wax. A Creek hunter is always exceedingly anxious to obtain even the most minute fragment of such a horn, because it is said to give luck and success in hunting and killing deer. "I myself," said Lewis, "have at two times in my life owned a small fragment of one of these horns, and as you yourself know [speaking to Mr. G. W. Grayson] I have always been looked upon as a great deer killer." These snakes are very rarely seen.

The Alabama living in Texas also know of this snake, which they call tcinto sàktco, "crawfish (i. e. long-horned) snake." They say they are of four kinds according as their horns are yellow, white, red, or blue.

825 Tuggle makes mention of another snake described as living under ground. "It is never seen, but it emerges sometimes from the ground, with a great noise, and leaves a large hole in the earth where it came out. It is called the Celestial One, or Good Snake."[49] This snake is probably identical with that described by Jackson Lewis, a most remarkable snake, since it consists principally of head and lacks a body. It lives on the dew from the grass and leaves. It swirls round and round in the air and goes upward until it disappears, from which fact it would seem to typify the whirlwind.

776 Jackson Lewis told me of a certain set of supernatural beings
825 residing in the waters and therefore called "the inhabitants of the waters." One of these was the horned snake already mentioned. A second was "the long snake," which coils itself up round and round to a height of perhaps 3 feet. This is perhaps identical with the snake which produces thunder. Another was "the great yellow snake," which is under the ground ordinarily but also burrows its way into

[49] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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the waters. Still another was a snake as large around as a stovepipe. Several of these sometimes get together and raise themselves straight up until they can not go higher, when they fall over with a splash. Occasionally they sport in the water by extending themselves across running water in the form of a bow and bending back and forth while the water roars over them. According to Lewis these snakes seem to be chiefs among all the inhabitants of the waters. Other "inhabitants of the waters" are the water bear, water calf, water bison, water tiger, and water person. The water tiger is spotted like a leopard, and is now often identified with that animal.[50] The water person is about 4 feet tall and has long hair. 776 825

My Natchez informant had heard a tradition that his people once worshiped a snake to which the women gave their children as food from time to time, but this seems to be a modern myth about the doings of the remote ancestors which has secured a foothold among several tribes.

There are many stories about a monster lizard supposed to live like a bear in hollow trees. It is called by the same name, atcukliba, as a small, inoffensive striped lizard found on trees. It is related that at one time some hunters were encamped near the tree in which such a giant lizard lived. One of the men "had a word," that is a formula of supernatural power, and he said that he could get the best of this animal. He went to the place where it lived and shouted "Come out. We will race." Immediately the atcukliba came out and started in pursuit of the man who ran on across country uttering a peculiar yell. The lizard was close behind him, but the man kept ahead until they were out of sight. By and by the people saw them coming back, the man still in the lead, and, when they got near, the lizard was so much exhausted that it had to lie down. Later a man without power thought he could do the same thing. He kept ahead of the lizard until they were out of sight, but when it was time for them to reappear they saw the atcukliba coming with the man in its mouth. Upon this the onlookers set the woods on fire so that the creature could not pursue them and fled. This lizard appears also in the tales of the Texas Alabama.

The eagle and a small sparrow hawk that eats chickens each receives the name of "the king of birds." The feathers of the former were highly prized, and were used in dances and games, particularly by members of the Tciloki clans; from this and other circumstances it is evident that it was a war emblem. Adair says that the whole town would contribute, "to the value of 200 deer-skins," to the killing of a large eagle, and the man who did so received an honorable title for the exploit, just as if he had brought in the scalp of an enemy. The bald-headed eagle was not esteemed. According 825

[50] A famous story in which this snake figures has been given on pp. 70, 71 of the preceding paper.

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825 to Adair all of the Indian nations with which he was familiar considered the raven impure, yet had a kind of superstitious regard for it.[51] Crow feathers were among the war feathers of the Creeks.

Among the Texas Alabama the hoot owl (o'pa) informed prophets when a death or some other misfortune was about to take place. A man who was fond of joking and a prophet were once out hunting when one of these birds flew near and hooted. The former then asked the prophet in a jesting way if he knew what the owl said, and the prophet answered, "He said another man is going with your wife." Upon this the jester cut 12 long sticks, went home, found that the prophet had spoken truly, and beat the guilty pair in accordance with native custom. My informant seemed to think that in cases of death the owl was the man's soul, but this is doubtful. Another prophetic bird was a small red-headed woodpecker having speckled wings which makes a noise resembling bicici, and is hence called in Alabama bicici'hka. When the nephew of one of my informants died, the wife of the former was away in a river bottom. While she was there and before the news had reached her she saw one of these birds flying about. Adair tells us that on one occasion he observed the Indians "to be intimidated at the voice of a small uncommon bird, when it perched, and chirped on a tree over their war camp."[52] This may have been one of the birds above mentioned or a third of similar character.

Dogs are sometimes fabled to have helped men and there are stories which represent them as living in towns with square grounds like those of human beings. It is said that upon one occasion a boy found a deserted house in which was a bitch with a litter of puppies. He took care of them, and when the pups grew up they went out and drove bear up to him so that he could shoot them with arrows. The skunk is once referred to as "chief of all the animals."[52a]

778 As stated in the beginning, supernatural power of some sort was believed to attach to all animals and plants, and to natural objects generally, even to artificial objects, and when we come to discuss Creek medicine a great deal more will be said about their various powers, because each is supposed to have been able to produce certain diseases.

776 Some mythic supernatural beings have already been mentioned, but there were a number of others, many of which caused sickness. Among these were a race of little people, called by Tuggle "fairies."[53] They lived in hollow trees, on tree tops, in the holes in the rocks, and in other similar places. They were strong and handsome, with fine figures, and sometimes they allowed themselves to be seen by a human being, who then talked about them continually

[51] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 121, 173, 194.
[52] Ibid., p. 26.
[52a] See p. 529.
[53] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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and followed wherever they led, into forests, swamps, etc. Sometimes the victim died in these desolate spots, but at others he came to his senses and got back home. The mental disease which they thus induced seems to have been a kind of temporary insanity. They rather bewildered the victim, then put him permanently out of his head. One man told me he had been led astray twice by these beings; they conducted him across a river in this state, and he was never able to explain how he got there. This was a favorite trick of the little people.

Once, when the father of one of my Natchez informants was out hunting, and could get nothing, he heard little people calling to him. He could not see them until he looked down near the ground. They wore caps and some had bows and arrows. They directed him to a place where medicine was to be found and to a place where there was game, so he followed their directions. First he found a little stone cup filled with medicine which he drank, and then he went on and killed a deer.

There were also giants whose eyes opened vertically instead of horizontally. They treated human beings in the same way as the little people. The Choctaw and Chickasaw have the same beliefs regarding giants and dwarfs as have the Creeks.

There is supposed to be an animal called hâtcko-tcâpko—"long ears." It is about the size of a mule, has immense ears, and a very hideous appearance generally. It has a disagreeable odor and causes a dangerous disease, but fortunately it is rarely seen. There are two varieties of this animal, one of a brown color nearly black, the other of a slate color.

Another creature is called nokos oma, "like a bear." It is of about the size of an ordinary black bear, but it always carries its head near the earth. It has immense tusks which cross each other and when seen it is going along a trail with the gait of a pacer. More often, however, only the noise made by the males is heard, and this sounds something like "kâp kâp kâp kâp."

The hâtcko fâski, "sharp ears," seem to go in pairs and never travel east or west but always north or south. They are observed especially near the sources of small streams. They have sharp noses, bushy tails, and globular feet.

There are some animals, usually pied in color, which look like big steers. They are called wak oma, "like a cow." Several travel together and they move in single file and alternately. One moves on for a certain distance and stops and then moves on again. The one behind moves up to the place which the first had occupied, stops, and moves on again in the same manner.

There is an animal called lohka which sometimes appears in the shape of a cat, sometimes as a chicken.

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776 There is also a bird called so'datcá'kalá which never looks toward the earth but always straight up into the sky. It makes a noise like a woodpecker, and my informant thought he had heard it at times in the dead hours of the night far up in the air.

Another bird is like a woodpecker but much larger. It lives in pine forests, but the old doctors when they made medicine, and had occasion to refer to it, sang of it as if it originated in the skies. These two last may be real creatures, the former the "sun gazer," the latter a woodpecker.

There was said to be a little deer about 2 feet high and either speckled like a fawn or white, but it differed from a fawn in having very lofty horns. This is called "the chief deer." My informant claimed to have killed one of these.

The water king deer (Wiofû'tc miko) is mentioned as causing certain diseases, and Speck's informant attributed others to the "sky-hog" and the "wolf-in-the-water."

There is also mention of the "spirit of war," which appears to have been in human shape.

Besides the above, in the doctoring formulæ and in the myths we hear of a cat-like creature called isti-papa, "man-eater." This is usually identified with the "lion," while the panther is commonly referred to as a "tiger." It is possible that the conception may have come in after white contact, but on the other hand it might preserve a memory of the jaguar which anciently came as far north as the Brazos River and probably to the Mississippi. The Alabama identify the "man-eater" (Ala. atipa-tcoba) with the elephant, of which they had of course no knowledge until late times.

Alabama Indians also told of certain beings with penises so long that they reached high up into the trees; they were in the habit of striking the trees with these and the noise resulting could be heard for long distances.

The monsters of Muskhogean legend frequently trail their intended victims by means of a roller which is spoken of as if it were endowed with a conscious or semiconscious life of its own. It is described in one place as about 3 inches in diameter and the idea of it is evidently derived from the roller formerly used in the chunkey game.[31a]

CHARMS

778 789 Among these objects, which are rather means of securing supernatural help than active helpers themselves, the sabia were the most important, and they are said to be known to all of the Five Civilized Tribes. I have heard of them personally among the Creeks, Alabama, and Natchez. They were very small objects looking like crystals and when properly treated would bring the possessor success in any

[31a] See p. 496 in the preceding paper.

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emergency of life, in public speaking and in war, but particularly in hunting and in love. If the owner of a sabia asked for a thing he would never be refused. The Texas Alabama claim that with them it was only a love charm and had nothing to do with hunting. However, it was a saying that anything that will charm a deer will charm a woman. The word is said to convey the impression of a group of men starting off carrying some particular article, but its origin may have had nothing to do with this. The best account of it was obtained from Jackson Lewis, and in substance it is as follows:

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There are different kinds of sabia—white, blue, red, yellow, and one that is nearly black. All have a luster like that of glass except the black, which looks like the graphite of a lead pencil. The red and yellow sabia are considered the strong ones or the males; the white and blue are the females. If one sits down and watches them a moment they gleam and flash as if they were live things moving about. Lewis owned a white sabia and also a blue one for a long time but sold them when he partially lost his eyesight. Upon one occasion he took one of these out, laid it upon the table, and was about to touch it with the point of his penknife when it sprang off to a distance of 2 or 3 feet like a thing alive. According to tradition sabia and the knowledge of how they should be used came from the Yamasee, so that in singing the long song which goes with them, but is not used much on account of its sacredness, the word Yamasee continually occurs. The sabia was kept in a little piece of buckskin along with red paint, and when a man went out hunting he opened this up, took a little red paint out on the end of a match or straw, and put it on his cheek. Then the deer did not seem wild and there was little trouble experienced in finding and shooting them. This is not done until one has gotten a little distance from camp, and the action is accompanied by a song intended to make the deer approach. Another song may be sung to blind the deer after one has seen him so that you can get as near to him as possible before shooting. During the sabia songs the charm itself is not unwrapped. Some sabia now in use are said to have been obtained from the Yamasee, while others are reputed to have been borne upon a plant which grows in out-of-the-way places. This plant has minute seeds which fall off when they are ripe and form such crystals. Numerous songs were connected with this charm, and it is said that "one could never finish telling the myths concerning it." Sometimes a sabia is found whirling around on gravelly or sandy soil and acting as if it were alive

Another man, who claimed merely to have seen imitations of the yellow and blue varieties but not the true sabia, said that they were so powerful that the owner would not keep one in the house. It was put in the middle of a circular piece of buckskin taken from the flank of a deer and tied up tight until it was to be used. When a

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hunter having one of these failed to kill a deer and the sun was already high in the heavens he untied this charm and held it in his hand so that the rays of the sun might fall upon it. Then he sang a song to it which made it wriggle in the paint. Forthwith the deer would be charmed and would sometimes come straight toward the hunter. This man, it is to be noted, differs from Jackson Lewis regarding the unwrapping of the sabîa. He was less likely to be correct, but on the other hand there were probably many different ways of treatment.

Cook said that unless it is carefully handled and controlled by the right formula the sabîa will injure its owner by exciting him "sexually" or affecting his wife and daughters in the same manner. Therefore it was generally not carried on the person unless its owner was ready for an emergency and had his formula constantly in mind, which makes it entirely safe. It is easily lost, and will jump away quickly. The roots of the sabîa hâlgi ("sabîa wife") were also used as a charm. This is one of the first plants to come out in spring. These charms are still in use, being employed largely as love charms.

Still another informant suggested that the "fox fire" sometimes seen in punk perhaps originated the sabîa idea; the phosphorescent light was associated with the daylight luster of these crystals and hence supposed to be self-derived—i. e., the result of a volitional act on the part of the stone. The following account of the plant and mineral sabîas is from the Tuggle collection:

"A man once went to the woods and remained in solitary meditation for four days. He wandered alone till he heard a soft, low, sweet voice, singing a song. He listened and watched. He saw a beautiful little flower, swaying gracefully back and forth. He knew the song came from the little flower. Around the flower the ground was swept clean. He listened until he had learned the song. Suddenly he felt that he possessed a wonderful power, which he could impart to any object. Any one who had such an object in his possession became lucky. He could succeed in love, in the chase, and in war. Often bits of stone possess this power. The color of these charmed stones is white, red, and yellow. They are called 'Sar-pce-yah.'" [84]

One of the vegetable sabîas was called sabîa hagi ("like a sabîa"). It has a globular root and a white flower, said to be the first flower to appear in spring. When a man discovered such a plant he set up a stake near by to mark it so that he could dig it up when it got big enough. That time having arrived, the prospective owner went to the river and dived into it four times. Then he procured a piece of white buckskin, put some red paint on this, and placed the root on the paint. It was then laid away carefully in a secure, dry place

[84] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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away from the house, for if it were in the latter place the whole family would go wild and act like deer at the rutting season. When the owner wanted to go hunting he took a little paint from around the root and put it on his face, and if he were going far the whole charm could be carried along.

Another sabīa was known as sabīa hátki ("white sabīa"). It has small leaves and a bunch of black berries at the top, and grows to the height of about 1½ feet. If a man chewed a little of this when he was out hunting he would immediately encounter a deer. It also had power to attract women.

The sabīa crystal was, at least by some, believed to come from a plant. This is shown by the following account of this charm taken down by Mr. G. W. Grayson from an Indian doctor, Caley Proctor, the use of which has been kindly allowed me by Mr. Grayson's family.

"The subbea is often found in the bulb of a rare plant. The plant is never found growing abundantly in any locality. It is pulled from the ground and from the bulb is stripped off each outer coating until the center is reached when there will be found something, a very small piece of broken glass, red, amber, or of some other color. It is taken out and put into a small quantity of red paint, and the whole is securely wrapped in a small piece of white dressed buckskin. This is the famous subbea, especially useful in giving luck to hunters who know the song and sing it to the enclosed subbea, or success to him who desires to win the affections of one of the opposite sex."

Jackson Lewis had heard of two other roots used by the Creeks in hunting, though they were not spoken of as sabīas. One he had never seen. The other was a very small plant with a very small bulbous root. The root is rubbed over the eyelashes two ways, horizontally and vertically, when it produces success in hunting. If one has had bad or inauspicious dreams during the night and does not feel encouraged to go out hunting these bulbs will free him of this feeling and "set him up" for the day.

A third root had been obtained from the wild tribes of the west. If one made lines with this one on the face and hands and a straight mark on the bottom of the foot he would have good luck. It would also stop nosebleed. The western Indians claim that when they administer it to a horse about to run a race the horse always wins. Jackson Lewis himself once had a piece of this medicine and testified to its power.

As a charm against snake bite they hung the thigh bone of the highland terrapin about the necks of children.

Adair speaks of a beaded string of bison hair which Indian women tied around their legs as "a great ornament, as well as a preservative against miscarriages, hard labor, and other evils."[54]

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[54] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 160.

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778 When a nail or some similar object was run into the body the red-
789 headed woodpecker called tĭtka was used as a charm to get it out. The "ark" which they carried to war was another kind of charm. When they defeated the French under D'Artaguette they insisted on killing the priests because they believed the articles for the performance of the mass which the latter carried were the French ark and the priests its keepers.[56]

A piece of the horn of a horned snake was one of the greatest charms. Some men claimed that they had been able to charm such a snake by their songs so as to bring it to the bank of the stream, when they obtained a piece of one of its horns. This was kept in a hollow tree or some other place remote from the house lest it should make the children sick.[56a]

An Alabama hunter carried a piece of the root of the wàtola imbàkca ("crane's cord") in his ball pouch, and if he could not find deer he would sing and talk to it, blow upon it, and then chew it. Then he was sure to find and kill the animals.

Bartram speaks of the "physic-nut, or Indian olive" as similarly used, and says: "The Indians when they go in pursuit of deer carry this fruit with them, supposing that it has the power of charming or drawing that creature to them.[57] Although the identification is a little uncertain this seems to be the fruit of the *Triosteum perfoliatum* or "horse gentian."

The early white traders were often so affected by native superstitions regarding charms that they placed unbounded confidence in them themselves. Thus Adair says that he took the foot of a "guinea deer" out of the shot pouch of one of these men "and another from my own partner, which they had very safely sewed in the corner of each of their otter-skin pouches, to enable them, according to the Indian creed, to kill deer, bear, buffalo, beaver, and other wild beasts in plenty." Argument proving unavailing he was constrained to return them to their owners lest an accident might befall them and the blame be laid upon him.[58]

At times, it would seem, an Indian would turn upon his charm and
[781] throw it away if it did not appear to him to be sufficiently active in his behalf. Adair mentions a case in which an Upper Creek Indian burned himself so badly in the fire when under the influence of liquor that he became furiously angry with it, upbraiding it for its treatment of him after all of the food he had given it. It is added that from then on he became godless, though perhaps only with respect to that particular element. Adair says that he had witnessed several instances of "impiety" of like nature.[59]

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[56] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 154-155. See pp. 411-413, 425.
[56a] See p. 439.
[57] Bartram, Travels, p. 41.
[58] Adair, op. cit., p. 299.
[59] Ibid., p. 116. Also see p. 484.

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Magical songs or formulas accompanied the use of most medicines and charms, and very wonderful things were supposed to be accomplished by these. "By a word" a man could stand aside in the warpath and render himself invisible to the enemies. "By a word" a man could even condense the whole world in such a way that he could go around it in four steps. A certain Indian in recent times "conjured" his field and sprinkled it with miko hoyanīdja, and, "while the crops all about were ruined, he had a good harvest." 778 789

Tribal medicines or palladia such as are often met with in other parts of America were almost unknown to the Creeks unless we include the "ark" or war medicine under this head. Adair and some later writers mention a human figure carved out of wood in one of the upper towns,[60] and I myself was told of a wooden eagle with drops of blood represented issuing from the corners of its mouth which was brought out and planted in front of the miko's bed at Coweta when anything of importance was to be discussed. The Creek chief James Islands spoke of articles used by various towns during the celebration of the busk and held in great reverence, and he instanced large conch shells out of which the Coweta Indians took their black drink. These, he said, they had had for a long time and preserved with great care. But there is no certainty that these things were really palladia. Nevertheless, there is one apparent exception, the famous copper and brass plates preserved by the town of Tukabahchee. Hitchcock says that, in his time, these were kept in a small house which stood by itself tightly shut up, situated near the tookofa, but at a later period, and apparently at an earlier one also, they were in the sanctuary behind the middle section of the Chiefs' bed. The small detached houses, such as Hitchcock describes, were built in several of the square grounds and I have seen some of them, but I was given to understand that they represented a recent institution, being used probably as a protection against the all-consuming curiosity of the white man. The plates were brought out once annually at the time of the busk and formed the principal feature in one of their dances to be described presently. The first account of them that has come down to us is by, or rather through, Adair and is of the utmost importance. It runs as follows: 778

"In the Tuccabatches on the Tallapoose river, thirty miles above the Allabahamah garrison, are two brazen tablets, and five of copper. They esteem them so sacred as to keep them constantly in their holy of holies, without touching them in the least, only in the time of their compounded first-fruit-offerings, and annual expiation of sins; at which season, their magus carries one under his arm, a-head of the people, dancing round the sacred arbour; next to him their head-warrior carries another; and those warriors who chuse it,

[60] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 21-22.

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778 carry the rest after the manner of the high priest; all the others carry white canes with swan-feathers at the top. Hearing accidentally of these important monuments of antiquity, and enquiring pretty much about them, I was certified of the truth of the report by four of the southern traders, at the most eminent Indian trading house of all English America. One of the gentlemen informed me, that at my request he endeavoured to get a liberty of viewing the aforesaid tables, but it could not possibly be obtained, only in the time of the yearly grand sacrifice, for fear of polluting their holy things, at which time gentlemen of curiosity may see them. *Old Bracket*, an Indian of perhaps 100 years old, lives in that old beloved town, who gave the following description of them:

"*Old Bracket's* account of the *five copper* and *two brass* plates under the beloved cabbin in Tuccabatchey-square.

The shape of the five copper plates; one is a foot and a half long and seven inches wide, the other four are shorter and narrower.

The largest stamped thus:

The shape of the two brass plates,—about a foot and a half in diameter.

"He said he was told by his forefathers that those plates were given to them by the man we call God; that there had been more of other shapes, some as long as he could stretch with both his arms, and some had writing upon them which were buried with particular men; and that they had instructions given with them, viz. they must only be handled by particular people, and those fasting; and no unclean woman must be suffered to come near them or the place where they are deposited. He said, none but this town's people had any such plates given them, and that they were a different people from the Creeks. He only remembered three more, which were buried with three of his family, and he was the only man of the family now left. He said, there were two copper plates under the king's cabin, which had lain there from the first settling of the town.

"This account was taken in the Tuccabatchey-square, 27th July, 1759, per Will. Bolsover." [61]

Swan, writing in 1791, mentions them again in these words:

"There are preserved in the Tuckabatches' town, on the Tallapoosee river, some thin pieces of wrought brass, found in the earth when the Indians first dug for clay to build in this place. Nobody can tell how long since they were dug up; but the Indians preserve them as proofs of their right to the ground, having descended to them by their departed ancestors, from time immemorial." [62]

[61] Note in Adair, pp. 178-179.

[62] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 283.

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If Swan means that the plates had been dug up at the place where the Tukabahchee then were he is in error, since the tribe had occupied that place probably not a hundred years. He may have been led into a misunderstanding owing to the fact that some of them were buried in the earth, under the Chiefs' bed.[63] Pickett gives the following account of the ceremony observed in carrying them beyond the Mississippi at the time of the Creek removal:

"When the inhabitants of this town, in the autumn of 1836, took up the line of march for their present home in the Arkansas Territory, these plates were transported thence by six Indians, remarkable for their sobriety and moral character, at the head of whom was the Chief, Spoke-oak, Micco [Ispokōgi miko].[64] Medicine, made expressly for their safe transportation, was carried along by these warriors. Each one had a plate strapped behind his back, enveloped nicely in buckskin. They carried nothing else, but marched on, one before the other, the whole distance to Arkansas, neither communicating nor conversing with a soul but themselves, although several thousands were emigrating in company; and walking, with a solemn religious air, one mile in advance of the others."[65] As to their origin he says:

"Another tradition is, that the Shawnees gave these plates to the Tookabatchas, as tokens of their friendship, with an injunction that they would annually introduce them in their religious observances of the new corn season. But the opinion of Opothleoholo, one of the most gifted of the modern Creeks, went to corroborate the general tradition that they were gifts from the Great Spirit." [65]

Most of this information was obtained from Barent Dubois, whom Pickett describes as "an intelligent New Englander" [66] but Schoolcraft terms a citizen of New York.[67] There is no doubt of its substantial accuracy. What he says regarding the manner of transporting the plates west is confirmed by General Hitchcock on the authority of a half-breed Creek chief who told him that "when the general emigration took place in 1836 a number of people were selected to convey those articles to the west and they went in advance of the nation. No man was allowed to precede the party in charge of those articles." [67a]

Schoolcraft includes a particular account of the plates in the third volume of his great work, and adds a little information which we may infer from the context was obtained from Walter Lowrie, Esq., president of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, who

[63] See p. 504.
[64] This was not the town chief but a chief who seems to have had peculiar priestly functions. See p. 68.
[65] Pickett, Hist. Ala., vol. i, pp. 86-6. Charleston, 1851.
[66] Ibid., p. 87.
[67] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. iii, p. 90.
[67a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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778 examined them in the Choctaw country in 1852. According to this statement "Muscogee tradition affirms that there were more of these plates possessed by them at former periods, of different kinds, some of which had letters or figures, but that the number was diminished by the custom of placing one or more of them with the body of a deceased chief of the pure or reigning blood. The plates remaining are placed in the hands of particular men. They are guarded with care, and kept from being touched by women." He repeats the tradition that they had been derived from the Shawnee, which I also heard. It was supposed that they were handed down from above and given to the Shawnee who turned them over to the Ispokogi. Schoolcraft's reproductions of these plates agree substantially with those of Adair, except that the letters are placed nearer the center of the "shield," and the two black dots are shown clearly to have been intended for holes. They were based on information furnished by the Walter Lowrie above mentioned.[68]

A second account appears in the Appendix to the fifth volume of Schoolcraft contributed by the Creek missionary Loughridge, joint author of a dictionary of the Creek language. It is as follows:

TULLAHASSEE MISSION,
Creek Agency, W. Ark., 14th Sept., 1852.[69]

Having understood that the Tukkabachee town or clan of Creek Indians, were holding their annual festival, ("the green corn dance,") and that they would exhibit the much talked of "brass plates," I determined to examine them, and therefore proceeded to their town, and camped for the night, on the 7th of August, 1850.

Before daylight next morning, I was aroused by the singing, dancing and whooping, of the Indians, and was informed that the dance with the plates had commenced.

"On reaching the place, I found 200 or 300 men assembled in the Square, with fires burning to give them light. About 80 or 100 of them were formed into a procession, marching with a dancing step, double file, around their "stamping ground," which is about 240 feet in circumference. The procession was led by seven men, each of whom carried one of the plates with much solemnity of manner. After the dance was over, (which lasted about an hour,) I sent in my request for permission to inspect the plates.

"The old chief Tukkabachee Mikko, came out and said that I could see them, on condition that *I would not touch them.* They profess to believe, that if any person who has not been consecrated for the purpose, by fasting or other exercises, six or eight days, should touch them, he would certainly die, and sickness or some great calamity would befall the town. For similar reasons, he said it was unlawful

[68] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. III, pp. 87-90. [69] Ibid., vol. V, p. 660.

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for a woman to look at them. The old chief then conducted me into the square, or public ground, where the plates had been laid out for my inspection. There were seven in all, three brass and four copper plates. 778

"The brass plates are circular, very thin, and are, respectively about twelve, fourteen, and eighteen inches in diameter. The middle sized one has two letters (or rather a double letter) near its centre, about one-fourth of an inch in length; thus, Æ, very well executed, as if done by a stamp. This was the only appearance of writing which I could discern on any of them.

"The four copper plates (or strips) are from four to six inches in width, and from one and a half to two feet in length. There is nothing remarkable about them. Like the brass plates, they are very thin, and appear as if they had been cut out of some copper kettle or other vessel.

"The Indians cannot give any satisfactory account of any of these plates. They say that they have been handed down from father to son, for many generations past, as relics of great value, on account of the blessing supposed to be attached to the proper attention to them. They hold, that the health and prosperity of the town, depend in a great measure upon the proper observance of the rites connected with them. It is said, that this town is known to have had these plates in their possession for 200 years past.

"There has been much conjecture about the writing upon them. Some supposed that it was Hebrew, and hence concluded that they might be descendants of the Jews. I was, therefore, the more anxious to see the plates, and very particular in examining them. But I could discover no appearance of writing, and not a single letter, but the above mentioned Roman letters.

"Some have supposed the brass plates to be old shields. The largest one, (which I could not examine very closely), appeared more like the remains of a shield than any of them.

"But upon the whole, I am inclined to adopt the opinion given me by one of their dancers in the procession, that "*they appear to have been covers for pots, or for some other vessel, taken a great while ago from the Spaniards perhaps, in Florida.*"

"Yours truly,

R. M. LOUGHRIDGE."

Stiggins's account of them again brings in the Shawnee:

"It is related that once in times past, the Ispocoga and Shawanose tribes, made a resolution and formed a compact by which they were thereafter to consolidate their interests and the two tribes to be but one in future, and perform their yearly custom of Thanksgiving and other rites of religious ceremony as one people. For they at that [time] lived bordering on each other's Territory, the Shawanose in

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778 and about Savannah in the state of Georgia, therefore, in accordance with their compact, they deposited with the keepers of the national square of one of the tribes, their calumet tobacco pipes, belts, and war club called by them *Attussa*, with all their emblems of peace and friendship together with twelve pieces of brass described as follows: Six of them were oval of about eight inches long and seven in the widest part and the other six about nine inches long and four in width, made square, bearing a resemblance to the breast plates of ancient soldiers. They all belonged to the Ispocoga tribe, and were three of the oval and three of the square kind making six to a set when exhibited for they are never exhibited but in their fasting and feasting to commemorate the new corn crop. So they deposited two sets of the above plates in the national square according to compact, and the united tribes of Ispocoga and Shawanose performed their ceremonies together with concord for a length of time. But for some unknown reason or on account of some occurrence—the Ispocogas attributing it to the instable and fickle disposition of the Shawanose—the latter formed a resolution to secede from the union and national compact and remove. No remonstrance of the other tribe against it could alter their determination for they dissolved their union by emigrating northwardly, and when they moved they carried off six of the sacred brass plates, three oval and three of the square kinds, which the Shawanose have retained possession of ever since. They were seen by some Creeks first in the care of the old prophet at Tippacanoe about the time he fought Genl. Harrison and not long since they were still in his possession over the Mississippi, and seen by some Creek chiefs who visited that tribe, to whom they were exhibited with a traditional account of how they came into their possession with all its circumstances, which account agreed with the Ispocoga tradition of their loss." [70]

Although there are other incidental references to these plates, including several newspaper accounts of more or less value, the only one with which we need concern ourselves is that given by Tuggle and preserved among the ethnological papers in the Bureau of American Ethnology. I quote it entire:

"The Tookabatchees have in their possession certain copper or brass vessels, which their town has owned for generations . . .

"These sacred vessels consist of twelve pieces. The largest is circular in shape, about eighteen inches in diameter and has two holes near the center through which a string passes. Two other pieces are circular and about fifteen inches in diameter with two holes near the center. Nine other pieces are smaller, being twelve or fifteen inches long and six inches wide.

"The Tookabatchees give the following account of the origin of these vessels:

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[70] Bilgrim, Ms.

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" 'A long time ago Is-poke-o-goes, persons, came from Esar-kee-tum-mee-see, the Life Controller, Source of Life, and brought the vessels to us. After staying some time one of the "Is-poke-o-gees" went back to Esarkee-tum-meesee. The other Ispokegee remained with our people. He was without beginning. He told us always to preserve these vessels and carry them wherever we went. He told us how to live and do right and tell the truth. He told us that after a while a great many white people would come from the east and drive us away, but always to carry these vessels and good luck would be with us, in hunting and in war. He told us that the Shawnees also had such vessels and some day they would unite with us and we would be one people.

" 'The Ispokeogee took the wrong medicine and died. Four days after he was buried, a beautiful white flower was seen growing on his grave and from this flower the Tookabatchees obtained their medicine (the wild tobacco), and keep it to this day.

" 'These vessels are kept buried under the town house and at the busk, or annual festival, they are unearthed, washed in a running stream, and rubbed by certain persons to whom they are entructed, and they are used during the festival for certain ceremonies. When the festival is over the seed of their medicine is put with these sacred vessels, and they are returned to their hiding till the next annual busk.'

"Strangers can not look on these vessels except at the festival and it is claimed that should a stranger look on them at other times he would die before he reached his home."

In some notes made by Mr. G. W. Grayson after a visit to the Tukabahchee busk of 1917 occurs the following reference to these plates:

"The Indians declare they were given to them from on high at a very early period of their existence as a people, and attribute to them profound sacredness. From such information as I have been able to secure respecting these curious objects it would seem that some 70 or more years ago they were much more come-at-able, in other words that the custodians were more readily induced to permit them to be seen than in later times. I find that the present custodians appear to regard them with a degree of awe that is more pronounced than in earlier periods. It is asserted that these objects have not been disturbed or removed from their present inclosure for many years because, as it was explained, the old medicine men who by their powers of magic could handle them without detrimental consequences had all passed away. It seems to be firmly believed that should they now be taken out or handled by persons untaught in the mysteries and magic of the old medicine men of the past, dire results such as sickness in inordinate degrees of virulence, fatalities

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778 in the families of the town, destructive wind storms, and various other sinister phenomena would occur. So, when one was asked why they did not take the plates out and wash and brighten them up as was the early practice, the answer came promptly, 'Because there is none competent.' They must neither be handled nor touched by water lest great evils result. Moreover, they seem to speak of them with care and caution, closely bordering on fear, lest some evil befall them as a punishment for having spoken too freely of such sacred objects."

But some of these plates are now reported to be broken and parts lost, which is not to be wondered at, as for a long time they were kept in a box back of the miko's bed, along with the atasa carried by the women, exposed to any inquisitive passer-by not overblessed with scruples. In 1914, however, they were still held in the greatest esteem and fear by the leading Tukabahchee. The chief of the town at that time said he could never handle them without becoming sick, and when I drew outlines of the plates from my memory of Adair's figures he recommended that I tear them up and throw them away or ill would certainly befall me before I got home. The continued handling is supposed to drive one crazy. If some of these are brass, as stated by Adair and conceded by subsequent writers who have had a chance to examine the plates, the European origin of at least a portion of them is assured, and it is plainly indicated also by the letters, if they have been correctly copied. Barent Dubois, mentioned above in the quotation from Pickett, who is said by him to have "long lived among the Tookabatchas," believed that these plates owed their origin to De Soto and his companions.[71] There can be little reasonable doubt that they are of Spanish origin, but, as the Shawnee and "Kaskinampos"[72] were trading at St. Augustine in the latter part of the seventeenth century it is equally possible that they were obtained there at that period. They share with certain objects among the Plains tribes in a veneration bestowed upon European articles when they first made their appearance, and which they would certainly have failed to elicit at a later time after that familiarity had developed that "breeds contempt."

THE FATE OF SOULS

775 776 According to Adair the good spirits of the world above attend and favor the virtuous while the bad spirits in the west accompany and have power over the vicious,[73] but this probably gives a somewhat distorted view of the actual native belief. It is probable that the good spirits of which he speaks included most of those who became human helpers, whether in the sky or in other parts of the universe,

[71] Pickett, Hist. Ala., p. 84. [72] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 214. [73] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.

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while the bad spirits were the ghosts of the dead, or at any rate spirits associated with the western world through which the soul first passed. This is suggested by what he states immediately afterwards. "On which account, when any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [i. e., the evil spirits of the west]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed places, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise."[74] The good spirits could be attached to individuals somewhat like the personal manitous of the Algonkian tribes. This is also made evident in the case of the Chickasaw by Adair, who says: "Several warriors have told me, that their *Nana Ishtohoollo*, 'concomitant holy spirits,' or angels, have forewarned them, as by intuition, of a dangerous ambuscade, which must have been attended with certain death, when they were alone, and seemingly out of danger; and by virtue of the impulse, they immediately darted off, and, with extreme difficulty, escaped the crafty, pursuing enemy."[75] At the present time it is not thought that spiritual experiences are enjoyed by any except those who take the higher courses of training already spoken of, most of whom are doctors. It may be that the persons who gave the above information to Adair belonged to that class, or it may be that personal manitous were more widely enjoyed in primitive times than later became usual, but of this last there is no proof. Even in the cases of the graduates the power acquired through their training no longer appears to be associated with supernatural guardian spirits. Such, however, was evidently the case in former days.

The fear of ghosts expressed in the quotation from Adair given above was marked and has persisted down to our own times. Certain diseases, to be considered presently, are attributed to dead bodies. Anciently, when an Indian passed a graveyard, in order to drive away the ghosts he would take a little ginseng (hilis hátki) into his mouth, chew it, and spit it out on each side alternately until he had spit four times each way. People would not eat cold food that had been kept overnight for fear the ghosts had partaken of it. Sometimes encounters with ghosts were fatal. Thus there is a Texas-Alabama story about a man who went out to hunt raccoons and on the way was joined by a ghost under the guise of a person well known to him. By and by they saw a raccoon run up a tree, and the ghost climbed up and threw it down. Presently they came to a tree where there was another raccoon, and this time the man climbed up. After he had gotten up 30 feet or so the ghost shouted, "Look at me." The

[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36. [75] Ibid., p. 37.

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775 man looked and discovered the nature of his companion. Then he began to climb down and when he was nearly to the ground took off his moccasins and threw them, one in one direction and one in another. The ghost, however, ran after the moccasins, picked them up, and then pursued the man, whom he threw down and killed.

Speaking of the site of old Okmulgee, Adair says that the Indians "strenuously aver, that when necessity forces them to encamp there, they always hear, at the dawn of the morning, the usual noise of Indians singing their joyful religious notes, and dancing, as if going down to the river to purify themselves, and then returning to the old town-house: with a great deal more to the same effect." [76] Adair adds that they attributed his own inability to hear such things to the fact that he was "an obdurate infidel that way." [77]

Says Pope:

"The *Creeks* in approaching the Frontiers of *Georgia*, always encamp on the right hand side of the Road or Path, assigning the left, as ominous, to the *Larvæ* or Ghosts of their departed Heroes who have either unfortunately lost their scalps, or remain unburied. The Ghost of an Hero in either Predicament, is refused Admittance into the Mansions of Bliss, and sentenced to take up its invisible and darksome Abode, in the dreary Caverns of the Wilderness; until the Indignity shall be retaliated on the Enemy, by some of his surviving Friends." [78]

Pope's authority is not the best, but this certainly establishes the fact that the Creeks had the same belief as the Chickasaw regarding the necessity of placating spirits of the slain.

761 Adair is probably correct in attributing fatalistic beliefs to the southern Indians as to the time when each man's life was to come to an end. He says that they had a common proverb "*Neetak Intahāh* [Ni'tak intaha], 'The days appointed, or allowed him, were finished' [the days finished for him]. And this is their firm belief; for they affirm, that there is a fixt time, and place, when, and where, every one must die, without any possibility of averting it. They frequently say, 'Such a one was weighed on the path, and made to be light.'" [79]

[581] He also says that many believed marriages to be equally fated.[80]

775 We learn from Adair, in places already quoted, that the Chickasaw discharged guns and whooped in order to drive the ghost of a dead man to his fixed abode, but that it was believed that if he had been slain in war his soul would haunt the eaves of the house until equal blood had been shed for him.[81] All accounts agree that after the soul had been induced to leave the neighborhood of his living relatives he traveled westward, passed under the sky and proceeded

[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Indr., p 36. [77] Ibid., p 37. [78] Pope, Tour, pp. 63-64. [79] Adair, op. cit., p. 32. [80] Ibid., p. 26. [81] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 310.

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upward upon it to the land of The One Above or the Breath Holder. The name "spirits' road" given to the milky way shows that this was regarded as the trail upon which they went.

The Alabama "land of the blest" was also above. Eakins says: "They say their paradise, or happy hunting-grounds, is above; but where, they have no definite idea."[82] Bossu obtained a longer if not a more accurate statement, without, however, any localization of the realms of the hereafter:

"I have asked them what they thought of the other world, and they have answered that if they have not taken away any other man's wife, if they have not committed theft, nor killed anyone during their lives, they will go after death into an extremely fertile country, where they will lack neither women nor good grounds for hunting, which will become very easy for them; that if on the other hand they have done foolish things, if they have made fun of the Great Spirit, they will go after death into a sterile country full of thorns and brambles, where there will be neither hunting nor women; this is all I have been able to learn concerning the belief of these people regarding the other life."[83]

According to the living Alabama, who perhaps preserve the ancient conception in the best form, the souls had to encounter several dangers on this journey. First they came to a body of water, but this divided to right and left at their approach. Next they reached a place where were great numbers of serpents. These they passed safely by wrapping bâksha branches about their bodies so that the fangs of the reptiles could not reach them. Finally they came to a place where a battle was in progress, but they avoided this by blowing out tobacco smoke which rendered them invisible. Still another danger to be encountered, in just what order with reference to the others I do not know, was a great eagle, and that this might be fought off a large "butcher knife" was buried with the body of the deceased. From the extent to which property was buried with the dead it is evident that this was also supposed to accompany them into the hereafter. According to my Alabama informants the ghost remains near its body for four days. Adair is our only early authority for the expected ultimate return of souls to earth,[84] but there appears to be no good reason to doubt that such an idea prevailed with certain Indians, and he is confirmed by the Chickasaw interviewed on Schoolcraft's behalf during the middle of last century. "They believe," he says, "that the spirits of all the Chickasaws will go back to Mississippi, and join the spirits of those that have died there; and then all the spirits will return to the west before the world is destroyed by fire."[85]

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[82] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.
[83] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 48-49.
[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 178, 182, 397.
[85] Schoolcraft, op. cit., vol. I, p. 310.

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Bartram and Swan both testify to Creek belief in a future state of existence. The former says:

"They believe in a future state, where the spirit exists, which they call the world of spirits, where they enjoy different degrees of tranquility or comfort, agreeably to their life spent here: a person who in his life has been an industrious hunter, provided well for his family, an intrepid and active warrior, just, upright, and done all the good he could, will, they say, in the world of spirits, live in a warm, pleasant country, where are expansive, green, flowery savannas and high forests, watered with rivers of pure waters, replenished with deer, and every species of game; a serene, unclouded and peaceful sky; in short, where there is fulness of pleasure, uninterrupted." [86]

Says Swan:

"They believe there is a state of future existence, and that according to the tenor of their lives, they shall hereafter be rewarded with the privilege of hunting in the realm of the Master of Breath, or of becoming Seminoles in the regions of the old sorcerer.

"But as it is very difficult for them to draw any parallel between virtue and vice, they are most of them flattered with the expectation of hereafter becoming great war leaders, or swift hunters in the beloved country of the great Hesakkdum Esee." [87]

He adds elsewhere that the land of the good was "some distant, unknown region, where game is plenty, and goods are very cheap; where corn grows all the year round, and the springs of pure water are never dried up," while the other is "a great ways off, in some dismal swamp, which is full of galling briars," and that there is no game or bear's oil in all that country.[88]

In reply to the queries of Hawkins, Ifa hadjo, the great Medal chief of Tukabahchee, and speaker for the Creek Nation in the national council, affirmed that his people believed that "the spirit (po-yau-ficpchau [poya-fiktca]) goes the way the sun goes, to the west, and there joins its family and friends, who went before it." He also affirmed "that those who behaved well, are taken under the care of E-sau-ge-tûh Emis-see and assisted; and that those who have behaved ill, are left there to shift for themselves; and that there is no other punishment." [89]

Upon the whole, it is rather likely that native belief postulated the alternative that some of the souls of the dead, necessarily the bad ones, would not get past the great eagle and the other dangers to be encountered on the way to the land of souls and would remain in the realm of ghosts and other evil spirits in the west, but the reward of the good hereafter was identified for the most part with

[86] Bartram, Travels, p. 496.
[87] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[88] Ibid., pp. 269-270.
[89] Hawkins, Sketch, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 80.

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their reward here, positions of esteem in the tribe, plenty to eat and wear, and plenty of enemies to kill, for the Creek social system rewarded so well in this world virtue of the kind these Indians recognized that it was not necessary to postpone all enjoyment of it to an uncertain hereafter.[90] 775

Bartram adds that according to native belief not merely man but every living creature had a spirit or soul that could exist apart from the body and that some had reported that "a pattern or spiritual likeness of everything living, as well as inanimate, exists in another world."[91] This, of course, is true of practically all primitive peoples, the only question being whether the term "other world" may be properly applied here.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Dreams and visions seen in trances were one means of learning about the spirit world, and they were very generally credited. Bartram says: "They relate abundance of stories of men that have been dead or thought dead for many hours and days, who have revived again, giving an account of their transit to and from the world of souls, and describing the condition and situation of the place and spirits residing there."[91] A curious expression was used by the Creeks when they were about to go to bed. They would say Posálkán hoboyālānās, "I am going to hunt a dream." If a man made a noise like an animal in his sleep those who heard him would say "that is his sleep (or dream) [inutcká, his sleep; imboitcka or imposálga, his dream]. If any person in a family dreamed of fire it foreboded sickness, especially bilious fever, and all of them took miko hoyanīdja and afterwards dipped in the creek four times. If they happened to have no medicine they at least bathed. 787

When a person sneezed it was supposed that someone was saying something good about him, and he would remark "Oh yes, that is what they always say about me." There is a jesting relation regarding a man who began sneezing and kept repeating the above words, while he was really coming down with pneumonia. Next day, when his friends were asked about him, they said: "Yes, some one was saying something good about him yesterday, and now we are afraid we are going to lose him." 827

According to a Natchez informant, sneezing when eating meant that one would hear of a death; also that someone was talking about him. If one sneezed when he had pneumonia it was a sign he would get well.

When it began to rain after a dry spell the old Creeks would not take things in under cover too hurriedly lest the rain should stop. 821

[90] For some further light on this subject see the section on burial customs, pp. 388-396 in the preceding paper.

[91] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 27.

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821 If the bodies of young children were not put into trees in the way elsewhere described it was thought there would be a drought.[93] If, after they had been so disposed of, it began to get dry, the people would go to the tree where the body had been placed and sprinkle water all about it.

823 That locations might be considered lucky was shown in the case of my Alabama interpreter. After he had lost two wives in succession the people said that something about the situation of his house was "wrong," so he changed it.

821 773 An Indian preacher, who, of course, was glad to see Biblical resemblances in native lore, told me that there was a story of a great and long-continued drought in which the people were fed on bread and meat by The One Above. This bread is said to have been "something like white peas" (lady peas).

796 The annual busk was the principal occasion with them. Bartram observed in one town that they kept Sunday in his time out of respect to the white people,[94] but this custom could never have been very widespread.

SACRIFICES

782 224 Sacrifices or offerings similar in kind were made by all of the southern Indians. Adair says:

"They sacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, both in their summer and winter hunt; and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health and for their former success in hunting; or that the divine care and goodness may be still continued to them. . . . Formerly, every hunter observed the very same religious economy; but now it is practised only by those who are the most retentive of their old religious mysteries. . .

"The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology. . .

"The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in their divine presence, singing Yo Yo, etc. for their success and safety [in case they have lost none of their companions]: but . . . both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill. . .

"They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned; unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity."[95]

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[93] See p. 398. [94] Bartram, Travels, pp 455-456. [95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 117-119.

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Elsewhere he states that "when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it."[96] Again "the Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil.[97] He was informed by those whites who had become used to living in the Indian manner "that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed venison; but that otherwise they decline it."[97]

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Of course most of these are merely taboos connected with the hunting of deer. Pope says on this point:

"The *Creeks* regularly make a Burnt Offering of what they conceive to be the most delicious Parts of every Animal taken in Hunting, before they presume to taste a Mouthful. The Parts they commit to the Flames are proportioned to the Size of the Animal, probably about 2 or 3 lb. from a *Buffalo*, and still less in a regular gradation down to the smallest Quadrupede, Fish or Bird."[98]

I have no confirmation or contradiction of the gradations of sacrifice here mentioned, but it is well known even to the living Indians that the old people used to put a little food into the fire before eating. The same thing is noticed in Adair's account of the Creek who railed upon the fire for burning him after the good treatment he had given it.[99] One of my informants had seen the Nuyaka Indians "feed the fire" with turkey during their fall festivities accompanied by hunting and ball games.

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TABOOS

The religion of these people, and, as we shall presently see, their medicine, was seamed through and through with the idea that similarity in appearance means similarity in nature, that similarity in one property involves similarity in all the other properties, and that association of any kind will result in communicating properties from one thing or person to another. This is particularly true about things which are taken into the system by eating and drinking, but applies in other ways as well. Adair says on this point:

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"They believe that nature is possest of such a property, as to transfuse into men and animals the qualities, either of the food they use, or of those objects that are presented to their senses; he who

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[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 137-138.
[97] Ibid., p. 115.
[98] Pope, Tour, p. 59.
[99] See p. 484.

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feeds on venison, is according to their physical system, swifter and more sagacious than the man who lives on the flesh of the clumsy bear, or helpless dunghill fowls, the slow-footed tame cattle, or the heavy wallowing swine. This is the reason that several of their old men recommend, and say, that formerly their greatest chieftains observed a constant rule in their diet, and seldom ate of any animal of a gross quality, or heavy motion of body, fancying it conveyed a dulness through the whole system, and disabled them from exerting themselves with proper vigor in their martial, civil, and religious duties." [1]

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A little farther on he tells us that it was customary in all the Indian tribes to eat the heart of a slain enemy "in order to inspire them with courage." He had seen some of their warriors drink out of a human skull in order to "imbibe the good qualities it formerly contained." [2]

This idea is one of the cardinal principles on which their medicine is built and was shared by every tribe in America that has been investigated. Adair introduces it in order to draw a parallel between the taboos of the Israelites and those of the Indians, but most of the Indian instances which he cites are to be accounted for in the way explained by him above or because it was believed that the animal in question would bring on a certain disease, a matter to be elaborated presently. Nevertheless it is worth while to take note of the things from which they abstained in his time, even though we fail to discover in that traces of a Jewish origin. He says that they refused to eat all birds of prey and birds of night, and a little farther on he mentions specifically eagles, ravens, crows, buzzards, swallows, bats, and every species of owl. He also adds flies, mosquitoes, and gnats. They did not eat many carnivorous animals or such as lived on nasty food, as hogs, wolves, panthers, foxes, cats, mice, rats. All beasts of prey except the bear were "unhallowed"—also all amphibious quadrupeds, horses, fowls, moles, the opossum, and all kinds of reptiles.[3] He says that the old traders could remember when they first began to eat beaver.[4]

Hogs and domestic fowls were probably tabooed at first because strange to the Indians and in the case of the hog because it is a heavy, awkward looking animal and might communicate such properties to the eater.

"When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the temple, he was indeed re-admitted to his usual privileges." [5]

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[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 133.
[2] Ibid., p. 135.
[3] Ibid., pp. 130-138.
[4] Ibid., p. 132.
[5] Ibid., p. 133.

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From want of any independent information on this point this must be left without comment. Of course, Adair is anxious to make the most of such a taboo in his desire to establish a Hebrew origin for his red friends, and this is naturally extended to the opossum, after which the Indians named the hog. Still, what he says may be true, that "several of the old Indians assure us, they formerly reckoned it as filthy uneatable an animal, as a hog."[6] The instances which Adair gives in proof of the existence of these taboos all tend to prove that they abstained from them generally for fear of some disease or limitation which the animal might communicate. He says that they abstained from swallowing flies, mosquitoes, or gnats because they believed that they bred sickness or worms, "according to the quantity that goes into them."[7] Upon one occasion Adair shot a small fat hawk which he strongly importuned an old woman to take and dress, but although there was no meat of any kind in camp, "she, as earnestly refused it for fear of contracting pollution, which she called the 'accursed sickness,' supposing disease would be the necessary effect of such an impurity."[8] Again he says that "they abhor moles so exceedingly that they will not allow their children even to touch them for fear of hurting their eye-sight; reckoning it contagious."[9]

Other food taboos mentioned by Adair are against eating an animal that had died of itself, a young animal newly weaned, and blood. The first of these may be commended as a taboo of real medicinal value and the reason given by themselves, that the animal might have died of a contagious disease, is just as valid to-day. Adair has the following to say regarding this taboo.

"None of them will eat any animal whatsoever, if they either know, or suspect that it died of itself. I lately asked one of the women the reason of throwing a dung-hill-fowl out of doors, on the cornhouse; she said, that she was afraid, *Oophe Abeeka Hakset Illeh*,[9a] 'it died with the distemper of the mad dogs,' and that if she had eaten it, it would have afflicted her in the very same manner. I said, if so, she did well to save herself from danger, but at the same time, it seemed she had forgotten the cats. She replied, 'that such impure animals would not contract the accursed sickness, on account of any evil thing they eat; but that the people who ate of the flesh of the swine that fed on such polluting food, would certainly become mad.'

"In the year 1766, a madness seized the wild beasts in the remote woods of West-Florida, and about the same time the domestic dogs were attacked with the like distemper; the deer were equally infected. The Indians in their winter's hunt, found several lying dead, some in a helpless condition, and others fierce and mad. But though they

[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 16.
[7] Ibid., p. 131.
[8] Ibid., pp. 130-131.
[9] Ibid., p. 133.
[9a] *Oh'abeka hakset illih.*

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are all fond of increasing their number of deer-skins, both from emulation and for profit, yet none of them durst venture to flay them, lest they should pollute themselves, and thereby incur bodily evils. The headman of the camp told me, he cautioned one of the *Hottuk Hakse*, who had resided a long time at Savannah, from touching such deer, saying to him *Chehaksinna*, 'Do not become vicious and mad,' for *Isse Hakset Illehtàhah*, 'the deer were mad, and are dead'; adding, that if he acted the part of *Hakse*, he would cause both himself, and the rest of the hunting camp to be spoiled; nevertheless he shut his ears against his honest speech, and brought those dangerous deerskins to camp. But the people would not afterward associate with him; and he soon paid dear for being *Hakse*, by a sharp splintered root of a cane running almost through his foot, near the very place where he first polluted himself; and he was afraid some worse ill was still in wait for him."[10]

Adair is also very insistent regarding the blood taboo, and cites the case of a woman who believed "she had *Abeeka Ookproo*, 'the accursed sickness,' because she had eaten a great many fowls after the manner of the white people, with the *Issish Ookproo*, 'accursed blood,' in them." Afterwards she would never eat fowls unless they had been bled to death.[11] This must also be left unverified. While there was probably truth in it it is doubtful whether it had the importance attributed to it by Adair, who is again anxious to make a point for his Hebrew theory. The taboo against eating a newly weaned animal is probably correct, since one kind of disease was traced to such an animal in later times, as we shall presently see. Adair says that the old men not merely refrained from eating it but thought "they would suffer damage, even by the bare contact."[12] He also cites instances of Indians refusing to eat with the traders for fear of pollution,[13] but this was less on account of the whites themselves than what might be contained in their dishes. Taboos were so numerous with the old time Indians that parallels with the taboos of any other nation could be found without a great deal of difficulty.

A few miscellaneous beliefs bearing upon taboos may be added, obtained principally from the Natchez doctor so frequently quoted.

If a hunter ate the head of a turkey, gnats and similar flying insects would come about him so closely and in such numbers as to interfere with his vision.

If he ate the tail of a deer the deer would become wild and the hunter could not approach them.

Nothing half cooked and nothing young was to be eaten, nor should one wash his face with soap or bathe in warm water. On

[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 121-122. Chickasaw words: *hottk hakst; chihaksinn; isi hakstt illitaha.*
[11] Ibid., p. 135. Chickasaw words: *abeka okpula; issish okpula.*
[12] Ibid., p. 136.
[13] Ibid., pp. 133-134.

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the contrary he must go to cold running water in the morning, even though it were covered with ice, and, breaking the ice, if necessary, plunge into that. He must go in when daylight first showed itself and remain until the sun was up.[13a] This, of course, applies to the baths universally taken in the Southeast every morning and may be overdrawn in details.[14] 784 262

An individual taboo of my informant, or means of obtaining luck, was to drink from a cup held in his right hand while he faced the east. 789

The Natchez and Cherokee ate their food cold, believing it was better for their teeth. 262

Breaking wind was associated with manliness. 514

Among the Creeks I was told that when a story-teller finished his narrative he would spit, and then another would have to contribute a story in return, and in this way the cue was taken up by one after another "until the children went to bed." 538

MUSIC AND DANCING[14a]

Their musical instruments were the drum, rattle, and a kind of flute. Adair makes mention of a stringed instrument, and the mere notice of this would be important if we could prove that it was truly aboriginal. Pope speaks of the Indians in his time dancing for several hours to the music of the violin; but if so, this was a late innovation. The flute was used only by individuals and was never employed in ceremonies, as was constantly the case with the drum and rattle. The Alabama flute was made of two pieces of cedar hollowed out and fastened together with buckskin. There were six holes along the sides toward one end and on top toward the other was placed a separate piece of cedar covering two additional holes. All were bound with buckskin at frequent intervals. Flutes were sometimes made of cane. It may be said of the drum and rattle that the one was an almost invariable and the latter a very frequent accompaniment of their dances. 534

The drum was made by sawing off a cypress knee close to the ground and stretching a buckskin over the wide end (pl. 13, *a*). This buckskin was wet from time to time to make it sound properly. Anciently an earthen pot was also employed, and in later times they resorted to a keg partly filled with water and covered with buckskin or cowhide. The rattle was made of a gourd containing 30 or 40 small pebbles, with a stick about a foot long run through it as a handle. In later times a coconut was substituted for the gourd. The chief of the Mikasuki remembered to have heard of still another kind of

[13a] Or as another informant expressed it, "from the second call of the crow until sun up."

[14] See pp. 365-366.

[14a] The interested reader should consult "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," by Frank G. Speck, in Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 4, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1911.

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534 rattle as being in use in old times. It was said to be large and flat, but he had never seen one. Very likely it was the turtle-shell rattle, for we know that such a rattle was employed. The women dancers, or rather the leaders among them, as we know, had several tortoise-shell rattles fastened to their calves. Neither the drum nor the rattle
535 was painted. An experienced man or woman acted as leader, and sometimes there were two or more. The usual circuit was sinistral, and this was departed from only to introduce variety. One reason given for the accustomed circuit is that the dancers carried feather fans in their left hands to screen their eyes from the fire while their right hands, the more serviceable ones, were left free for any other purpose. Another reason was that the sun goes that way, for in almost everything observance of the signs of the sun and moon are in evidence. Purely social dances were held most often, it is said, when the moon was full, but ceremonies were performed near the period of the new moon. The fact that dances were held so often in the full of the moon, however, gave early travelers an impression that the Indians observed a ceremony every month. While there were, as we shall note presently, certain ceremonies observed from time to time, most of those that have passed as such were little more than social dances. Although nearly all Indians were intensely fond of dancing, I was told that some persons did not like to dance because they thought dancing would hurt their bones. On the other hand there was a saying among the Creeks that they had to dance after taking medicine in order to overcome it. Otherwise they thought it would get the better of and kill them.

Regarding their songs and dances Bartram remarks as follows:

"They have an endless variety of steps, but the most common, and that which I term the most civil, and indeed the most admired and practised amongst themselves, is a slow shuffling alternate step; both feet move forward one after the other, first the right foot foremost, and next the left, moving one after the other, in opposite circles, i. e. first a circle of young men, and within, a circle of young women, moving together opposite ways, the men with the course of the sun, and the females contrary to it; the men strike their arm with the open hand, and the girls clap hands, and raise their shrill sweet voices, answering an elevated shout of the men at stated times of termination of the stanzas; and the girls perform an interlude or chorus separately.

533 "To accompany their dances they have songs of different classes, as martial, bacchanalian and amorous; which last, I must confess, are extravagantly libidinous; and they have moral songs, which seem to be the most esteemed and practised, and answer the purpose of religious lectures.

"Some of their most favourite songs and dances, they have from their enemies, the Chactaws: for it seems these people are very

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eminent for poetry and music; every town amongst them strives to excel each other in composing new songs for dances; and by a custom amongst them, they must give at least one new song, for exhibition, at every annual busk." [15] 533

The last paragraph records an important tendency observed in many other parts of America, and in this case we have it confirmed by personal observation, for a few days after the arrival of Bartram at Muklasa town a youth in his party who had spent some time in the Choctaw country communicated to the townspeople at their earnest solicitation certain of the songs he had learned.[16]

Swan says: 535

"In general, their dances are performed with the most violent contortions of the limbs, and an excessive exertion of the muscular powers.

"They have sometimes most farcial dramatic representations, which terminate in the grossest obscenity." [17]

The dances peculiar to the busk will be considered in connection with that ceremonial. The others were principally animal dances, some of which were danced at the time of the busk and some not. Jackson Lewis gave me the following names of dances:

Tcolàko obánga, "the horse dance."
Totolos obánga, "the chicken dance."
Yanàsa obánga, "the bison dance."
Okiànwa obánga, "the catfish dance."
Futco obánga, "the duck dance."
Akàtàlāswà obánga, "the small frog dance" (the akàtàlāswa is a small and very noisy frog).
Isàbà obánga, "the garfish dance."
Yàbifega obánga, "the sheep dance."
Yifolo obánga, "the screech-owl dance."
Tcula obánga, "the fox dance."
Istikini obánga, "the horned-owl dance."
Itchas obánga, "the beaver dance."
Kowegi obánga, "the quail dance."
Hitute obánga, "the snow dance."
Kono obánga, "the skunk dance."
Tcitò obánga, "the snake dance."
Wàtolà obánga, "the crane dance."
Nokos obánga, "the bear dance."
Ogiyīha obánga, "the mosquito dance."
Suli obánga, "the buzzard dance."
Atculàlgi obánga, "old people's dance."

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[15] Bartram, Travels, pp. 503-504.
[16] Ibid., p. 505.
[17] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p 277

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535 Poko imobánga, "the ball dance." (I presume this was danced in connection with the ball games.)

My most complete list was from the Alabama in Texas and was as follows:

Tcitcoba bitka, "the horse dance."
Nita bitka, "the bear dance."
Yanasa bitka, "the bison dance."
Kono bitka, "the skunk dance."
Tcoskáni bitka, "the duck dance."
Tcola bitka, "the fox dance."
Tcintcuba bitka, "the alligator dance."
Kitini bitka, "the horned-owl dance."
Ôfolō bitka, "the screech-owl dance."
Akâga bitka, "the chicken dance."
Tcofkoni bitka, "the bone dance."
Wokaskila bitka, "the tree-frog dance."
Łálo bitka, "the fish dance."
Isbák tokolo bitka, "the double-headed dance."
Páspa bitka, "the bread dance."
Sátáne bitka, "the wood-tick dance."
Sinte bitka, "the snake dance."
Sátá bitka, "the terrapin dance."
Okadjibándja bitka, "the parroquet (?) dance."
Itibitilga bitka, "the war dance."
Oktcál'ā bitka, "the blackbird dance."
Kowegi bitka, "the quail dance."
Tcukfi bitka, "the rabbit dance."
Tcokce bitka, "the pumpkin dance" (a very old dance).
Itéheci bitka, "the friends' dance."
Pátka bitka, "the bed dance."
Bitka atcōba, "the old dance."
Taske bitka, "the scalp dance."
Akita bitka, "the ākita dance."
Kinia bitka, "the kinia dance."

The aged chief of the Mikasuki knew of the horse, chicken, quail, skunk, old man's, duck, garfish, alligator, terrapin, crow, corn, hair, and chigoe dances, the last four of which do not occur in the other lists. David Cummings knew of cow and wolf dances, and Zach Cook of leaf and hináta dances. My most complete account of the native dances being from the Alabama, the following descriptions will be based upon them.

535 302 When they dressed for the dances the Alabama men frequently painted a large red spot on each cheek and a red line down the nose. The women put a smaller red spot on each cheek and omitted the line. Occasionally yellow was used instead of red, and in the times of which my informant had any remembrance the paints were obtained from stores. Charcoal was used to blacken the upper lip.

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These colors were for appearance only; they had no religious or other significance. The silver crowns and the pouches hung at the side and fastened by straps over the opposite shoulder were worn only at dances, except that the last were taken when traveling or going to town. New buckskin leggings were also worn at dances, but the handkerchief turbans were worn all of the time. The silver gorgets were generally assumed only for dances, but occasionally old ones were carried about at all times. While the hair was always made into four braids the beaded ornaments at the ends were for festivals or when the owner was going to town. 535 [302]

Two of these dances, the horned-owl dance and the snake dance, were never performed by the Alabama in June, July, or August, because in both they followed a serpentine course like that of a snake and people feared that those reptiles would be offended with them and bite them. The horned-owl dance is said to have been danced only in September. Every night, after these dances were over, the participants put their feet up to the fire so that the snakes could not see to bite them, and they warmed their hands and rubbed their eyes with them so that they themselves could see the snakes easily and would not step on them. The snake dance was danced a long time ago. All that I can add regarding it is Jackson Lewis's statement that it was danced entirely by women, and an implication on the part of Swan that the leader of this dance carried a wooden snake in his hands, but what Lewis said does not seem to be in agreement with what my Alabama informant had heard. [784]

The horned-owl dance was evidently a greater favorite and was danced more frequently, and it was connected with those feasts to which reference has already been made. To summon people to this dance a man went around on horseback—sometimes accompanied by a second—carrying in his hands a peculiar baton. This was made of a cane about 12 feet long, at the outer end of which was a hoop made of hickory, white oak, or some other suitable wood. About five deer tails, and sometimes a loaf of bread, were fastened to this. Bearing it, he visited every house to make the announcement. 535 574

The horned-owl dance was always in September. There was no drummer but one old man walked about perhaps 10 feet from the fire shaking a rattle and singing, while the men and women danced around the fire inside sinistrally. The rattler was also song leader; the men sang with him but the women did not sing. There was no definite order in which the men and women danced, except that one man did not immediately follow another. Each man held a handkerchief by one corner and a woman following held the opposite corner of the handkerchief. If another woman, or other women, danced beside her, they held her by the elbows. The dancers were

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led by a second old man, and all of the men carried turkey-tail fans. They danced for a while sinistrally, and then turned around and danced dextrally. When they were through the women remained standing in a row southeast of the fire. Then the old man took the baton already mentioned, stood opposite them and let the hoop fall on the head of each woman in succession, saying as he did so, "pâtcicpâlō', make bread." This was because the women were to make bread while the men were off hunting. Another old man stood beside the first and counted the women off, "one, two, three," etc., and when he made the last count all of the men said "Ōh" in a very high-pitched voice. Then all the men went after venison, and at the end of two weeks all brought roast venison to the dancing ground on the same day. When they were within about half a mile they discharged their guns and shouted to let it be known that they were coming. They took the venison to a house at the dance ground built like a corncrib and laid it down there. That night they began the horned-owl dance again, and after it was over the men sat down on sheepskins, bearskins, or blankets all around the fire. Then the women came with dishes of bread and set them down by the men, one dish by some, two by others, three or four by others, etc., as they chose. Two old men now came, each with a kolbe' (a large flat basket made of cane). They gathered up the bread and redistributed it to all of the men and boys. Then the old men went to a scaffold near by and brought a number of sharp sticks already prepared. They laid one of these by every man who had received one dish of bread, two by those who had received two dishes, and so on. Then the two old men took their kolbes again and brought the venison which they also distributed. The men took it and put one, two, three, or more pieces of meat on each stick. Then they held these up in their hands and each woman got a stick of venison and her dish. Then the men began to sing while still seated, one man leading with a rattle. All sang four times and then they stood up and sat down in their usual places, on logs about 20 paces back from the fire. They now stood up again and formed a circle surrounding and facing the women. First the men danced backward, the women following facing them; then they filed off round the fire in couples, a man and a woman together. They went around four times and then went off to one side of the fire, the north for instance, danced inward in an ever narrowing spiral, turned around and danced out again in the same way, danced around the fire four times more, and then danced in a spiral in and out to the west of the fire. In this way they went all the way round, dancing on the south and east sides also. Finally they danced four times round the fire. Bread and venison were given out for four successive nights, and the same dance followed.

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This dance was known to Zachariah Cook and William Berryhill and the latter gave the following account of it which shows that it was the same thing and was known over the entire Creek country: 535 574

The men started out to hunt while the women were making bread. If the men brought home a deer the first day they gave it to the women who cooked it and put the flesh into the meat house. That night they danced, and they did the same thing four days in succession, putting what they killed each day into the meat house. Then they sacked the bread and meat up, and the women carried the sacks into the square and danced with them on their backs—though it was rather hard work. After the dance they handed these sacks to the male waiters, who distributed them to everyone in the town. Enough was usually left to supply the visitors among the various camps—i. e., those who happened to be in the town camping about the square, not persons especially invited. Then they usually dispersed, eating their food at once or carrying it with them. This dance was danced just after all the snakes were supposed to have gone into their holes for the winter. They would not dance it in summer lest the snakes should bite them. The words of the song were like this: Dje'hose djehō'se yū'liwà yuhe'à.

Conversely from the custom with regard to the last two, the Alabama avoided dancing the bear dance in winter, for they went hunting then and they were afraid if they did so a bear would catch and hurt one of them or one of their dogs. This dance was always at night, the music being furnished by a drummer and a singer, the latter without a rattle. The dancers circled about the fire in single file, men and women alternating and pawing at the air with their hands in imitation of the bear. [784]

Nearly all of these dances were at night, but the bison dance was, among the Alabama, always held in the morning before sunrise, though it could be performed at any time of the year. One man stood near the fire and furnished the music by beating on a drum and singing while the participants ran around the fire very rapidly and at a certain beat of the drum all shouted. This agrees with what Zachariah Cook says of this dance as seen by him. He states they went two and two around the fire and at a certain beat came down together on the ground with both feet. The dance would seem to have been brought by the Alabama from their old home, for they say that when they came to east Texas there were no bison there.[18]

[18] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277. It was made the subject of a painting by Mr. J. M. Stanley, which was one of those destroyed in the Smithsonian fire. He has the following note regarding it: "This dance is enacted every year during the season of their busk or green-corn dances; and the men, women, and children all take an active part in the ceremony. They invest themselves with the scalp of the buffalo, with the horns and tail attached, and dance about in a circle, uttering sounds in imitation of the animal they represent, with their bodies in a half-bent position, supporting their weight upon their ball-sticks, which represent the forelegs of the buffalo."—Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 88, p. 10. He is the only observer mentioning the participation of children.

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535 796 With the Mikasuki, the Chiaha, and probably the Creeks generally, the bison dance was held just at sundown of the day of the busk, but while there was still light.[18a] The music was furnished by one drummer and one rattler. At the beginning these two men stood near the ball post and the dancers assembled there, the male dancers each carrying a cane. When all was ready the musicians walked into the yard between the beds and the dancers followed them in couples, two men and two women alternating. Then they danced around the fire until the three songs belonging to this dance, which were rather long, were finished. This dance was followed by the long or old dance.

535 The fox, ākitá, kinia, and skunk dances are said to have been danced exclusively by women. Jackson Lewis and Cook confirmed this for the Creeks so far as the fox dance is concerned and the chief of the Mikasuki asserted it for the skunk dance. Therefore the custom must have been fairly widespread. At least among the Alabama these dances were always in June, July, or August. Before the fox dance was held two men went all around the grounds to drive the dogs away, for, if any dogs should come in or any men except the two musicians, it would be unlucky. The two musicians, a drummer and a rattler, sat near the fire and they did all of the singing. One of the women acted as leader of the dancers and they went around the fire in sinistral circuit. The dance began slowly and increased in rapidity until it became very fast at the end. The two "dogwhippers" were provided with long sticks with needles, gar teeth, or crawfish claws at the ends, and, if a woman was slow or lazy in dancing, they reached these out and scratched her ankles. Sometimes old women performed this function. My informant himself never saw this, but he has often heard it described. The fox dance may have had some of the other features of the skunk and kinia dances.

The ākitá is said to be a small animal living in the woods and looking like a rat. Charlie Adams, my informant, has never seen one and the creature may be entirely fabulous. During this dance every woman carried in each hand a stick about 2 feet long. On the ends of each stick were four crane feathers of different colors—white, black, blue, etc. The leading woman and the last woman each had entire crane wings on the ends of their sticks. The women would dance around for a certain time sinistrally, and when the singer struck a certain note all turned about, the last woman leading, and danced around dextrally until the note again sounded. They danced twice each way in all.

The kinia is said to be an animal like the ākitá. In this dance the women started around sinistrally, and at certain beats stopped and danced where they were and then at other beats went on again and again stopped. This was repeated about ten times.

[18a] See pp. 573-574.

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The skunk dance was like the kinia, but in this two men came out in front of the file of dancing women holding a stick, one at each end, about 3½ feet from the ground. The women dodged under this one after the other and if one of them touched it, even with her hair ribbons, she, in company with all other women who had touched it, had to cook for all the men and bring the food up to the dance ground. Otherwise the last three dances were like the first.

The chief of the Mikasuki said that the skunk dance took place when peanuts, beans, etc., were ready for gathering—i. e., in September. A drummer and a rattler furnished both instrumental and vocal music for it, but, unlike most dances, in this the women sang in response.

According to Silas Jefferson it took place in October. One man sang the skunk songs while the women danced dressed in men's clothing. They danced four times every night for four nights and on the morning after the last the men went out to drive deer.

From what William McCombs, a Chiaha Indian, has told me of this dance there must, if his memory serves him well, have been considerable variation. He says that this dance was the most sacred of all the animal dances and that for some reason the skunk was considered as chief of all the animals. It was held at the square ground in winter, but without secret ceremonies. A person starting in to dance in this had to keep it up during all four nights. After it was over a great hunt and a great feast took place.

Another dance confined to women was the snow dance, regarding which I have no other information.

The pumpkin and bed dances were danced a long time ago, and my informants knew nothing about them but the names. The same was true of the war and scalp dances.

The blackbird dance is also obsolete, the following reason being given for it. The last time it was performed by the Koasati, whose town was near that of the Alabama, they somehow offended the blackbirds, who bewitched them, causing them to die out. Therefore this is now considered a "wrong dance," and it is used no more.

In the duck dance two men sat on a bench to furnish the music, one drumming and one singing. The dancers formed two files in the following manner: First two men, then two women, then two men, and so on, but the men danced around the fire sinistrally and the women dextrally, the women between the two files of men. Each of the two pairs of men held one end of a handkerchief, and the women passed under it. They danced around the fire four times slowly and four times rapidly, completing the dance. The Mikasuki chief described it in exactly the same way, except he said the dancers danced a minute in front of each other before the women passed under and the men clasped their hands instead of using a handker-

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535 chief. They used a rattle but no drum. The men danced dextrally; the women sinistrally. Three songs belonged to it. Cook merely stated that they imitated ducks.

The horse dance was as follows: The music was furnished by two drummers near the fire—or sometimes by only one. They drummed and sang. The men danced in two bands and in single file. The two came from opposite sides of the fire, one from the south, we will say, circling sinistrally outside, and the other, from the north, circling dextrally inside. As the two lines passed the men would kick out at each other like horses. Meantime the women were standing on the outside, each holding a handkerchief by one end, and the second time around each man seized the end of a handkerchief and danced around, the woman following him dancing, until they had danced four times in all. Then all went back to their places and the same thing was repeated three times more, four in all. The Mikasuki horse dance was practically the same except that there was no drummer and but one rattler. There were two songs.

In the alligator dance there was no rattle or drum and no special singers, the men furnishing all of the singing. They danced in one file, men and women alternating, holding the ends of handkerchiefs in front and behind so as to make a continuous string. Although they moved rapidly they arrested their feet in midair for a moment before letting them down, probably imitating the supposed gait of the alligator. There were two songs, repeated indefinitely. This was danced at any time, summer or winter. My informant had seen this twice.

The Mikasuki varied this somewhat. There was one rattler who stood by the fire around which the dancers passed in single file. A man and a woman danced together, the man going backward and holding by both hands the woman, who danced forward. At a certain turn in the music they reversed their positions, the woman dancing backward and the man forward. There were about seven songs to this dance.

The screech-owl dance was performed at any time and it was like the alligator dance but there were five or six songs. The songs were like those of the horned-owl dance except that there were over 30 songs for the latter.

In the chicken dance two men sat by the fire, one beating a drum, the other helping him sing. The women came together on the east side of the fire and from there danced all around it once when the drummer struck the drum hard. All the women then went out and each got a man, and brought him in. The partners then clasped hands and danced around the fire, the men going backward first until a certain drumbeat, when they turned around and the women danced backward. There was just one song and they danced until the song

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had been repeated four times. Then the women assembled at the same place as before, only the men came and got them in their turn; the same thing was repeated four times in all, when they stopped. It was danced at any time, but usually in summer. The Mikasuki had one rattler for this dance and the dancers went around about as in the alligator dance. 535

In the tree-frog dance there were also two men by the fire singing, one beating on a drum. The dancers were in two files, two men alternating with two women. When the drummer beat the drum all of the men squatted down on their haunches, the woman remaining standing. Then the two singers and the squatting men all sang a song. At a certain beat of the drum all stopped singing and began dancing around again. They danced around the fire four times and stopped, and the men squatted down once more. The whole was repeated four times. It was danced at any season.

The bone dance was danced at night at any time of the year and it was very fast, "like a nigger dance." Because it was so fast some women did not like to participate in it. One man beat the drum and sang. The dancers were in couples, a man and a woman side by side, holding hands. They danced forward for a while and at a certain beat turned round and danced backward, at another beat danced forward, and so on. They went around the fire four times. There were two songs, one sung while they were standing still, another while they were dancing.

The dance often spoken of as "the fish dance" (Łàło obânga, in Creek) is identical with the garfish dance, although, as we have seen, there was a catfish dance. Among the Alabama the garfish dance was said to be just like the chicken dance, only faster. There was one drummer and one person to help him sing, and there were eight songs. According to the Mikasuki chief it was almost the same as the alligator dance except that the songs were shorter. This dance seems to have been in especial favor with the Koasati, and according to one informant the garfish was their tribal mark. It would seem from the account of it, however, that the Koasati garfish dance was either a distinct dance or very much modified. David Cummings, who passed his early youth with the old Koasati, had the following to say about it:

In the fall, September or October, the men went out hunting and stayed out about a month. When they got near home on their return they uttered whoops, and when the women heard that they said, "The hunters are coming home with deer meat and turkeys." After that they appointed a day on which to dance the fish dance. Every man who danced this had a stick made like a garfish its mouth being open and a piece of cedar placed in it. About a dozen men were invited to take part in this dance, word being sent to them by two ta'palas. 535 574

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535 574 They formed a complete circle under the roof which covered the Koasati square and, holding the wooden fish in their hands, jumped up and down and danced. The musicians sat in the chiefs' bed. At a certain time in the song all of the dancers said "yū+ē" and all changed places, each moving to the station vacated by the man next in front of him. In this manner they moved about the entire circle. Except for the above exclamation the singing was all done by the musicians in the chiefs' bed. Afterwards there was a great feast (hompila), consisting of all sorts of cooked foods, everybody being invited into the square ground. Then they danced the common or stomp dance all that night, and everyone was compelled to attend, the old women and children being the only persons exempted.

535 William McCombs stated that in the garfish dance, as he knew it, the participants grouped themselves together in four circles at each of the four corners of the square in succession, beginning at the southeast and passing in the usual direction. This appears to have been like the Koasati dance just described, as was probably the fish dance mentioned by Swan in which the leader, male or female, carried a wooden fish.[19]

In the double-headed dance, there was one drummer and one other person to help him sing. There were two parties of dancers and a leader for each, which went round the fire in opposite directions, one outside of the other. After they had gone round four times the leaders took each other by the hand and all of their followers did the same, and they danced backward and forward a few times, away from and toward the fire. Then they let go and danced around the fire in the same manner four times more. After dancing backward and forward for the fourth time all shouted and stopped. There were two songs.

When the quail dance was to be undertaken one man sat close to the ball posts away from the fire beating a drum and all of the men and women danced around him. The men and women alternated and walked like quails. There were two songs and they made four circuits during each. This was danced at night and sometimes just before a ball game. The Mikasuki used a rattler instead of a drummer and he stood close by the fire. The dancers went by couples, a man and a woman holding each other's hands. There were four songs.

In the terrapin dance a drummer and an assistant singer sat by the fire to furnish the music. The dancers went in single file, men and women alternating. Each dancer clasped both hands together and moved them about to right and left, jumping a little at times. The leaders kept repeating "kwi'" over and over and the rest of the dancers said "haha." There was only one song, and they stopped

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p 277.

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after they had danced around four times. According to the Mikasuki chief the dancers went in double file, men and women alternating but not holding each other's hands. One rattler furnished the music and there were four songs.

In the tick dance no drum was used and there were no special singers, the men doing all the singing. They went in single file, men and women alternating, and holding the ends of handkerchiefs to make a continuous line. They assumed a kind of staggering step. There were 10 songs and when the last was sung they raised a shout and stopped. This might be danced at any time.

The Okâdjibândja dance was almost the same as the tick dance. It was danced by men and women in two files side by side. All of the men were outside and all of the women inside. The men and women held each other's hands and all went around the fire with an undulating motion, sometimes near the fire and sometimes removed from the fire. There were two songs. They danced eight times and then stopped. The men all sang; there was no other music. It was danced at any time.

In the rabbit dance there was no drummer, only one man with a rattle who was assisted in singing by all of the other men. There were three songs. The dancers were arranged in couples, a man and a woman, the women all being inside, with one old woman acting as leader. They danced around the fire four times and then stopped. They went faster and faster until some fell down. After they had gone round the fire twice more they went out to one side as in the horned-owl dance, then round the fire twice more, out at another side, round the fire again, and so on until they had been to all four sides. They sang the first song while standing still, the second song while going round the fire, and the third song while circling at the side of the fire.

In the friends' dance one man sitting on a bench near the fire drummed and was assisted in singing by a second man. When they began singing two men came in, walked all the way round the fire, went out again, and brought in two women. The four walked around the fire, a man and a woman side by side, and then the two women went out and brought in two more men. They went around again when the two last men went for two more women. This was kept up until all were brought in. After they were thus made friends the women danced around inside and the men outside about four times and then all stopped. There were two songs, one sung after all had been brought in. This could be danced at any time.

The following dances were described by the Mikasuki chief, but were unknown to, or forgotten by, the Alabama.

In the crow dance they went around in two files, first two women, then two men, and so on. At a certain time in the dance the women

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535 turned around and danced backward facing the two men and then turned back again. There were two songs; a rattle only was used.

In the corn dance they went in two files, a man and a woman side by side. The rattle was used alone and there were six songs.

In the hair dance two women went together and then two men alternately. There were four songs and the rattle only was used.

In the chigoe dance men and women mingled, joined hands, and danced round the fire in single file. A rattle was used and one song.

The old men's dance was danced about the time when pokeweed berries are ripe—i. e., about the middle of October. Young men were usually the performers. They fixed themselves up in imitation of old-time Indians. Each wore a mask made out of a pumpkin, gourd, or melon, holes being cut for the eyes and mouth and the latter provided with teeth made out of grains of corn. A headgear was constructed out of leaf stalks of the sumac, the small ends of which were tied together and the body opened out and fitted over the head. Long earrings were fastened to the mask and a shawl thrown over the head behind. They stained the outside of the mask with the berries of the pokeweed (osá in Creek). Finally the performer fastened tortoise-shell rattles on his legs, drew a blanket round himself, and performed all sorts of antics to make people laugh. He carried a bow and arrows improvised for the occasion, pretended to see game, and did other things supposed to be amusing. The children were scared half to death with his performances and William Berryhill, one of my informants, well remembers how frightened he was at them. The dance was known also to the most of my other old informants.[19a]

Regarding the catfish, small frog, sheep, beaver, cow, crane, and wolf dances I have no information other than that they existed. In the mosquito dance the women played jokes on the male dancers by pricking them with pins. The buzzard dance is said to have been a very pretty affair, the arms of the dancers being spread out and made to flap like the wings of buzzards.

The drunken dance was used just before gatherings broke up. The people formed a circle, acted as if they were intoxicated, and gradually scattered backward into the bushes and disappeared. It is said to have been like the skunk dance.

CEREMONIES

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

796 In the section on music and dancing I have spoken of the monthly ceremonies which early writers, including Bartram and Du Pratz, allege were performed by the southern Indians. This may be explained partly on the ground that social dances took place oftenest near the full of the moon. But, while most of the dances and feasts which I have described elsewhere can be explained as furnishing

[19a] See p. 556.

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outlets for the purely social instincts, ceremonial elements entered into certain of them in such a way that it might be difficult to say where the social element ended and the ceremonial element began. There is a suggestion of this sort in the regulations connected with the snake, horned-owl, and skunk dances. Ceremonies or fasts of a somewhat extemporaneous character were undertaken from time to time in cases of national distress, as we learn from Bartram, who says: 796

"At this time the town [Atasi] was fasting, taking medicine, and I think I may say praying, to avert a grievous calamity of sickness, which had lately afflicted them, and laid in the grave abundance of their citizens. They fast seven or eight days, during which time they eat or drink nothing but a meagre gruel, made of a little cornflour and water; taking at the same time by way of medicine or physic, a strong decoction of the roots of the Iris versicolor, which is a powerful cathartic."[20] [751]

Religious ceremony was more or less mixed up with social relaxation in the feasts held after a successful hunt or upon the arrival of strangers. Bartram again gives us a view of one of these impromptu gatherings which he witnessed in the Seminole town of Talahasutci, of which a man called by the whites the White King was then miko. 574 [796]

"On our arrival at the trading house, our chief was visited by the head men of the town, when instantly the White King's arrival in town was announced: a messenger had before been sent in to prepare a feast, the king and his retinue having killed several bears. A fire was now kindled in the area of the public square; the royal standard was displayed, and the drum beat to give notice to the town of the royal feast.

"The ribs and the choice pieces of the three great fat bears already well barbecued or broiled, were brought to the banqueting house in the square, with hot bread; and honeyed water for drink.

"When the feast was over in the square (where only the chiefs and warriors were admitted, with the white people), the chief priest, attended by slaves, came with baskets and carried off the remainder of the victuals, etc. which was distributed amongst the families of the town. The king then withdrew, repairing to the council-house in the square, whither the chiefs and warriors, old and young, and such of the whites as chose, repaired also; the king, war chief, and several ancient chiefs and warriors were seated on the royal cabins; the rest of the head men and warriors, old and young, sat on the cabins on the right hand of the king's: the cabins or seats on the left, and on the same elevation, are always assigned for the white people, Indians of other towns, and such of their own people as choose.

"Our chief, with the rest of the white people in town, took their seats according to order: tobacco and pipes were brought; the calu-

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. 454.

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574 met was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink concluded the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine, and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

"After the public entertainment was over, the young people began their music and dancing in the square, whither the young of both sexes repaired, as well as the old and middle aged: this frolick continued all night."[21]

746 Bartram has the following regarding the ceremonies connected with an ordinary Creek council:

623 "As their virgils and manner of conducting their vespers and mystical fire in this rotunda [the tcokofa], are extremely singular, and altogether different from the customs and usages of any other people, I shall proceed to describe them. In the first place, the governor or officer who has the management of this business, with his servants attending, orders the black drink to be brewed, which is a decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender shoots of the Cassine: this is done under an open shed or pavilion, at twenty or thirty yards distance, directly opposite the door of the council-house. Next he orders bundles of dry canes to be brought in: these are previously split and broken in pieces to about the length of two feet, and then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution encreases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly or meeting is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the earth, however I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blaze instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up. Soon after this illumination takes place, the aged chiefs and warriors are seated on their cabins or sophas on the side of the house opposite the door, in three classes or ranks, rising a little, one above or behind the other; and the white people and red people of confederate towns in the like order on the left hand; a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall about breast high, separating them: the king's

[21] Bartram, Travels, pp. 233-235.

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cabin or seat is in front; the next to the back of it the head warriors; and the third or last accommodates the young warriors, etc. The great war chief's seat or place is on the same cabin with, and immediately to the left hand of the king, and next to the white people; and to the right hand of the mico or king the most venerable head-men and warriors are seated.

"The assembly being now seated in order, and the house illuminated, two middle aged men, who perform the office of slaves or servants, pro tempore, come in together at the door, each having very large conch shells full of black drink, and advance, with slow, uniform and steady steps, their eyes or countenances lifted up, singing very low but sweetly; they come within six or eight paces of the king's and white people's cabins, when they stop together, and each rests his shell on a tripos or little table, but presently takes it up again, and, bowing very low, advances obsequiously, crossing or interesecting each other about midway: he who rested his shell before the white people now stands before the king, and the other who stopped before the king stands before the white people, and as soon as he raises it to his mouth, the slave utters or sings two notes, each of which continues as long as he has breath; and as long as these notes continue, so long must the person drink or at least keep the shell to his mouth. These two long notes are very solemn, and at once strike the imagination with a religious awe or homage to the Supreme, sounding somewhat like a–hoo—ojah and a–lu—yah.[22] After this manner the whole assembly are treated, as long as the drink and light continue to hold out; and as soon as the drinking begins, tobacco and pipes are brought. The skin of a wild cat or young tyger stuffed with tobacco is brought, and laid at the king's feet, with the great or royal pipe beautifully adorned; the skin is usually of the animals of the king's family or tribe, as the wild-cat, otter, bear, rattle-snake, etc. A skin of tobacco is likewise brought and cast at the feet of the white chief of the town, and from him it passes from one to another to fill their pipes from, though each person has besides his own peculiar skin of tobacco. The king or chief smokes first in the great pipe a few whiffs, blowing it off ceremoniously, first towards the sun, or as it is generally supposed to the Great Spirit, for it is puffed upwards, next towards the four cardinal points, then towards the white people in the house; then the great pipe is taken from the hand of the mico by a slave, and presented to the chief white man, and then to the great war chief, whence it circulates through the rank of head men and warriors, then returns to the king. After this each one fills his pipe from his own or his neighbour's skin." [23]

[22] Possibly intended for Yahola and Hayuya (see pp. 435, 544).
[23] Bartram, Travels, pp. 446–452.

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By "the royal standard" Bartram means nothing more than the feathered calumet. The drum, as we learn on all hands, was used to call assemblies at the square for whatever purpose, and bear skins were usually laid down for the principal men and their guests on such occasions. The all-night dance mentioned at the end was a familiar accompaniment of the daily lives of the people.

Ceremony of the Asi

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At least one ceremony is involved here which was more religious than social and I will proceed to a more intimate account of it. This is the ceremony connected with the taking of the *Ilex vomitoria* or "black drink." The longest and best description of this is given by Swan and is as follows:

"The ceremony of the Black-drink is a military institution, blended with religious opinions.

"The black-drink is a strong decoction of the shrub well known in the Carolinas by the name of Cassina, or the Uupon tea.

"The leaves are collected, parched in a pot until brown, boiled over a fire in the center of the square, dipped out and poured from one pan or cooler into another, and back again, until it ferments and produces a large quantity of white froth, from which, with the purifying qualities the Indians ascribe to it, they style it white-drink; but the liquor of itself, which, if strong, is nearly as black as molasses, is by the white people universally called black-drink.

"It is a gentle diuretic, and, if taken in large quantities, sometimes affects the nerves. If it were qualified with sugar, etc., it could hardly be distinguished in taste from strong bohea tea.

"Except rum, there is no liquor of which the Creek Indians are so excessively fond. In addition to their habitual fondness for it, they have a religious belief that it infallibly possesses the following qualities, viz.: That it purifies them from all sin, and leaves them in a state of perfect innocence; that it inspires them with an invincible prowess in war; and that it is the only solid cement of friendship, benevolence, and hospitality. Most of them really seem to believe that the Great Spirit or Master of breath has communicated the virtues of the black-drink to them, and them only (no other Indians being known to use it as they do),[226] and that it is a peculiar blessing bestowed on them, his chosen people. Therefore, a stranger going among them can not recommend himself to their protection in any manner so well as by offering to partake of it with them as often as possible.

"The method of serving up black-drink in the square is as follows, viz:

[226] This was by no means the case since, in one form or another, the drink was used by practically all Southeastern tribes. See below.

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"The warriors and chiefs being assembled and seated, three young men acting as masters of ceremony on the occasion, each having a gourd or calabash full of the liquor, place themselves in front of the three greatest chiefs or warriors, and announce that they are ready by the word choh! After a short pause, stooping forward, they run up to the warriors and hold the cup or shell parallel to their mouths; the warriors receive it from them, and wait until the young men fall back and adjust themselves to give what they term the yohullah, or black-drink note. As the young men begin to aspirate the note, the great men place the cups to their mouths, and are obliged to drink during the aspirated note of the young men, which, after exhausting their breath, is repeated on a finer key, until the lungs are no longer inflated. This long aspiration is continued near half a minute, and the cup is taken from the mouth of the warrior who is drinking at the instant the note is finished. The young men then receive the cups from the chiefs or head warriors, and pass them to the others of inferior rank, giving them the word choh! but not the yohullah note. None are entitled to the long black-drink note but the great men, whose abilities and merit are rated on this occasion by the capacity of their stomachs to receive the liquor.

"It is generally served round in this manner three times [24] at every meeting; during the recess of serving it up, they all sit quietly in their several cabins, and amuse themselves by smoking, conversing, exchanging tobacco, etc., and in disgorging what black-drink they have previously swallowed.

"Their mode of disgorging, or spouting out the black-drink, is singular, and has not the most agreeable appearance. After drinking copiously, the warrior, by hugging his arms across his stomach, and leaning forward, disgorges the liquor in a large stream from his mouth, to the distance of six or eight feet. Thus, immediately after drinking, they begin spouting on all sides of the square, and in every direction; and in that country, as well as in others more civilized, it is thought a handsome accomplishment in a young fellow to be able to spout well.

"They come into the square and go out again, on these occasions, without formality." [25]

The following is Adair's account, which shows that the ceremony was almost identical among the Chickasaw:

"There is a species of tea, that grows spontaneously, and in great plenty, along the sea-coast of the two Carolinas, Georgia, and East and West Florida, which we call *Yopon*, or *Cusseena*: the Indians transplant, and are extremely fond of it; they drink it on certain

[24] Probably this should be "four times."
[25] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 266-267.

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stated occasions, and in their most religious solemnities, with awful invocations; but the women, and children, and those who have not successfully accompanied their holy ark, *pro Aris et Focis*, dare not even enter the sacred square, when they are on this religious duty; otherwise they would be dry-scratched with snakes teeth, fixed in the middle of a split reed, or a piece of wood, without the privilege of warm water to supple the stiffened skin.[25a]

"When this beloved liquid, or supposed holy drink-offering, is fully prepared, and fit to be drank, one of their *Magi* brings two old consecrated conch-shells, out of a place appropriated for containing the holy things, and delivers them into the hands of two religious attendants, who, after a wild ceremony, fill them with the supposed sanctifying, bitter liquid: then they approach near to the two central red and white seats, (which the traders call the [illegible]r, and beloved cabbins) stooping with their heads and bodies pretty low; advancing a few steps in this posture, they carry their shells with both hands, at an instant, to one of the most principal men on those red and white seats, saying, on a bass key, Yàh, quite short: then, in like manner, they retreat backward, facing each other, with their heads bowing forward, their arms across, rather below their breast, and their eyes half shut; thus, in a very grave, solemn manner, they sing on a strong bass key, the awful monosyllable, O, for the space of a minute: then they strike up majestic He, on the treble, with a very intent voice, as long as their breath allows them; and on a bass key, with a bold voice, and short accent, they at last utter the strong mysterious sound, Wah, and thus finish the great song, or the most solemn invocation of the divine essence . . . The favoured persons, whom the religious attendants are invoking the divine essence to bless, hold the shells with both hands, to their mouths, during the awful sacred invocation, and retain a mouthful of the drink, to spurt out on the ground, as a supposed drink-offering to the great self-existent Giver; which they offer at the end of their draught. If any of the traders, who at those times are invited to drink with them, were to neglect this religious observance, they would reckon us as godless and wild as the wolves of the desert. After the same manner, the supposed holy waters proceed, from the highest to the lowest, in their synedrion: and, when they have ended that awful solemnity, they go round the whole square, or quadrangular place, and collect tobacco from the sanctified sinners, according to ancient custom."[26]

Still another description of this ceremonial is given by Stiggins:

"I shall now enter on their uniform custom of drinking their *Assēe* which is a very strong black tea used by them without any sugar,

[25a] See pp. 363-364.
[26] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 46-48.

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made of cupon or Cassene leaves. Said drink is called by the white men among them the *Black drink*. It is customary at this time and may have been for ages back for the men to meet at their town house or square in every town at least once a week. In the Tuckabatchies, the principal town, they meet every morning to drink their asee, which is prepared for use in the following manner at all places. It is parched first in a large pot of their own manufactory of clay untill the leaves are brown. Then water is applied to the full of the pot and boiled by a man appointed to that service. After boiling, it is cooled in large cooling pans of the same manufactory by one of the oldest chiefs of the town. When it can be poured over his finger without scalding it is cool enough to drink. It is then put into two gourds that would hold near a gallon each with a hole in it of about three quarters of an inch in diameter at which hole they suck it out. Said gourds of assee are very ceremoniously handed round the square to every man by men selected for the purpose and drunk as made, without sugar or any other embellishment. It is singular how this tea operates on them after they drink it, for after they have drunk it they retain it in their stomack for near a half hour. They can discharge their stomack of it as often as they drink it, with seeming ease, spouting it out of their mouth as it were by eructation. After four or five drinks and discharges of their stomack at different times of near a quart at a time, the black drink being over they disperse at or near ten o'clock; it acts as a tonic, as it is drunk of a morning fasting. By the process their stomack is well rinsed and braced up. The taste of the black drink is not disagreeable being not unlike [that of] very strong black tea and nearly of a black colour. No doubt but their custom of drinking the black drink originated through political motives, viz., for the purpose of assembling the towns people frequently at their town house or square in order to keep them united." [27]

A few shorter accounts may be added. The first is by David Taitt:

"I went this morning to the [Tukabahchee] Town hot House where was only a few Old Men sitting and smoking Tobacco. When I went in the men present came a(nd) shook hands with me and offered me their Tobacco to smoke, afterwards they presented me with a Calabash filled with black drink made from the leaves of Casina which they parch in an Earthen pot till they are of a Dark brown Colour, they then put water upon them and boil it up till it is very Strong. They afterwards put a Strainer made of Split Canes into the pot and so take the drink out of the Strenner with a Callabash, entirely free from any leaves, they cool it in a Large Earthen bowle by heaving it up with gourds or Callabashes till

[27] Bolington, Ms.

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they raise a froth on the Top as Strong as that on porter. When it is Cool enough they fill some gourds with (it) and Carry it into the hot house in winter or Square in Summer, and present it to the head man or King of the Town first and likewise to any Stranger that is present two or three men Singing while the others Drink. As soon as they have done Singing, they Receive the Callabashes from head man and Stranger and Exchange them that they may drink together, then it is handed all round to every person present without the Ceremony of Singing or Exchanging Cups."[28]

Claiborne incorporates the following in his History of Mississippi:

"When the Creeks meet in council they smoke and have what they call 'the black drink.' It is made of the leaves of the Cassina Yapon, a tree resembling the haw-bush. They put the leaves in a basket and deposit it in a long earthen pot and boil them over a fire made in the middle of the square under a scaffold. The ceremony of drinking 'the black drink,' says Gen. Dale, is this: When they are all seated around one of them takes the gourd, (kept for that purpose) holds it over the pot, pours into it the liquid and continues pouring in until it foams and runs over. He then takes the gourd to the Head Chief and begins making a long note, drawing out his breath longer than one would suppose he could; he then draws his breath a second time, giving another long note, but in a different key. He then carries the gourd to the other chiefs, giving each of them a grunt as he presents it. There is no fixed time for the latter to drink by; the head chief drinks during the making of the two notes. They drink a quart at a time as hot as they can bear it. Some 15 minutes afterwards they vomit the drink without any effort or artificial means. The virtue of the drink is exhiliration and warmth to the system."[29]

Bossu says:

"All the savages of the country of the Alabamas drink cassine; it is the leaf of an extremely bushy shrub; it is not larger than a black poplar (liard) but is serrated all around. They roast it as we make coffee, and drink the infusion with many ceremonies. When this diuretic drink is made, the young people go to offer it in gourds open like cups, according to the quality and rank of the chiefs and the warriors; that is to say to the Honored men, then to the other warriors, according to their rank. They preserve the same order when they offer the calumet for smoking; while you drink they shout with a loud voice and lessen it gradually; when you have stopped drinking they catch their breath and when you begin again they continue the same shouting. This kind of orgy lasts sometimes for six hours in the morning until two hours after noon. These savages are not

[28] Journal of David Taitt, in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., pp. 509-502.
[29] Claiborne, Miss., vol. i, p. 491.

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otherwise inconvenienced by their drinking, to which they attribute much virtue. They throw it up without effort and without inconvenience. The women never drink of this beverage which is made only for warriors. It is in such assemblies into which they (the women) are never admitted that they relate all of their news and deliberate over their political business, concerning war or peace."[50]

Milfort is another French traveler who has left us a description of this ceremonial:

"When the savages assemble for any reason they are accustomed before undertaking any business, to begin by smoking their pipes, and drinking a liquor which they make from the leaf of a tree, very common among them, and which it is claimed is a wild tea tree. It much resembles that of China, except that the leaf is much smaller. This tree is green during the entire year; its leaf is gathered only when it is to be served. When the savages wish to make use of it they have it boiled like coffee. When they prepare this liquor to drink in their assembly this is how they treat it. They put a certain quantity of tea leaves into an earthen vessel which they place over the fire; when they are dried sufficiently, they put in water in proportion to the quantity of leaves, and boil the whole. When they decide that the infusion is strong enough, they pass it through a basket like a sifter, and leave it in great earthen vessels destined to receive it for cooling. When it is not warmer than the natural heat of milk, one of the old men who has charge of this ceremony has it put into gourds at the top of which is an opening about two inches in diameter. It is presented for drinking in these gourds, and for this purpose it is passed in succession to each one of the members of the assembly."

He adds that it was later vomited up in order to assure clear headedness on the part of the members of the assembly in taking up the business in hand, particularly to insure against the effects of spirituous liquors.[51]

It is not clear that this ceremony was gone through on all occasions when the black drink was taken, because in some towns and at certain times it is said to have been taken every morning. In particular it was prescribed for those men who were appointed to preserve the buildings of the Tukabahchee Square. They were not permitted to eat until after they had taken it. It at least preceded all important assemblies. Adair, in pursuance of his pet theory of an Israelitish origin for the American Indians, lays great stress upon the syllables uttered by the bearers of the black drink, and he supposes that they were the syllables of the name Jehovah. It so happens that although I can add little or nothing regarding the ceremony in general I obtained a short account of it from Jackson Lewis which

[50] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 41-42.
[51] Milfort, Mém., pp. 195-199.

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272 783 throws light upon just this point. He stated that formerly the black drink (âsi) was taken at the same time as the busk medicines, though it has now long been abandoned. But, while those who take the ordinary busk medicines go to the medicine pots to drink, the black drink was brought to the drinkers by four bearers. Each of these men would hand a pot of âsi to one who was to drink and when the latter placed it to his lips the bearer would utter a cry, which, as described to me, was something like this, "ā-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a dī—i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i," both syllables being drawn out very long and gradually fading away. The drinker had to keep on imbibing the liquid until this cry came to an end. The cry was called the cry of the Yahola, a being described already, who with his companion Hayuya presided particularly over the square ground,[32] and it appears to have been uttered on other occasions, as for instance by the official who drew circles on the square ground just before the women's dance to indicate where the women were to stand. It is also said to have been applied to the cry used in calling a youth out when a new war name was to be conferred upon him. By some the medicine bearers were believed to be imitating the rapid fluttering of certain beetles or wasps, and the cries which they made were supposed to be in imitation of them, but this may have been merely an association by analogy. Questions of precedence were very carefully observed in the serving of âsi and were, I am informed, an occasion for frequent quarrels.

Minor Ceremonies Connected with the Square Grounds

344 796 The communal grounds with their various appurtenances were, of course, laid out in a new place with great ceremony. I have already given all that I know regarding the ceremonies performed in putting up the tcokofa.[33] The planting of the ceremonial ball post also took place with certain peculiar observances.

Wiley Buckner, a leading man among the Okchai Indians, said that he had heard that the Alabama Indians before setting up a new post laid a scalp down, placed a stone over that and set the butt end of the post above. Woksi mi'ko, a Hilibi Indian, had heard that, when the Okchai were going to put up a new post, they went into the woods, selected a pine tree suitable for the purpose, and felled it so that it would come down on some logs without touching the ground. Then they cut all of the sap wood away, leaving only the heart of the tree. This done, a number of persons would go out to it, raise it, and carry it to the place where it was to be erected without letting it touch the ground. They would then bring a scalp taken from an

[32] See p. 485.
[33] See pp. 177-181.

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enemy, place it at the bottom of the hole prepared for the pole, and set the pole over it. While this operation was taking place the men engaged in it abstained from food—and probably went through some medicine ceremony—during seven days. Sanger Beaver, an old man of Tcatoksofka, the busk ground of which has long been given up, remembered seeing such a ceremony himself at a time when he was just old enough to take any notice of the customs of his people. He remembered that on one occasion, after they had cleared off the square ground and while they were still fasting, a great crowd of men went into the bottoms and cut down a very tall tree.[34] Without letting this fall to the ground they brought it to the busk ground and dug a hole for it. Then one of the henihas brought a human skull and deposited it at the bottom. They set the pole above this, and afterwards ran around it four times, shouting. Finally the man who had brought the skull climbed to the top of the pole and fixed there a wooden figure of a bird.

When beds were erected for a new ground those who had seats in each vied with one another to see which bed should be up first, and the party which won made great sport of the others as if they had won a ball game. The extra bed for the women and children was finished by all working together.

Big Jack, one of the leading Hilibi Indians, said that before establishing a new fire in the square ground after it had been moved they took some ashes from the old fire and buried them about a foot under ground in the place where the new fire was to be made. A doctor conjured these and repeated a formula over them as he put them in place. A small stone was also brought from the miko's bed in the old square ground and placed under the new one in the same manner. It was to show that the miko ought to be settled like a rock and a man of weight. The posts of the beds—which properly should be eight—particularly the front posts, had to be conjured and some hitci pákpągi put into each post hole. The same informant added that all foundations must be started with hitci pákpągi, which may therefore have been used under the ball post also. The removal of ashes from old to new fireplaces was confirmed by others and so was the use of hitci pákpągi under the posts, but I heard nothing further about the stone. Two of the leading Coweta Indians and a Tulsa Indian said that under their old fire in Alabama the Coweta had a "can" of medicine supposed to contain the dried residue of the first medicine ever used in the old country. It was about an arm's length under ground. When they emigrated to Oklahoma this medicine was dug up, carried along with the emigrants and buried in the same way underneath the fire in the first busk ground on the Arkansas River. But when the square was again moved the medicine was not dug up, and it is supposed to be in the same place. These

[34] He called it a cedar, but there seems to be some doubt on this point.

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344 796 men also affirmed that all Creek towns had such a "can" of medicine, but I am not certain of this. Perhaps they were thinking of the custom of removing ashes from the old fire. However, the Tulsa Indian to whom reference has been made asserted that there was such a custom, and that when the Coweta and Kasihta Indians separated they divided the contents of the medicine "can." The "can" at Coweta was declared to be about 14 inches long by 4 in diameter.

An Okmulgee Indian told me that when the old Lutcapoga busk ground was laid out the Creeks would not use animals to bring out the posts and other timbers but carried them 4 or 5 miles on their shoulders or by means of other sticks run under them.

The Great Annual Ceremony or Busk

796 The word "busk" is a traders' corruption of the native Creek poskita or boskita meaning "a fast." This term was of course applied to many different kinds of fasts, but to two above all, first the fast undergone by those desiring to become doctors or learned men, in the manner to be described presently,[35] and second the great annual ceremonial ushering in the Creek New Year.

796 773 Without doubt there was a long myth relating the origin of this observance and probably detailing how it was to be conducted. Probably there were several such myths. Indeed fragments are preserved in Chekilli's migration legend and in those recorded by Hawkins, Gatschet, and others,[35a] but the Creeks of the present day for the most part know only that it was established in the beginning of things for the benefit of the Indians and that its observance is thought to keep them and their families in good health throughout the ensuing year. A Kasihta informant said that when God made the earth he put in these medicines to be used for the good of the Indians and decreed that they must obey the instructions of the old people. A Coweta Indian also said that the busk customs were given by God when he made the world. Big Jack of Hilibi affirmed that Ibofánga (The-One-Above) gave the Indians the pasa and the miko hoyanidja to keep as long as time should last. Alindja, a Tukabahchee, maintained also that Ibofánga laid the foundation of the fire and gave the medicines to go with it. A Hilibi Indian said that the busk was given by God in earliest times for the good of the Indians, and it was said that all would be well so long as it was kept up. Jackson Lewis merely stated that the origin of the busk had "gone into the mist."

More specific was the information obtained by one of the Tulsa Indians from an old Alabama. This was to the effect that the busk medicines were sent down from God by two old gray-headed men.

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[35] See pp. 617-620.

[35a] See pp. 33-68.

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As soon as the old men had delivered them they disappeared, returning to the sky. According to Tàl mutcàsi, the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łàlogàlga, seven selected men were putting the four logs together to make a foundation, and, as they were making the foundation, "there was a fire built" and it was said of the four main sticks: "They shall be the white path. There shall be peace and harmony." At this time were established the laws by which the people were to be ruled. They were also given the medicine roots and were told "This shall be your medicine. This shall be respected and appreciated as long as time lasts." 796 773

Still another story is from Sanger Beaver, a Tcatoksofka Indian. He had heard that in ancient times the people were continually fighting, scalping, and killing, were without law, and went about nearly naked, clothed only in the skin breechclout. A certain man among them meditated much on this troublesome way of living. He fasted and thought for a long time, and finally he declared that he had received "the white day" (ni'ta hàtki). This had been given to man through him by Ibofànga along with the miko hoyanìdja, the pasa, the sawàtcka, and the àsi, and songs for each medicine. These were, to quote the language of this anonymous person, "for the building up of our future generations, to make grow up the women and the children." Having said this he started the fire of the confederacy by using four sticks of wood, and the other Indian tribes came there and obtained their fires from the one kindled by that old Indian. For this reason the Creeks claimed to be the originators of all of the national fires of the various Indian nations. Beaver added the important information that most of this story is contained in a kind of song that had been handed down from the old Indian that received the "white day." There is, of course, very much more to the story, but he did not know the rest. From such an origin grew the customs and practices of the busk, and it is said that the tribe was instructed that so long as it adhered to the use of these medicines, customs, etc., it would grow strong, but if at any time they became lax in attending to them they would grow weak and perish. The busk and the stomp dances which preceded it were all for the sake of the tribal health.

Many of the Indians claim that the first busk fire was built in the town of Tukabahchee and that all of the other towns derived their fire from that source, but I have shown elsewhere that this is a later explanation. It is admitted, nevertheless, by nearly all of the other Upper Creek towns. By some, all of their laws and regulations are traced to the Ispokogis and presumably the busk fires also. It is also said that when the Shawnee came east into the country of the Creeks they found that the stomp ground and the busk were not quite "right" and they remodeled them. Then they returned to 796 173

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796 173 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 642 621 619 182 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

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at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved. 000

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable: 796 614

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'[35b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikinobànga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others." [36]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atàsà, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[37] Atàsà posts 796 642 621 619

[35b] This is really the horned owl.

[36] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134-135.

[37] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atàsà sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

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796 are shown in Figure 5 of the preceding paper, from an early French
642 sketch.[38] As in the reform movement of Hiawatha among the
621 Iroquois and similar reforms in other parts of the world, that perception of the injurious effects of war with which the confederacy started
619 was not carried on progressively toward its legitimate conclusion, the absolute extinction of warfare, but halted part way. In the relative benefits which the new union conferred by introducing local peace were lost to sight the very much greater benefits which would have been conferred by carrying out the project to its only logical end. The local well being and warlike effectiveness of a certain group of tribes was very much advanced as compared with that of many of their neighbors, and with this they remained content.

796 The busk was in reality the fourth of a series of ceremonials, the first three of which are called "stomp dances" and included only a minimum of ceremony, being in a way preparatory to the great busk proper. It is likely that in ancient times these were of more importance and perhaps deserved the name of busk also. The time of these ceremonies was formerly fixed by the period of the new moon and therefore varied somewhat. The first stomp dance was usually in April, but sometimes probably in May, while the busk proper was usually in July but with some towns as late as August. In ancient times the date of the busk was supposed to be governed by the first ripening of the large or flour corn,[39] and this will account for the fact that among the Florida Seminole it is said to occur as early as June.[40]

The Koasati observed one of the three first stomp dances with more than ordinary care. It was the one held in May and was when the mulberries were ripe. It will be remembered that Adair says of the Koasati that "they annually sanctify the mulberries by a public oblation,"[41] and I was told as much by David Cummings, probably the only Creek living in 1912 who could remember about the old busk ground of the main body of Koasati, known as Koasati No. 1. He said that they busked in May when the mulberries were ripe and again when the roasting ears were ripe. Stiggins states that the Koasati celebrated the coming of the new crop of beans in addition to the coming of the new corn, and this was probably identical with the mulberry feast.[41a]

The following feast mentioned by Adair was perhaps at the time of one of these stomp dances—at least it was at the same time of the year—although there are features reminding one of the "old peoples' dance" which the Creeks held in October. Adair says of this feast:

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[38] Journ. Société des Amér. de Paris, 1922.

[39] Adair says it was anciently fixed by "the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full eared," but later by the time of harvest. (Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.)

[40] See MacCauley, Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

[41] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 267.

[41a] See p. 568.

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"Every spring season, one town or more of the Mississippi Floridians, keep a great solemn feast of love, to renew their old friendship. They call this annual feast, Hottuk Aimpa, Heettla, Tanaa [hâtâk aimpa, hila, tânaa], 'the people eat, dance, and walk as twined together.' [42] The short name of their yearly feast of love, is Hottuk Impanaa, 'eating by a strong religious, or social principle.' [43]

"They assemble three nights previous to their annual feast of love; on the fourth night they eat together. During the intermediate space, the young men and women dance in circles from evening till morning. The men masque their faces with large pieces of gourds of different shapes and hieroglyphic paintings. Some of them fix a pair of young buffalo horns to their head; others the tail, behind. When the dance and their time is expired, the men turn out a hunting, and bring in a sufficient quantity of venison, for the feast of renewing their love, and confirming their friendship with each other. The women dress it, and bring the best they have along with it; which a few springs past, was only a variety of Esau's small red acorn pottage, as their crops had failed. When they have eaten together, they fix in the ground a large pole with a bush tied at the top, over which they throw a ball. Till the corn is in, they meet there almost every day, and play for venison and cakes, the men against the women; which the old people say they have observed for time out of mind." [44]

The Creek year was divided, as explained elsewhere, into two seasons of six months each and the busk in July or August marked the beginning of the new year, from which they counted at least every event of a sacred nature.[45] Another division at right angles to this might, however, be made, into a ceremonial and nonceremonial season, the former from April to about October, the latter including the balance of the year. It is by no means certain that there were no regular public ceremonies during the strictly winter months, but no proof of their existence survives. On the other hand there is a very coherent account of the summer ceremonies and feasts, showing them to have extended in an almost unbroken series from comparatively early in the spring until late in the fall. I have a fairly clear outline of this from Mr. Ellis Childers, the last chief of the Chiaha before they gave up their busk ground, and a man of former prominence in the affairs of the Creek Nation.

"When the new moon at the end of April or beginning of May approaches the medicine man (hilis-haya) tells the miko to call his people.[46] He also tells the miko in what phase of the moon to

[42] Tâna means to knit, weave, or plait.
[43] There seems to be no especial religious connotation in these words.
[44] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 113-114. Cf. pp. 525-526, 555-556; 404 in preceding paper.
[45] Ibid., pp. 76-77.
[46] Hawkins says that the date of the Kasihta busk was fixed by the miko and his counselors.

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796 send out. Immediately the miko sends a ta'pala or 'messenger' through the town to notify everyone to meet at the square-ground that night. They gradually assemble during the day. After all is ready they generally dance the obânga hadjo until midnight, when the medicine-maker orders the miko to prepare for the next day. The miko then directs certain men to dig the medicine plants. That night the men sleep on the square ground, and next morning each medicine hunter goes to get the medicine he is to provide. The principal of these is the miko hoyanīdja. Others are the pasa, cedar, and a plant called hitū'tâbi, 'ice weed,' about which ice accumulates on frosty mornings. Those medicines which consisted of the boughs of trees were taken from the east side. On their return these men lay each of the medicines in a certain designated place. Then officers appointed called 'medicine mixers' place all of the medicines except the pasa in one pot. All go into this at the same time except the miko hoyanīdja and cedar. Formerly there were four pots of medicine which were used at as many different times during the night; in later times only two pots were used.

"It should be mentioned that cedar twigs must be tied to the middle post of each bed in front, and sometimes such twigs are tied on the corner posts also.

"The miko hoyanīdja is tied into four bunches, a certain amount going into each. This is generally done by the diggers. The medicine mixers now take one bunch of miko hoyanīdja, wash it, beat the bark off, and put all into the pot containing the mixture. These men have entire charge of the handling of the medicine pots throughout. In the meantime two messengers of the chief called ta'pala secure buckets and place them in front of those persons sitting on the beds who are to bring water. They must bring this from a running stream, and some of it is then added to the medicine in the pots. The medicine being now ready the medicine man takes a long cane and blows into it, usually four times, generally chanting as he does so. Then the chief usually stands up in his place, and one of the medicine mixers takes a bucket of medicine and a cedar bush. He dips the bush into the medicine and sprinkles a little over each bed and over the entire square ground. One bucket of medicine is set apart, and the medicine maker blows into this in the same way as before. Afterward, one of the medicine mixers goes through the same sprinkling process again, first calling up and sprinkling all those who have dug graves or handled dead bodies in any manner. Then each medicine mixer seizes a bucket, and they carry the medicine to each person present. About one or two quarts is given to each, and for this purpose each person is supposed to bring a cup; if he does not, a cup is supplied.

"After all have taken the medicine and vomited they wait a certain time and then the second bunch of miko hoyanīdja is mixed in, the

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pot being refilled with water. The medicine is then passed around again, and the same process is gone through four times in all during the day, once for each bunch of miko hoyanīdja. Each time the medicine maker blows into the pot before it is distributed. The pasa is used but once and is the last drink of the day. It is slightly warmed over a little fire. Generally it is not mixed until after the medicine has been taken for the third time. Roots of the wormseed [46a] (wīlana) are dug and many of them placed on a near-by bench. After the last drink they march out to the creek to bathe, and on the way each takes a few wormseed roots, chews and swallows a little, and rubs his head thoroughly with them, after which he dives into the creek four times. This completes the ceremonies for the day.

"During the intervals between the taking of the medicine the business of the town is attended to. In cases of misunderstandings and quarrels between persons or families the parties are questioned, either by the chief or by those whom he selects, generally persons from the henihas' bench, who finally determine which way the dispute should be settled. When the decision is agreed upon, the parties are called up and informed, and almost invariably they abide by this judgment.

"After they have returned from bathing the participants are allowed to eat, and in the evening after dark they are summoned to the square. A dance then begins in the ball ground to the southeast of the square ground, and they start with a song in which certain things are done at intervals in keeping with the words. Finally, at a particular, understood place, they march in around the fire in the square ground. A dance leader is now selected by the chief's messengers (ta'palas). Dances now follow each other, one after the other, all night, but at intervals the chief makes speeches, and he also invites good speakers who happen to be present to address the people. In that way good advice is given regarding the proper conduct of the rising generation and the proper way of living. It is the chief's duty to inform the people in this way of any occurrence which concerns his town. He imparts the messages which he has received from other towns, and which come through him, to his people. This assembly is thus an aid to government. Next morning the meeting breaks up and the people go home.

"At the next new moon the same performance is gone through. On the new moon after that a third meeting is held. On the morning of the day when this meeting opens all of the male members of the town are requested to be present in the square and the chief and a chosen number from each bed decide upon the date for the annual

[46a] Usually but erroneously called "Jerusalem oak." I am indebted to Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the U. S. National Museum, for the correction.

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796 busk. Then a switch cane is split up into pieces about the size of a match, and bunches are made of these, each bunch containing as many sticks as there are days to the time of the great busk. Each is tied up with a buckskin string. One of these bundles is tied immediately over the chief's seat in the square. Each of the others is sent to one of the friendly towns—that is, those of the same fire clan—as an invitation to share with them in the annual busk. It is immediately delivered to the town chief of that town by the ta'palas appointed by the town chief.

"The fourth day before the date of the busk is known as 'camping day'; on this all must be encamped about the square ground. The next day is known as 'visitors' day' when all visitors are looked after and provided with camping quarters. The third day is known as 'the feast day,' on which food is kept prepared all day, so that one can help himself whenever he wants to. The day is generally passed in playing ball, either the men's game being played or the one-pole game between men and women. The fourth day is the 'busk day' in which medicine is taken. Medicine is gathered, mixed, and taken as already described for the stomp-dance. Up to the time of this busk the inhabitants of the town have been forbidden to eat certain vegetable productions, the principal of which is green corn, and from this fact is derived the term 'green-corn dance.' In case one has eaten green corn before this time, medicine is administered to him before the general medicine taking, and he is also scratched on the muscles of the arms and legs, four scratches being made with a one-pointed needle or one scratch with a four-pointed one. The scratches made were pretty deep. In olden times the snout of a garfish was employed exclusively.

"On the afternoon of 'visitors' day' friendly relations are shown by an exchange of tobacco. The people of the town giving the busk are seated on their beds, and the visitors, marching in, offer a piece of tobacco to each, beginning with the chief, saying at the same time 'Partake of this with me.' After they have taken it each of the town people, beginning with the chief, offers the leader of the visitors a piece of tobacco in his turn. This exchange has superseded the custom of smoking together, when a large pipe was filled with tobacco and passed from hand to hand. The order observed was probably N E S W, the chief sending around to the beds successively in this direction.[47] The chief of the visitors then took a pipe around in turn, beginning at the west bed where was the chief. All orders were given by the town chief to a ta'pala (who was not necessarily a heniha) and by him to the people. This pipe, therefore, was first lighted by the chief and by him given to the ta'pala to be carried along.

[47] The correctness of this is doubted.

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"On the morning of the 'busk day,' after breakfast and before the medicine has been prepared, the visitors return home. First, however, they march up in a line and pass the southeast corner; as they do so they wave their right hands in unison toward the square so as to take it all in and say apokatcges ayīpalās ('While you abide I will return'), a friendly expression. In reply the people of the town respond hō ('Yes,' 'All right,' or 'Very well').

"To make the fire, four green sticks are cut from tree limbs extending toward the east. These are known as 'the back logs' (tàkhudji). To renew the fire they use the term to'hsoloti', 'to shove them in together.' Four roasting-ears are placed across the back sticks, as in Figure 108. Then kindling, hay, or other dry stuff is placed on top and ignited by rubbing two dry sticks lengthwise [?] over it. Fire can be started very quickly in this way. All the fires in the camps have meanwhile been put out, and this new fire is taken to them. It is used for the first time in cooking the first meal after the men break their fast. All disputes have now been settled by the henīhas and a new life begins.

FIG. 108. — Arrangement of ears of corn on the fire sticks at the Chiaka busk

"After invitation sticks have been sent, anyone who fails to appear at the busk is considered disobedient to the chief, and on the morning when the busk breaks up the chief calls together the leaders of each bed and they make a list of all those who have failed to attend. Then a number of messengers (ta'pala) are sent to these individuals to collect a fine which is said to have amounted to $2.50 in cash. It is customary to send to each man someone of the clan to which he himself belongs. When the ta'pala arrives he seizes any animal the man may have that is eatable, kills it, and brings it back to the square. It has been agreed upon on what day the fines shall be brought to the square, and then a second feast is called to eat up these things.

"This feast initiates a series of games between the women and men, wherein a wager is made—generally between a man and his 'sister-in-law,' i. e., a woman who has married into his clan. The man wagers part of a deer, while the woman puts up a pot of blue dumplings, or some sofki, or both. This game is played once a week for three weeks, and after the third a day is set for the hunters to go out. A day for finishing the fourth game is also agreed upon between the parties who made the wager. At that time the deer or other game is brought to the square ground and delivered to the woman who made the wager, she being encamped there with other women to assist her. Among the things that they feast upon that day is a great pot of soup, and the feast is therefore called 'the

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796 soup-drinking feast.' This wager having been concluded another pair lays a wager in the same manner and the same games and feasts are repeated. The night of each of these feasts they generally dance all night, and commonly they have one every month. The town chief is present if possible, and if anything should keep him away, the second chief takes his place. This series of feasts generally extends through the warm weather until it begins to get cool, the latter part of September or the first part of October, and the season is closed by what they call 'the last dances.' One of these is known as 'the old men's dance,' and another is the 'wolf dance.' The first has been discontinued for a number of years, especially by the Chiaha, because all of those who were able to lead it have died. I saw only one and that when I was a boy. I can not give details regarding the conduct of it, but it is different from anything else I ever saw or heard of. As nearly as I can remember the men went off and dressed in masks, some representing bear, some wolves, panthers, or even cattle, bulls, etc., or perhaps a band of Indians of some foreign tribe. Others dressed in still other ways, but all appeared as very old people. They seemed to represent dramatically an event in hunting, an attack by some dangerous animal, and their conquest over it by means of their skill and experience as old men. A number of ceremonies took place in connection with this dance; women also took part. This dance was held in all of the Creek towns.[48]

"To dance the Wolf Dance the men rise very early on a day that has been previously fixed upon and meet at the square, each riding his best pony. The men who take part in this dance are principally the young men of the town. They then proceed to the nearest house, generally at full speed, yelling, whooping, and singing. On reaching the house, all dismount and they dance around it, their leader singing a song, the rest whooping and yelling in discord to represent the howling of wolves. Then the inmates set out some food, and each of the dancers rushes up and snatches a little of it and runs off with it. Having eaten this they proceed to the next house and the same thing is repeated. So they visit all of the houses in the neighborhood. Afterward they return home, but that afternoon all meet at the square and at night they have the dance. The dances that night, especially those begun after midnight, are different from the regular stomp dances. Among these are the horse dance, the duck dance, the chicken dance, the catfish dance, a dance called a 'double dance' in which there are two leaders, etc. Next morning just as the sun rises they close the season by dancing the 'drunken man's dance.' Meanwhile the chief is generally present to communicate the news, and the henihas are always about to compose differences."

[48] For another description see p. 534.

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This sequence is no longer preserved in anything like its ancient completeness, those feasts that follow the busk especially having dropped out of use, but the busk itself still (1912) holds on in about eleven towns not counting the Yuchi and in six Seminole towns. In some of these, for instance the Tukabahchee, the three stomp dances are kept up in some form, and in fact my most complete account of the three stomp dances and the busk is from Zachariah Cook, a former miko of Tukabahchee town. This is as follows:

"At the end of the busk the chief says to his people 'Go home and do the best you can, and next year when the moon is about at such and such a place I will send you the "broken days." When the time approaches, which is near the time of the new moon in April, he sends a bunch of seven little sticks to the head man in each neighborhood who throws one stick away each day, and leaves home so as to get to the square ground on the night of the seventh day. On the eighth they fast all day and tásikayas, under the supervision of the imalas, work for the hilis-haya (medicine maker), each getting four shoulder loads of wood. After that they are told to prepare for the all night dance. A man called itci yahola dances the war dance (paihka obánga, "whooping dance") with a scalp and a tomahawk. They give him a fawn skin and a ribbon and he is the leader in the women's dance. Owing to this fact the women plant his field for him—at least the two leaders of the women called teukoleidji do so and sometimes the others help.[49a] The same day they procure new brooms if any are needed. Then all are told to go and rest and abstain from eating. They take that time for the performance of necessary duties such as watering horses. Early that same morning four persons, two isti-áteagagi-sûlgas and two henihas, are sent to dig miko hoyanīdja. The teonoh hola'ta is called up and sent with one of the henihas to get the cedar and other ingredients of the warm medicine. The medicine is placed at the north end of the west bed. Two youths are then called up to fix the medicine. They go for water, and after they have brought it put hitci pákpági in each pot as a foundation for the 'warm bath.' The rest of the ten medicines are piled upon this, and the whole is called adiloga or atiloga. Then they get rocks, pound up the miko hoyanīdja and put it into another vessel side of the first. After that they get canes and straighten them and tell the hilis-haya that all is ready. They provide a deerskin for him to sit on and another for a footstool.

"The hilis-haya then blows into the medicines, and an old henīha sitting close to him summons another, and they remove the pots, placing the atiloga on the north side by the fire and the miko hoyanīdja just west of it. Then the old henīha who was sitting by the hilis-haya gets one gourdful of each medicine and gives it to

[49a] At Tukabahchee and Keslegji this field was close to the northwestern edge of the square ground.

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the miko and his henīha who lay it in the bed right back of them. The miko then summons the two youths who mixed the medicine and he and his henīha hand the gourds to them, after which they go round inside close to the beds, keeping the fire on the left, the isti-âtcagâgi-sûlga in the lead, and they sprinkle the medicines toward the beds with their hands. This is to prevent the spirits of the dead from interfering. These gourds are then returned to the bed back of the miko. This circuit is performed four times during the night, the youths being called up each time for that purpose. Through his henīha the miko then summons the speaker who rises and shouts as loudly as he can for all the men to come inside of the grounds. All the women remain outside. Having assembled, the men are notified that they must fast that day, but that all who had handled the dead are to wait and take their medicine afterward. Then the medicine is taken in the following order: miko, speaker (yatika), miko's henīha, the other mikos, the two youths who sprinkled medicine, the Wind clan, tâstânâgâlgi, imalâlgi, isti-âtcagagi-sûlga, Bird clan, and the other clans down to the Panther and the Potato which is usually last. They take first the warm medicine and then the cold, and go afterward to vomit them out. Now the miko summons two ta'palas, a Raccoon and a Wind usually, though if necessary some other clan is substituted for the Raccoon, to manage the dance, and he tells them to choose a dance leader to keep the dance going. This is done while the drinking is still going on so that by the time it is over the miko can call out 'There is a dance leader over yonder.' When this leader starts all get out and help him, and after they have danced the common, or 'stomp' dance (sâtkita obânga) four times the women come in with rattles on their ankles and prepare to dance. When they get a little tired of the common dances they may take up special dances such as the gar dance, buffalo dance, quail dance, duck dance, etc. The hīnâtâ dance is a very pretty one and so are the quail and horse dances. If they can get a capable singer who knows them they may dance these special dances all night; otherwise they keep on with the common dance. Finally a time is set for the second 'stomp' dance which proceeds in the same manner. The third dance is a big dance.

"At that dance a council is held by the isti-âtcagâgi-sûlga as to whether they will remodel their square ground, and if they decide to do so they set a time in the fall, perhaps in September, for carrying on this work. If the hot house is to be fixed up a time is also set in September. The same men are called in to arrange for the busk. They go over the entire program, one saying 'I will do this,' another 'I will do that,' and so on. Then they say 'We will meet ten days from tomorrow.' When they do meet they say 'We will meet in five days,' but they count in the day on which they make the arrange-

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ment and also the day of meeting at the end, therefore there are only three whole days between. At that meeting they say 'We will meet in three days,' but one day intervening; and then they say 'We will meet in two days,' meaning the next. Finally they say 'We will meet in one day,' but they mean the very same day, so they simply go back home and then return, clear the ground off, and prepare the 'broken days,' of little canes, seven to the bundle, a bundle for each neighborhood. The messenger who delivers these pulls one stick out and throws it away, and afterward the head man at that place does the same each day until the time has arrived. When this distribution of sticks is made, they send a bundle to every fire of the same fire clan. The Atasi used to come down and busk with the Tukabahchee until the last dance, the women's dance, when they took some of the medicine which had been prepared for them and carried it back to their own women, who finished the dance. The Kēaledji simply sent two men to Tukabahchee for the new fire, which they carried home in a pot, putting new fuel in this from time to time until they got back. The Łapłáko used to do like the Atasi, but later they got a hilis-haya of their own and tried to have their own ceremonial, but they soon gave it up. The Łiwahali also brought their fire from Tukabahchee. Hilibi and Eufaula acted more or less together and had their own fires. This was in late times.

"The day of the last meeting when the ground was cleared the leaders of the women, the tcukolaidji, came to the ground and sat on a small bench in a cleared space in the southwest corner. They helped some in clearing the yard except their own space which they did not touch.

"On the fifth day of the seven all the people are supposed to be at the busk ground. On the night of the fifth the miko appoints a man of the Deer clan, which is a 'choice clan,' as an 'orderly' (łā'ta mi'kâgi) to manage the women's dance. He brings him in and puts him next to the post at the south end of the center section of the Chiefs' bed. The same night the miko empowers two youths to call in the small boys, who come into the square and have a jolly dance in which women and girls also join. While this is going on the 'orderly' calls up the itci yahola and a henłha. A cane a yard long is given to each and they are sent to see how the preparations of the women for the dance next day are advanced and whether leaders have been selected, so that everything will be ready that night. After that four singers have to be called up, the ones who are to sing for the women next day. These singers have a waiter (saogadjilaia) who prepares the gourds, wraps their handles with hickory bark, etc., and places them in the back part of the youths' bed so that they may be ready in the morning. The 'orderly' then calls up a speaker and instructs him what he is to do and after that a drummer. By this time it is 10

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796 or 11 o'clock at night and the women and young people go home, while the men stay on the busk ground, inside of the beds or around the ceremonial post, and sleep there.

"Very early on the following morning the 'orderly' prepares a little pot of miko hoyanīdja and places it in a little entrance between the center posts at the back of the Chiefs' bed. A little hitci pákpągi is put into it first as a 'foundation,' the míko hoyanīdja and water are added, and finally the hilis-haya blows into it. Then the 'orderly' summons the itci yahola and henīha who had gone out before, gives each a little piece of tobacco, and tells them to go and ask the women to hasten. They go around four times to call them. If they still delay, these officials stand upon a little mound belonging to the women at the southwestern angle and shout to hurry them. The leaders of the women and the male officials fast. The women are dressing during this time, and they drift in to the rallying place until 10 or 11 o'clock. The man who prepared the gourd rattles has to move them (the rattles) to the end of the Panther bed. One of the henīhas is also sent to get the small pot of miko hoyanīdja and set it down in the little yard at the southwest corner, where the women take it and put it on their turtle-shell rattles and other paraphernalia. There are three leaders for the women, but there could be a fourth and probably that is the proper number. The leaders are a Raccoon, a Wind, a Panther (and a Bird). When they are ready the first woman, carrying her rattle, goes a short distance and stops; then woman number two follows her example and the same with woman number three who leads the crowd. Meanwhile, the miko has been calling the same two men repeatedly, giving them tobacco and sending them to hurry things up. The gourd rattles are put overhead in the Panthers' bed in front, then moved to a position close to the corner post, and again to the center of the Panthers' bed where the singers can reach them.[49] The speaker and singers also have to be ordered up. Meanwhile the women have to be drilled and prepared, and the itci yahola is called over to the Chiefs' bed to receive a deer skin and ribbons. Four dog-whippers are appointed for the corners of the square. Before the women come in the speaker gives orders to the drummer, who is out on the tádjo, a mound of earth back of the warriors' cabin, to beat his drum and at the fourth beat the men have to be in their places. A little basket is set down in front of the speaker, and he tells the women to bring small pieces of tobacco and throw them into it. Then he gives them a lecture, advising them to be silent, respectful, not too vulgar, etc. The Tcunuk hola'ta is called over, receives a paddle-shaped stick, and, following instructions, makes a circular mark on the ground in front of the east end of the Panthers' bed,

[49] Here the singers sit in the Panthers' bed; at Hilibi they sit on the end of the Raccoons' bed.

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and a large circle around the fire. The former is the place where the leading woman is to stand and the large circle indicates where the rest are to range themselves. The speaker now calls the itci yahola who remains standing facing the north until he has been called twice. A fawn skin and ribbon are behind the miko and he hands them to the speaker who hands them in turn to the itci yahola standing to receive them. Holding these he goes through the circle of women and around some bushes which are set up in a circle about the fire, calling the yahola cry as he goes and holding his breath all the way around. When he gets back he says 'yux yu' as a mark of respect to the chief and then takes his seat. His henīha follows and takes his seat. The women dance two rounds, go out and rest, and then their leaders go out and bring them in for two more rounds.

"The miko next gets an īmala łàko and an īmala łàbotski. In the first or second verse of a song, at least at a certain place in it, these īmalas run out and shout to the warriors 'Go and get the tea brush (àsi sàbonga)' meaning the brush with which to kindle the fire. All of the warriors then go for it. Now the henīha is told to call the fus isà 'to go and get the hickory bark,' meaning the punk with which the fire is started. Another henīha accompanies him, and they go out at the third or fourth verse (or song). Next four men are called up to get the four back sticks. They are instructed to secure sticks with the tops already broken off and such as they themselves can break off to a length of about four feet. These are placed at the end of the bed of the henihàlgi. Six or eight youths are sent for the pasa and the same youths are sent again for the miko hoyanīdja. The dance is now over and they retire for that day. The people who remain have a ball game after dinner and a big time generally, and that night they have a jolly dance and afterward all retire, the men sleeping inside of the busk ground. The same night a man is selected to be captain over the young men and keep watch of them. The miko summons him next morning and tells him to assemble the youths and move the ashes of the old fires. From ten to fifty youths then set to work and soon have the ashes removed. Then the miko directs the leader to have them bring a lot of sand, which they move on boards, in their hands, or in any other way, and spread over the fireplace, covering a circle perhaps five feet in diameter. Then they are sent after more sand which they take out and spread back of the henīhas' bed, on the site of the old hot house. If a little is left over it is put in front of the hilis-haya's place for the copper shields to rest upon. (From this point on the ceremony has now been modified. The older form which continues from here will be found on pp. 564–568.)

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"Now the fire maker (tŏtki dīdja) gets some blossoms of hitci pákpągi. The night before the miko has called eight or more isti átcągągi in person saying 'So-and-so, you must wake up in the morning early,' to each in turn. These men may call in some young fellows to help, and early in the morning they spread out a deer skin, lay down punk, and light a fire with flint and steel. In more ancient times they made a fire by rubbing two sticks together. The deer skin is on the seat on the north (or rather northwest) end of the Henīhas' bed. After the fire has been fed with a little bark most of it is removed from the skin, and what is left is used to kindle a little fire near the same end of this bed. Meantime the hilis-haya has made a cross-mark in the center of the square, the ends pointing toward the entrances between the cabins, and at the end of each and at the center he sets a piece of hitci pákpągi. The henīha is right behind him with four pieces of bark on which is fire and he places these in the center of the marks. The hilis-haya now goes and gets one of the four back sticks, conjures it, and sticks a little hitci pákpągi in the outer end of each. Then he lays it down pointing toward the west (or southwest) bed, just south of the line extending toward the west entrance. He then gets another stick, does the same with it, and places it toward the south (or southeast) bed. He does the same with the other two sticks, proceeding round the fire contra-clockwise. When all are in place he brushes one hand over the other with an outward sweep as a sign that the job is finished. Next lines are drawn, hitci pákpągi put in, and fire started on the site of the hot house, but no sticks are laid there. Finally the firemaker's henīha builds the small extra fire above mentioned at the end of the Henīhas' bed. A little pot of wormseed is now prepared in front of the Henīhas' bed, the hilis-haya blows into it, and moves it out to the third fire at the west end of the Warriors' bed.[50] It is placed near the fire there. The Wind clan, the henīhas, sat at the north end of the west or Chiefs' cabin, in what is ordinarily called the Chiefs' bed. This part of the cabin is called the Henīhas' bed.

"Eight roasting ears provided in advance are placed on the north end of the Henihas' bed by the post. The husks of four are stripped back and tied together and they are hung overhead between the beds of the henihálgi and mikálgi. The oldest henīha brings the other four ears to the place where the medicine was prepared. The miko then gives the hilis-haya some hitci pákpągi, and the hilis-haya takes an ear of corn, blows on a blossom of hitci pákpągi and sticks it into one end of the ear. He lays this ear side of the back stick pointing to the west (toward the Chiefs' bed). He goes around the fire and comes back to the place from which he started. Then he

[50] Or "the north end of the Henīhas' bed"; my notes give it both ways. It is in the same entrance way in either case.

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treats the ear for the south stick and the ones for the east and north sticks successively in the same manner. Finally he rubs one hand over the other to show that the work is completed.

"Now two imalas are called who go out and notify the different camps to come and get the new fire. While they are doing this the medicine is being made. The captain of the youths is told to get them and go after the medicines. The oldest henīha already referred to as sitting by the post puts down a pounding-block with a deer skin over it for the hilis-haya to sit upon. It is placed right back of the medicine pots. The old henīha and a young boy of the henīhas now bring two pots for the medicine. They also bring up all of the pasa and all of the miko hoyanīdja, but they select out of this for the hilis-haya four pasa plants and four sticks of miko hoyanīdja. The hilis-haya now goes to the block covered with the deer skin and sits upon it. He lays a rock in front of him and uses another as a mallet. Then he takes one plant of pasa first, blows upon it, repeating some formula meanwhile, gives it one blow to break the roots off, and puts these into the pot. He does the same thing to the rest of the pasa and to the miko hoyanīdja. The captain of the youths is now told to summon them and have them pound up the rest of the medicine and put it into the pots, which they do. The youths have already filled the pots with water.

"Now all retire and it is quiet for a space. On the morning of this day the little boys' busk is 'destroyed,' i. e., they cease to fast.

"Now the miko summons two waiters previously selected, one from the Raccoon clan and one fron the Wind clan. He tells them to go out, fill two pots about eight inches across with medicine, and serve this to the men assembled in the square. He has already given instructions what order to observe and who are not to be served until the last because they have touched a dead body or for any other reason. The warm pasa is given first and then the cold miko hoyanīdja. The miko and the other occupants of the central section of the Chiefs' bed are served first, then those at the south end right down to the Bird clan, then the henihálgi at the north end of the Chiefs' bed, then the tástánágis and imalas in turn, i. e., those in the Warriors' bed from west to east, then those in the south bed from west to east, and finally those in the east bed from south to north. All those in the back seats come to the front unless some have to wait because they have dug a grave or something of the sort. The waiters drink last. Those who had eaten roasting ears of the same season already had to wait for their medicine until the others were through. Meanwhile a youth has been sent out after a pot of wormseed which is placed in front of the hilis-haya and as soon as the other medicines have been taken he blows into it. Each person then takes a little of it, chews some, and smears some on his body. They say this is 'to

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wash the head with.' Finally they go down to the creek headed by the miko and dive beneath the water four times. This ends the busk.

"In the morning while the above ceremony is taking place the boys are again summoned and sent for miko hoyanīdja and the ten medicines used in the stomp dance. They take their busk medicine, which has been left for them on the bed of the henihâlgi, when they come back. The stomp dance medicine is placed near the fire and taken there and they dance the stomp dance all that night until dawn.

"Next day the people lounge around, sleep, or play ball if they want to, but all come in that night for another jolly dance. On that morning thay have broken their fast. During this day a council is also held, and the miko sends word to the tástânâgis that there will be a hunt next day, so all come up in the morning prepared for it. After the third drum beat all must be ready with their horses, and then they go out to some place where they think there will be good hunting. If they kill anything they leave it at the end of the Henīhas' bed; if they are unsuccessful, they say to the head tástânâgi 'We did not get anything,' and he reports to the miko.

"Next morning a piece of beef is brought; the hilis-haya blows upon and conjures this and puts it into the very center of the fire. Presumably this is to purify the people and insure them health, and also to feed the fire or some being in or through it. About noon the women dance in the same order as before, and this is also a day of feasting. The day after they fast all day, take their medicine as in the stomp dance, and dance all night. Before day the head tástânâgi addresses them telling them to behave well, that they have had a good time together and must not feel disturbed if their property has become injured during their absence. The miko then tells them to meet at such and such a time when the moon is at such and such a place, and they all go home.

"The above is an account of the later form of the busk at Tukabahchee, but in earlier days it was amplified in several particulars. The older form was identical with the above up to the appearance of the copper shields. From there it proceeds differently. The shields are carried out just at daylight by a squad of youths including one of the isti-âtcagâgis and one of the henīhas, or an even number of each—under the direction of the youths' captain. They proceed two at a time, those in advance each carrying a brass shield, and those behind each one of the pointed copper objects until there is a long procession. Proceeding to the creek before the fire is made they wash and scour them and carry them back. Then they hand them to the miko who lays them down in front of the hilis-haya. In addition to the regular pots of miko hoyanīdja four others are conjured, after which the henīhas carry one to each bed and put it up in the

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center inside overhead. Then all are told to go and see about their horses, attend to other necessary duties, and come back again. A number of the isti-àtcagàgi remain, however. Meanwhile the boys have been sent out to get the àsi, which two men are appointed to parch. Then eight men come out and the miko has strings of beads put on the necks of four of them, who upon receiving these go back to their seats. A henīha gets the àsi and lays it down by the other medicines. The àsi looks like red haw. It is put into a pot and one of the boys appointed to do the parching stands on each side. Each holds a long paddle and stirs slowly. There is no water in the medicine until it is entirely parched, when water is poured into the pot to fill it up. It is then dipped up and strained back into the same pot through a basket strainer. All this is done with a regular rhythmic motion, and two men lying in the center of the east bed, an isti-àtcagàgi and a Panther, sing a slow, doleful song and shake their gold gourds.

"It is now getting on toward noon. While the parching is proceeding the leader of the men who are going to carry the shields gets out near the medicine house and whoops twice. Then the eight men previously summoned, four of whom have probably returned their beads to the miko by this time, go out into the square and form two lines of four each extending from north to south on each side of the fire, facing the fire and with two leaders at the south end. The miko's henīha and another then go and fill their gourds or little pots with àsi which they then carry to the benches, and serve all those entitled to receive it, beginning with the miko and the other principal men. Each henīha crosses to the man immediately opposite to the one that his companion faces. The hilis-haya meanwhile is between the two lines near the fire. When the man who is served raises the pot to his lips the waiter shouts 'hwa-u-u-u' (the yahola cry), extending the sound as long as he can hold his breath, and when he is through the other takes a sip, spits it out, and hands the pot back to the waiter who then proceeds to the next man. After they have been round, what is left is taken to the hilis-haya. The hilis-haya and the old tàstànàgi (tcilaleigaⁱ) have ladles with which they dip out the rest of the medicine until it is all gone, a fact which each announces. Then more àsi is parched and the man near the medicine house shouts two times more. This medicine is drunk like the first, and then the word is given to hurry, upon which the two men who have been singing and shaking their rattles run out toward the man in charge of the shields and the three pass around the tàdjo mound and back into the square on a 'dog-trot.' Then the miko takes the shields and plates and distributes them to the eight tàstànàgis who stand in line to receive them. The leader of the īmala làbotcki orders them out, and each goes and gets a cane with a feather on the end of it. Th

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two men who had lain in the northeast bed singing dance slowly out of the north entrance, round the tàdjo mound and in again at the west entrance while the warriors and younger men dance round and round them faster all the way. They make this circuit four times, and the warriors and young men dance until the two old men have taken their seats. This dance is called the 'long dance' or the 'long whoop.' The feathers are fastened upon the canes used at this time by members of the Bird clan who have received orders that morning from the tàlsà miko. The eagle feathers are placed near the kosi miko in the Beaver bed, and crane feathers at the end of the bed of the Bird clan. After that all retire until the evening.

"That evening the eight waiters start out at the northwest (or west) exit shouting 'yuayux,' the last man saying at intervals 'wàtàgu' (or natàgu'?). They go all the way round on the outside until they come to the northeast bed and say 'I found nothing, I found nothing.' Then the isti-àtcagàgi in that bed, who have set out a little gift of tobacco for them, shout 'hitci laiktci" ('here is tobacco'). They repeat the same performance at each bed, and they make the circuit four times in all. They are called the 'tobacco beggars' and act as if they were spies or guards. Those fasting eat nothing and touch no women or anybody and the speaker gives the word to keep silence. That day is their 'sabbath.'

"Orders are issued that all the men return to the grounds before night, and there is a men's stomp dance that night to which no women are admitted. First they will perhaps dance 'the long dance,' with the feathers but without the shields. The shields lie on the bed of sand prepared for them all day until the morning of the day on which meat is put into the fire when they are returned to their usual place. During this time outsiders may look in from beyond the limits but none may come inside. Very early next morning a man is heard coming from the eastward whooping in the distance. By sunrise he gets behind the southwest bed and enters by the south entry. This is the itci yahola, who wears beads, leggings, a fancy hatchet, and four tufts of hair, like scalps, on 'the rim of a cap.' While he dances the tcukoleidji (women leaders) sing for him, beginning before he enters. These tcukoleidji used to sit in the Alligator bed at this time, but, the Alligator clan having died out, they were later in the Panthers' bed. While this man is dancing the warriors, assembled by command back of the Warriors' bed, divide into two parties, get out bows and arrows and pistols and act as if they are going to fight. Then the women and the two old men who sang when the àsi was being parched move out to the tàdjo mound, stopping a few minutes at the Alligator bed on the way, and singing all the time. The itci yahola dances

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around with his scalp headdress and tomahawk; he approaches in this way the north entrance where he is met by two other men, one of whom carries a gun. They and the two men on the tàdjo mound sing responsively for a while. Meanwhile an image made of weeds has been placed half way between the tàdjo and the north entrance, and when the singing is finished the man with the gun shoots at it and the one with the tomahawk runs up to it and pretends to scalp it. Upon this all the warriors (including the tcukoleidji) rush in together, first around the tàdjo and then into the square, part dancing round in the usual manner and part in reverse, shooting off their guns and making a great noise. Then they all stampede down the hill to the creek and all are supposed to dive into the creek four times, though usually the women merely dash the water into their faces. This is the 'gun dance.' Then they (the tcukoleidji) will run back and catch some visitors and make them carry a log or something of the kind. There were eight or ten tcukoleidji, two being leaders. This ceremony is finished early in the day, and during the remainder of the day they lie about and rest. In the evening they have a little fun by dancing the dumpling dance, using the feathered sticks that were employed before, some having eagle feathers and some crane feathers.

"That same night orders are given to go hunting on the following morning. The men remain inside of the grounds every night; they may eat fresh sofki, fresh bread or honey or molasses, but no meat until the fourth morning. The morning after the gun dance they go hunting and the morning after that the meat is put into the fire as already related. This finishes the conjuring of the fire. Then the wormseed is used, they bathe in the creek, and 'the busk is destroyed.'

"The women dance that night and then they dance the 'old dance,' after which the men attend to their horses, and do any other necessary work. Next day they fast all day and have a stomp dance at night, and the morning following the miko makes them an address, tells them to be good, etc., and says 'When the moon is so and so you will hear from me.' Then they eat breakfast and go home.

"If any of the warriors does not come to the busk they afterwards send to exact a fine from him, or, if he is within reach, the first day they go out hunting they go and see what they can get from him. If a man stayed away from the busk persistently his seat might be declared vacant and a young man selected to fill it. This regulation applied to the other Creek towns as well. In later times whiskey was not allowed on the grounds and if any one brought it he was subject to a severe fine.

"Anciently two orderlies were sent around among the camps to see whether any of the young men who should be fasting had broken the bounds and gone off into the woods to sleep or to have inter-

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course with women." According to my informant such offenders were almost always found out.

Some say that anciently the Tukabahchee had to busk before all other Creek towns. As we have seen, Atasi, Łiwahali, and Łapłáko used to go to Tukabahchee in later times to get their medicine; the Kealedji only sent for fire and returned the next morning while the rest remained and finished the busk with the Tukabahchee. It is said that Alabama and Hilibi were formerly attached in the same manner but became separated in course of time. In the same way Coweta and Eufaula are said to have busked together at one time.[51] Any stranger who once took medicine at Tukabahchee had to take it there for four successive years before he could take it anywhere else. These statements were made by a very old Indian, but for the most part they represent not an ancient condition but a later readjustment, after some of these towns had begun to fall off in numbers.

Earlier descriptions of the Tukabahchee busk, mostly confirmatory of the above though showing certain variations, are given by Stiggins and Hitchcock, the latter apparently mainly on the authority of James Islands. Stiggins says:

"I have made frequent mention of their celebration of the anniversary of the New Corn Crop, called by them *Booske tah*, as much as to say 'sacred purifying' which is the only thing wherein I ever saw them act as though they paid adoration to the all supreme. They seem even when they are preparing to go to the festival to solemnize their minds and actions as a devout person would enter a church to worship, and it is evident that originally it must have had great weight even in their political movements, for it will, after its celebration, stop the proceedings against any offender where life and death is not concerned, and stealing is not exempted. All other misdemeanors pass into oblivion, and a new score is begun for the ensuing festival. The Cowassawdays hold one festival more than the rest of the nation as they annually celebrate the coming of the new crop of beans with the same ceremonies as they do the festival of corn.[52] I have made a small digression from the point in [detailing] the order of their festival. I shall proceed to it in as accurate a manner as I can by saying that when the head men of a town see that the town or public corn is full in the ear and fit for use they set a day and inform the town people when the sacred festival is to commence.

"Before the day arrives they nominate some of their *emathlahs*, which word means 'gone at his bidding,' to boil their physic that they drink and bathe in in order to purify themselves, and of their most respectable chiefs they nominate three to officiate in the duties of

[51] Yet, according to another informant, the Eufaula formerly got their fire from Kealedji.

[52] Could this be the same as that held to "sanctify the mulb-grist?" (See p. 560.)

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the time as sacred priests or doctors. They then send some of the *emathlahs*, to gather a bush that acts as a quick and powerful emetic; they call it *micco ho yan ejah*. It is a 'kings cathartic.' They break enough to last the festival out. The bush is very much like the low myrtle bush in appearance but bears no berries. When the appointed festival day arrives all the town people put out their fires and repair to the town house or square when they commence the sacred festival. They have particular songs and dances for it; they dance during the festival at intervals. Their singers are generally some men of eminence invited from some other town as proficient singers, and they take it as a mark of distinction to receive an invitation for that purpose. After all have congregated they select men to boil physic, and those nominated to officiate as sacred men make a fire out of the public way so that they may not be polluted by the touch of an unpurified person during their strict penance, as they account their person sacred during their sacred and purified office. They proceed to boil their *a wo teach caw* [sawàtcka] which is an emetic. After it is thoroughly boiled the three men selected for the sacred office take it after it is put into large cooling pans of clay manufactory, and prepare it for drinking and bathing. Each man takes a pan and sets it before him and commences the process of cooling, having his head covered over and the joint of a cane in his hand. During the time they each sing a song of requests and thanks in a low under voice to the giver or taker of breath called *saw ga emisse*. In every interval the singer sticks his cane joint into the pan of *awa teach caw* and blows the virtue of said song of requests into the pan of physic in a most solemn manner, so that therewith it might operate in good to them that drink thereof. It is a quick and rapid emetic and drank for that purpose by all the men, and nearly all the women wash their children with it; the Creek Indians have no variation in their annual celebration of the new crop of corn, having particular songs and dances for the festive purpose. The commemoration in every town holds two days in the minor village towns, not including the first day. The Tuckabahchee town being the metropolis of the nation has a variety of show in their solemn feast; they continue it for six days. It is attended always by a large congregation who resort there to see and be seen.

"During their six days of *Boos ke tah* neither those set apart for doctoring or physic making, nor such as are appointed to show the strict rule or penance necessary on the occasion, make use of anything to eat or drink but the consecrated emetic of which they take profusely every day of the festival. They neither speak to nor touch a woman during said time as such a procedure would inevitably ruin their thanksgiving song, and instead of a blessing involve destruction,

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not only to the offender but to the community at large; nor will they shake hands with nor touch an unpurified friend during the time of their officiating. The whole festival is conducted with a grave, superstitious solemnity to the last day. On the last day they take out and exhibit the afore-mentioned six brass or breast plates. They are carried around by three men, one in each hand, in that day's dance. With much superstitious awe said plates are kept under the care of two men always, and after their exhibition in the dances they are laid in the depository, which is under the seats that uphold the mats that the kings sit on, in their part of the council square. It is said that three of said brass plates have hieroglyphic signs on them, whilst others say that they could trace Hebrew characters in a circle in the central part of the three oval ones. As they are scoured and burnished every year before they are exhibited no doubt the characters are nearly defaced. Their traditional account of how they came by them is that they were thrown or handed down by the *Giver or Taker of Breath*, viz. *Saw ga Emisse*, with an assurance to them that so long as they used them undefiled in their festivals no people could divest them of their festival ceremonies or country. On the same day they exhibit their manner of attack in warfare; several effigies are brought and placed about in the square to be attacked in a hostile manner by men appointed for the purpose, who, to show their skill in coming on their enemy by stealth, come on the effigies with all imaginable caution as though unperceived by them as an enemy. When they get near the square they all at once raise the war scream and charge on them, shoot, tomahawk, and scalp them, and though pursued by others they make their escape as they would in actual attack. As many have passed their time fasting it is necessary to eat of the new corn, and as all things in their political life have a new beginning, it is necessary to have new fire with which to cook their corn and other eatables, so that morning four men are appointed to the duty. Each takes a block with a small incision in it and a round stick and apply it in the indenture of the block and roll it to and fro in the palms of their hands until it takes fire by the friction. There is great expression of joy when the new fire is made; every family in the town and even adjacent townspeople take the new fire home to use in cooking during that year.

"In the course of the festival and usually at night in intervals for rest the young men are divested of their given name that they had from infancy and invested with what is called a war name by which they are known for the rest of their lives. It is done thus. Previous to the ceremony of naming the name that he is thereafter to assume is intimated to the young man by one of the kings or warriors, for either can give names. When the time arrives for the cremony one of the kings or warriors rises from his seat and calls the name in a

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shrill, long tone of voice. At the call the young man rises, picks up the war club or mallet called by them *attusea* and goes forth to him, when he informs the new man that he is now named as other men and he now can assume the manners and customs of other men. He then puts a feather on his head and when that is done the newly dubbed man raises his war club above his head, starts a long whoop, and runs round in a circle to the place from which he started and when he stops he cries 'youh youh.' From that time on he is a man with a name. After the *Boos ke tah* it is known that all light offenses are past into oblivion." [32]

Hitchcock's account runs thus:

"At the season of green corn, usually in July, the chiefs of the town meet and have a talk with their people about the Green Corn Dance. At this meeting they give orders to make the pots and other utensils needed, except those which are sacred. Some of the sacred utensils have been handed down [from] time immemorial. They meet again in seven days, again four days afterwards, and then again in two days. At these several meetings they give orders for preparations, appoint persons to procure wood, others to procure cane, etc., etc. At the fourth meeting they give out the 'broken days' for the Busk, seven from the day they give notice, or six not counting the day when the notice is given.

"All persons on the fifth night are ordered to encamp in the vicinity of the Square. On the sixth day all the women, dressed in full costume loaded with ornaments, dance for about three hours in the middle of the day. There are men appointed to watch them and if anyone leaves the dance without a good excuse, as sickness or other sufficient cause, she is deprived of her ornaments which are confiscated and she does not return. A certain number of women are appointed to conduct the dance and these are not allowed to eat until after the dance is over and they have bathed in the branch or creek. Before the dance these conductors are covered with what is called medicine, some sacred preparation, and this must be washed off before they can eat. The night of the day on which the women dance the men and women dance together. This is a friendly, familiar dance without particular preparation or ceremony. The day following, that is the sixth day [but the first of the regular ceremonial days], is a sacred day and the men fast all day, and during the day they take a medicine prepared from an herb that operates like a powerful emetic. On this day, the sixth, the sacred fire is made in a small house in a corner of the Square. The twelve persons appointed for this purpose remain all of the preceding night in the square and at early dawn[33] they commence a frictional process, rub-

[32] Stiggins, Ms.

[33] Elsewhere he says "at the crowing of the cock in the morning."

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bing a piece of cane in decayed wood with great velocity until the wood ignites. Sometimes it requires many hours for this.[55] The persons appointed for the purpose then prepare, over the fire, the medicine (emetic) with which the men cleanse themselves. During the day only those who take this medicine and those having duties there by appointment are allowed to enter the square.

"On the same day (the sixth) the sacred plates and other holy utensils are taken by persons appointed for the purpose from the places where they have been preserved, unseen by human eyes, for a twelve month, they thoroughly scour and clean them, and about one o'clock they are brought into the square. These utensils are regarded as presents from the Great Spirit. They are brought into the square with great state and ceremony. The persons bearing them are preceded by two men provided with cocoanut shells which they rattle continually, the men singing all the time, and they are followed by others with long reeds from the ends of which white feathers stream in the wind. The whole procession dances into the square and around it four times and then passes outside and dances around another spot four times. Then they again enter the square repeating the dance in and out four times. After this the sacred pieces are delivered over to the King (Micco) and after fasting all day and all night and dancing all night [on the second day of the ceremony], they dance the War Dance. For this dance there are two men selected called the head warriors. These two come into the square just before day unclothed except for a piece of stroud, but they are painted and covered with ornaments and carry a pouch for their pipe and tobacco. There are a number of women selected to assist the men in singing the war song for the two men to dance after around the square, or the ring in the center of the square. During the dancing two separate parties are selected and dressed like the two warriors except that they have shot pouches and rifles, and effigies are prepared and set up outside of the square to represent enemies surmounted with scalps, generally representing one woman and two men. The warriors approach in the Indian mode of advancing to battle by stealthily crawling behind such objects as make the best screens. (During all this time the two warriors are dancing inside of the square.)

"There are spies out who discover the approach of the two parties about to surround the effigies, and they go to the corner of the square and give notice to the two warriors that their friends in two parties are about to surround their enemies, the effigies. As soon as this is done a man rushes out beating a drum, and at the tap of the drum the head warriors come out of the square, each with an aid, and all four take up a position resting upon one knee, the chiefs with the

[55] Elsewhere he says "all the morning and until afternoon."

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tomahawks and their aids with rifles presented towards the effigies. While in that position they sing a very solemn war song which is answered in a chorus by their friends, the two parties of warriors. During the singing, the women, who were appointed to sing in the square, pass to a heap of earth previously thrown up for the purpose and are joined by their female friends for the purpose of welcoming their husbands and brothers returned from war. As soon as the women are assembled the head warriors give orders to advance. They take the lead themselves and scalp the effigies, and the two parties meet over the effigies as soon as they are scalped and fire their rifles at will accompanied with an uproar of whooping and yelling. They then pass around the hill where the women are and while the women sing and the men dance, whoop and yell, loading and firing their rifles. After dancing around their women for some time the men enter, firing the guns and rejoicing and dance around the square four times. They then terminate the ceremony for that day, those who have been dancing going to the branch and bathing. After this they return to the square and break their fast by eating green corn without limit with every other kind of vegetable—pumpkins, water melons, etc—but no meat nor salt. This occurs about 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning and the remaining portion of the day is devoted to rest as also the night following, except that some may choose to dance for amusement.

"It is a rule that if, before the Green Corn Dance, any person has eaten green corn or even the food cooked at the fire where corn has been roasted or otherwise prepared for food he is not allowed to participate in the dance or Busk. All who participate in the ceremony are required to clear away the fire and ashes from their domestic hearths and rekindle it with fire which has been made at the square. All who participate in the Busk and take the medicine are obliged for four days to sleep at the square every night and are not allowed to be with their wives. On the third day of the Busk the men dance with the plates and then go out with their rifles to kill deer, returning early in the afternoon (about 2 o'clock) with meat. They eat no meat this day, however, but satiate their appetite with sofkee, etc. The night is passed in dancing and sleeping according to their pleasure, the women not being present. On the fourth day the meat is prepared with salt and eaten for breakfast. After breakfast the women dance in the square, the men merely looking on. Until this day those who have eaten salt are not allowed to touch the ones engaged in the ceremony, who do not, until the fourth day, touch salt themselves. Toward the close of the day the men and women dance what is called the bison dance. The men wear only the stroud except that they add bushes and other means of assimilating their appearance to that of animals. They bend half forward and

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while dancing imitate the bellowing of bison. The women have terrapin shells loaded with peas and fastened to strips of leather in rows of three or four tied below their knees. The night of the fourth day the men and women dance together and then disperse to their homes except certain persons appointed for the purpose who remain at the square and sleep there three or four nights. After dancing around the plates on the third day, they deposit the latter in their appointed place of safety where they remain carefully protected until required the next year.

"During the ceremony . . . the young men frequently engage in a ball play or other amusement and . . . everything wears the appearance of rejoicing and gladness, and thanksgiving for the blessings of a plentiful promise of the productions of the earth." [58]

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To these may be added an account of a visit to the Tukabahchee busk of July, 1917, by Mr. G. W. Grayson, late chief of the Creek Nation, found among his papers and copied by the writer with the kind permission of Mr. Grayson's family. Unfortunately, one page of the manuscript is missing. I have found it necessary to make a few changes in the wording for the sake of smoothness. The most important contribution contained in this narrative is the insight it gives into the customs observed in receiving a guest from a friendly town. A stray note informs us, on the authority of one of the oldest men in Tukabahchee, that the Power Above who had instituted the ceremony said, "You shall not call my name openly in the congregation; if you do, it will not be well with you."

"[I] arrived at Tuckabatchee Busk ground on July 27, 1917, while the women, twenty-six in number, were dancing. Most of them were apparently of middle age and probably mothers of families. They appeared to be very respectable women and were adorned with long wide ribbons of silk flowing gorgeously from their heads, very much like the women whom we saw some five years ago in the dances of this kind as then conducted by the Okfuskeys near the present town of Eufaula.

"After the women had executed several rounds, they were required to surrender their vttussa vhake ['like war-clubs,' little wooden sticks carved in a manner supposed to resemble the forms of the ancient war-clubs], when the men engaged in the Old dance (punka vcale) mixed up with the women in their ribbons and finery. One round of this was danced and that ended the exercises. At night the people danced until about 10 o'clock and recessed until the morrow.

(Here a page is missing.)

". . . Since last night the buskers have been fasting and must continue it all this day [July 28], and tonight and until tomorrow morning when they will be permitted to partake of food. It is with

[58] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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regret that they admit that the correct practices of the Busk as they obtained in the olden days are not now correctly known to any of the members. This fact became painfully evident some years ago when the old men counseled together over the subject and decided that they would hereafter confine the exercises of the Busk to what is known as the 'Boy's Fast' (Chebunuckochee im Pusketa), since no member appears able to instruct in or conduct correctly the proper exercises for the adults, while there were many who could conduct the Boy's Fast correctly. So all that we can now see of the Busk is what is known as the Boy's Fast.

"The copper or brass plates are so sacred, and their exposure and handling by incompetent hands so liable to be attended by dire consequences, that we cannot get a view of them. It appears that the town has no medicine men who are sufficiently educated in the mysteries to uncover and handle them. The tradition respecting these plates is that when the Town becomes unable to handle them properly, they are to be surrendered to the Shawnees, and the old man Sardy says they may come now and demand them any year.

"Late this evening I was informed that since the Cowetas, of which I am a member, have ever been the 'big friend' of the Tuckabatchees, and I, a Coweta, though unknown to the majority of the Buskers, had paid them a visit the town owed me a formal reception in keeping with the ancient custom of the respective towns which they desired should be tendered me in accordance with that custom. It transpired, however, that no one save the old gentleman Conchart Emarthla, by whom I had been entertained all day at his camp, knew anything of the ancient customs to be observed at such receptions, and he was lying prone on his back in his camp and in misery from muscular rheumatism. He was solicited by several different messengers from the town chief, sent at several separate times, to go to the dance circle and conduct the reception ceremony, which, despite his ailment, and in deference to me, he was willing to do provided he could be conveyed from his camp to the dance circle. After a number of consultations on the subject, during which the people were busily engaged in the common stomp dance in the square near by, it was decided that the old gentleman should be conveyed in his daughter's $1,600 automobile, standing a few steps from his camp. I accompanied him in the automobile, which his son drove for us, and on the way to the square he instructed me to remain in the auto while he went to confer with the authorities on the subject, after which a messenger would soon be sent to conduct me in as was customary on such occasions. I was to follow him and, when near the seats, say in a voice clearly audible to the assembly, 'I have arrived.'

"Accordingly, on our arrival at the square the old gentleman went in and after some little delay delivered a characteristic, old-

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fashioned speech treating in part of the ancient friendship subsisting between the Tuckabatchees and Cowetas. He told the audience that one of the Cowetas had arrived and that he should be received with all those formalities 'that it was the custom of our forefathers to observe on such occasions in times past.' The old gentleman, in short, delivered a splendid address in the ancient manner, the kind that was once so common with public speakers among the Creeks. After this address, I was conducted into the circle by a special messenger. When I came before the men, who were disposed on seats made of logs, I exclaimed as I had been previously instructed, 'I have arrived.' The old man then instructed the audience as to the order of the hand shaking that was now to be performed. After the hand-shaking I exchanged small bits of 'Star' tobacco—a brand of the manufactured weed much in vogue at this time with chewers of tobacco—with each of the audience, and when we finished the proceeding the pockets of my coat were well loaded with these bits of tobacco. When we were through with this performance, the old gentleman at whose side I sat called up Arbeca Micco, a son of Geo. Long deceased, and, informing him that I was of his own, the Tiger, clan, directed him to conduct me to a seat among the members of his clan where I could be with the other Tigers. This he did and I sat conversing with the Tigers, while the dance was going on, for about an hour, when I retired to my pallet in a tent assigned to me by John Harjo at his camp. The dance was continued until daylight Sunday morning.

"Sunday, July 29th, 1917.—I arose quite early this morning and after breakfast went out to the dance circle where a few men were lying about on the ground and on the old wooden log seats asleep and a few others were sitting in small groups conversing lazily, though much fatigued by the exercises of the all night dance. The only sight that I got was a better view of the United States flag, which floated from a staff near the town chief's seat. This flag the Indians call in their language A-book-he Tca-te ["red flag"]. I also saw the old pine box, about 30 inches square I should judge, sitting on the log seats provided for the chiefs' shed, in which I was informed were inclosed the Brass or Copper plates of which we have so often heard."

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If two families lived a long way from their own busk grounds but near each other's, they sometimes swapped duties, each going to the nearer ground. Such swapping usually took place only between towns in the same fire clan but Cook has known of such an exchange between Tulsa and Tukabahchee Indians. If a man had married outside his town, he was obliged to attend the busk in his wife's town as well as the one in his own, but he could not dance at the former. If he stayed away from the busk of his wife's people, he

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would be fined a sum amounting, in later times, to something like $10, and if he refused to pay his horse would be carried off. 746

The Tukabahchee busk proper lasted theoretically eight days, two more than the number given by Stiggins, and this number may be made out if we include the day of assembly and preparation and the day when the people separated to go home. Anciently the busks of Coweta, Kasihta, Kealedji, and perhaps some of the other larger towns were of eight days also, but those of the smaller towns were of four days' duration only, and this difference existed as far back as the time of Hawkins, at the end of the eighteenth century.[9] It is plain from the description of the Tukabahchee busk that it really consisted of a repetition of the same thing twice. First there is a day for arranging the preliminaries, placing visitors, etc., next a day of feasting, then a day of fasting, then a day of relaxation. Then comes a day of hunting corresponding to the day of preparation, a second day of feasting, a second day of fasting, and finally a day when they dispersed. The same idea of repetition by fours, or of the division of the long busk into two periods of four days each, is in evidence in the other accounts which we have of the long form, but the various elements are not always reckoned in the same manner nor do they occur in the same invariable sequence. The earliest account of a Creek eight-day busk which attempts to present the happenings day by day is that of Hawkins, which has been frequently quoted. As it is important to compare this with the accounts already given it is subjoined.

"*First Day.*—In the morning, the warriors clean the yard of the square, and sprinkle white sand, when the a-cee (decoction of the cassine yupon) is made. The fire-maker makes the fire as early in the morning as he can, by friction. The warriors cut and bring into the square, four logs, as long each as a man can cover by extending his two arms; these are placed in the centre of the square, end to end, forming a cross, the outer ends pointed to the cardinal points; in the centre of the cross, the new fire is made. During the first four days, they burn out these four logs.

"The pin-e-bun-gau, (turkey dance,) is danced by the women of the turkey tribe; and while they are dancing the possau is brewed. This is a powerful emetic. The possau is drank from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon. After this, the Toc-co-yule-gau [tokyûlga] (tadpole,) is danced by four men and four women. (In the evening, the men dance E-ne-hou-bun-gau [henîha obânga] the dance of the people second in command.) This they dance till daylight.

[9] That the eight-day busk was anciently more general is indicated, however, by Eakins's statement that it "formerly embraced a period of eight days, but now a period of four days." (Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 272.)

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"*Third Day.*—The men sit in the square.

"*Fourth Day.*—The women go early in the morning and get the new fire, clean out their hearths, sprinkle them with sand, and make their fires. The men finish burning out the first four logs, and they take ashes, rub them on their chin, neck and belly, and they go into the water. This day they eat salt, and they dance Obengauchapco [Obánga tcápko] (the long dance).

"*Fifth Day.*—They get four new logs, and place them as on the first day, and they drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon.

"*Sixth Day.*—They remain in the square.

"*Seventh Day.*—Is spent in like manner as the sixth.

"*Eighth Day.*—They get two large pots, and their physic plants, 1st. Mic-co-ho-yon-e-juh [miko hoyanīdja]. 2. Toloh. 3. A-che-nau [atcīna]. 4. Cup-pau-pos-cau [kápapaska]. 5. Chu-lis-sau, the roots. 6. Tuck-thlau-lus-te [tokla lasti]. 7. Tote-cul-hil-lis-se-wau [totka hiliswa]. 8. Chofeinsuck-cau-fuck-au [tcufi insákofáká].[89] 9. Cho-fe-mus-see. 10. Hil-lis-hut-ke [hilis hátki]. 11. To-te cuh chooc-his-see. 12. Welau-nuh [wīlána]. 13. Oak-chon-utch-co [oktcanitcka]. 14. Co-hal-le-wau-gee [koha liwagi, young soft cane]. These are all put into the pots and beat up with water. The chemists (E-lic-chul-gee [Aliktcálgi], called by the traders physic makers,) they blow in it through a small reed, and then it is drank by the men, and rubbed over their joints till the afternoon.

"They collect old corn cobs and pine burs, put them into a pot, and burn them to ashes. Four virgins who have never had their menses, bring ashes from their houses, put them in the pot and stir all together. The men take white clay and mix it with water in two pans. One pan of the clay and one of the ashes, are carried to the cabin of the Mic-co, and the other two to that of the warriors. They then rub themselves with the clay and ashes. Two men appointed to that office, bring some flowers of tobacco of a small kind, (Itch-au-chu-le-puc-pug-gee [Hitci atculi pákpągi] or, as the name imports, the old man's tobacco, which was prepared on the first day, and put in a pan on the cabin of the Mic-co, and they give a little of it to every one present.

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[88] Hawkins has made an error here on account of the close resemblance of two words. Gun is I'tsu, but this is Itcha' and the dance is usually called a "women's dance."

[89] This is called "buck bush" in English. The Creek word means "rabbit's carrying-basket string."

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"The Micco and counsellors then go four times round the fire, and every time they face the east, they throw some of the flowers into the fire. They then go and stand to the west. The warriors then repeat the same ceremony.

"A cane is stuck up at the cabin of the Mic-co with two white feathers in the end of it. One of the Fish tribe, (Thlot-lo-ul-gee [Łálogálgi],) takes it just as the sun goes down, and goes off toward the river, all following him. When he gets half way to the river, he gives the death whoop; this whoop he repeats four times, between the square and the water's edge. Here they all place themselves as thick as they can stand, near the edge of the water. He sticks up the cane at the water's edge, and they all put a grain of the old man's tobacco on their heads, and in each ear. Then, at a signal given, four different times, they throw some into the river, and every man at a like signal plunges into the river, and picks up four stones from the bottom. With these they cross themselves on their breats four times, each time throwing a stone into the river, and giving the death whoop; they then wash themselves, take up the cane and feathers, return and stick it up in the square, and visit through the town. At night they dance O-bun-gau Haujo [Obángá hadjo], (mad dance,) and this finishes the ceremony." [60]

It is to be noticed that four logs are burned up on the first four days, at the end of which time the men rub ashes upon their bodies and go into the water to bathe, and that in the second period of four days the same thing is repeated except that clay is added to the ashes. The division into two periods is further accentuated by the use of pasa on the first day of the first period and the use of the miko hoyanĭdja and the other medicines, the adilō'ga, on the last day of the last period. It is also to be observed that ási was drunk early on the first and fifth days. This separate use of the two medicines is of course a considerable variation from the later usage, and there are in fact many differences. Among these it may be noted that the yard was cleaned on the first day of the busk and not at some previous time as is now customary. Next that the new fire was made on the very first day instead of the fasting day, but the women did not clean out their hearths and relight them until the fourth day, whereas they do it now —or did some years back—immediately after the kindling. Since the Turkey women danced the turkey dance on the morning of the first day, just before the pasa was drunk, and women participated in the tadpole dance right afterward, it would appear that the square was not shut off when this medicine was taken or if it was it was only for a few hours, "from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon." It is to be noted that the men rubbed themselves with ashes and jumped into the river on the second day as well as the fourth and

[60] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, pp. 75-76.

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eighth. This would suggest three periods f fasting instead of two, but Hawkins unfortunately does not tell us just when the men fasted and when they were shut up within the bounds of the square. On the third, sixth, and seventh days we are told that the men sat in the square but we do not know whether they were fasting or lounging. At least they appear not to have been taking the medicine at that time. The conjuration with native tobacco was probably, as we know it to have been in later times, to keep away ghosts. I do not know what the ceremonial with the river pebbles may have signified. It will be noticed that this ceremony closed as usual with the mad or drunken dance.

Hodgson gives a short reference to a busk, probably the Kasihta busk, on the authority of a white trader who had been in the Creek Nation 15 years.

"Before the corn turns yellow, the inhabitants of each town or district assemble; and a certain number enter the streets of what is more properly called the town, with the war-whoop and savage yells, firing their arrows in the air, and going several times around the pole. They then take emetics, and fast two days; dancing round the pole a great part of the night. All the fires in the township are then extinguished, and the hearths cleared, and new fires kindled by rubbing two sticks. After this, they parch some of the new corn, and, feasting a little, disperse to their several homes. Many of the old Chiefs are of opinion, that their ancestors intended this ceremony as a thank-offering to the Supreme Being, for the fruits of the earth, and for success in hunting or in war."[61]

If Bartram's short account, which probably applies to the Atasi busk, is to be relied upon there were considerable differences between the busks of even the Upper Creek towns in his time. He says that they fasted and took medicine for three days, and on the fourth day lighted the new fire, prepared new corn and fruits, and had a feast followed by an all night dance. "This," he says, "continues three days, and the four following days they receive visits, and rejoice with their friends from neighboring towns, who have purified and prepared themselves."[62] If we reckon in all of the days given here this busk would extend to from 10 to 12 days, but the account of it is too fragmentary to be trusted very far. From an earlier statement of Bartram's it would seem that this town made an unusually clean sweep of its worn-out property before the ceremony. He says that "having previously provided themselves with new cloaths, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old pro-

[61] Hodgson, Jour. through N. A., p. 208. [62] Bartram, Travels, p. 428.

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visions, they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire."[63]

Milfort, however, says much the same, speaking perhaps particularly of Otciapofa. "Each year, in the month of August, they assemble by settlements (par habitation) to celebrate the harvest festival; then they renew all that they have used during the year which has just expired; the women break and shatter all their household utensils, and renew them."[64]

The four-day ceremony as recorded and observed by myself is very like the Tukabahchee ceremony cut in half, minus, of course, the shield ceremonial and in general stripped of much of the complication of the latter. The Eufaula ceremony always came in July and within recent years, instead of being determined by the moon, it has been fixed definitely on the 15th of July. The 13th is the day of assembly, the 14th the feast day, and the 16th the day when all separate. Thus the four are made out. I have seen part of this busk myself, but the following account from Jackson Lewis is reproduced by preference, since it gives the less corrupted ceremonial of an earlier period.

The first day of the ceremonial is, as we know, the day for assembling. "On the second day the women begin dancing about 4 p. m. They get through before dark and at dark the men and women dance together around the fire for from one to three hours. Then the men are informed by the chiefs that they must prepare to take the medicine on the morrow. The woman's dance is conducted always by the Hathagas (owners of the white); no other clans can have anything to do with it. While the women dance the chiefs send out men to cut four sticks of wood three or four feet long, which are brought in and prepared. Next morning all of the ashes of the previous fires are raked away and in the place which they occupied a quantity of new earth is deposited brought in from outside of the grounds. On this the fire-maker kindles a new fire made of four sticks of wood pointing to the four cardinal points. One person is detailed for the sole purpose of watching and keeping up the fire during the day on which the medicine is being taken. After the sun is fairly well up two persons are sent to dig up medicine roots and macerate them ready for treatment by the doctor. As the drinkers of the medicine exhaust the supply these two men bring up water to replace it. One of these belongs to the same clan as the town chief and outranks the other who is from the henihálgi, and is called his heniha.

"Any person can be detailed by the chiefs as replenisher of the fire. The maker of the fire, who is usually an old man well initiated into

[63] Bartram, Travels, p. 507.

[64] Milfort, Mém., p. 216.

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origin. On the night of the 15th all of the people—men, women, and children—engage in "the all-night dance." This concludes the busk for the year.

"Long intervals elapse between the first and second and second and third drinkings which the chiefs make use of to select young men to receive new names. A person is selected by the chiefs to inform the youths, and he goes to each of them letting him know what is planned. At Eufaula the men are usually named in pairs, and one of the two must be a person who has already been named at some previous time. One person, or more than two, may, however, be named. After the youths have been informed the chief usually employs his interpreter to call these young men up, and he calls out the new name the youth is to bear twice in a long drawn out voice as if the youth were far away. The youth does not come until the second call. When he comes up they give him a bit of tobacco, but in very ancient times they presented him with a small piece of a scalp taken from the enemy. It is handed to him by the chief's interpreter, and, having received it, the youth waves it over the head of the chief, toward the roof of his cabin and says 'Yu yu' upon which all in the cabin reply 'Mádō', thank you. Then he goes back to his seat."

If a man ate roasting ears before the busk no one would touch him or have anything to do with him. Such a person was given medicine last. At Hilibi if a person died during the busk they would fast, drink medicine, and dance all night and by the next noon take dinner as usual. They would do likewise if a man had gotten drunk. There is an indisposition to talk about sacred things, especially matters connected with the busk, unless one is fasting. One informant said "I can tell a little round the outside but not all for I have had my meals."

Swan gives the following account of a four-day busk on the authority of Alexander McGillivray, and it must therefore have been the ancient observance at Otciapofa:

"When corn is ripe, and the cassina or new black-drink has come to perfection, the busking begins on the morning of a day appointed by the priest, or fire-maker (as he is styled) of the town, and is celebrated for four days successively.

"On the morning of the first day, the priest, dressed in white leather moccasins and stockings, with a white dressed deerskin over his shoulders, repairs at break of day, unattended, to the square. His first business is to create the new fire, which he accomplishes with much labor by the friction of two dry sticks. After the fire is produced, four young men enter at the openings of the four corners of the square, each having a stick of wood for the new fire; they approach the new fire with much reverence, and place the ends of the wood they carry, in a very formal manner, to it.[64a] After the fire

[64a] Cf. pp. 581-582, 588.

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796 is sufficiently kindled, four other young men come forward in the same manner, each having a fair ear of new corn, which the priest takes from them, and places with great solemnity in the fire, where it is consumed. Four young warriors then enter the square in the manner before mentioned, each having some of the new cassina. A small part of it is given to the new fire by the priest, and the remainder is immediately parched and cooked for use. During these formalities, the priest is continually muttering some mysterious jargon which nobody understands, nor is it proper for any inquiries to be made on the subject; the people in general believe that he is then communicating with the *great master of breath*.

"At this time, the warriors and others being assembled, they proceed to drink black-drink in their usual manner. Some of the new fire is next carried and left on the outside of the square, for public use; and the women allowed to come and take it to their several houses, which have the day before been cleaned, and decorated with green boughs, for its reception; all the old fire in the town having been previously extinguished, and the ashes swept clean away, to make room for the new. During this day, the women are suffered to dance with the children on the outside of the square, but by no means suffered to come into it. The men keep entirely by themselves, and sleep in the square.

"The second day is devoted by the men to taking their war-physic. It is a strong decoction of the button snake-root, or senneca, which they use in such quantities as often to injure their health by producing spasms, etc.

"The third day is spent by the young men in hunting or fishing, while the elder ones remain in the square and sleep, or continue their black-drink, war-physic, etc., as they choose. During the first three days of busking, while the men are physicking, the women are constantly bathing. It is unlawful for any man to touch one of them, even with the tip of his finger; and both sexes abstain rigidly from all kinds of food or sustenance, and more particularly from salt.

"On the fourth day, the whole town are assembled in the square, men, women, and children promiscuously, and devoted to conviviality. All the game killed the day before by the young hunters, is given to the public; large quantities of new corn, and other provisions, are collected and cooked by the women over the new fire. The whole body of the square is occupied with pots and pans of cooked provisions, and they all partake in general festivity. The evening is spent in dancing, or other trifling amusements, and the ceremony is concluded.

"N. B.—All the provisions that remain are a perquisite to the old priest, or fire-maker.

"ANTH^NY. ALEX. M'GILLIVRAY."[65]

[65] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, pt. v, pp. 267-268.

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In this ceremonial, as in the Kasihta busk recorded by Hawkins, the fire was kindled on the morning of the first day, but here the similarity ends. The women were shut out of the square on this first day, whereas it is evident they were not at Kasihta. The pasa was drunk on the second day instead of the first. It is to be noticed that this is the only town of the Creeks, so far as we know, in which the ási was sanctified along with the corn. I am inclined to think that this description leaves out a great deal, since no mention is made of the miko hoyanidja or other medicines besides the pasa and ási, and because the bath with which the busk broke up is not recorded. The feasting day appears to have been at the end instead of the beginning.

The Apalachicola busk was held in the latter half of July, lasted only four days like the two preceding, and the days were named like those at Eufaula, the days of assembling, eating, fasting, and dispersing. About four people got together to decide on the war titles conferred at that time. One informant said they were taken from the names belonging to the clan of the aspirant's father, so that they changed every generation, but this was contradicted by everyone else. The people in the north bed selected some persons to call out the new names for the people in the west bed (the Chiefs' bed) who did not move from their places. Those who were to make the new fire were selected by the head men of the town from a certain clan and they held office for four years. This clan was probably the Bear. Certain men were also selected to place the four main sticks for the fire. The medicine was taken four times, just as the sun was on the eastern horizon, at noon, in the middle of the afternoon, and at sunset. Then they went to the river and dipped four times, facing the east. After that they could eat the new corn, beans, etc.

At Tuskegee, according to information obtained both by Doctor Speck and myself, there was a feast for the visitors from friendly towns on the first day, and during the same day the medicines were collected. On the second day the men fasted, the medicines were prepared and taken, the new fire lighted, a game of ball played, and finally the dancers bathed and danced all that night. The bath may, however, have occurred on the following morning (Silas Jefferson). The introduction of a ball game on this day seems unusual, as also another fact which I give on the authority of the last chief, that those who were going to fast rubbed their bodies with medicine and were scratched on the calves of the legs, the hips, and the hands up and down and crosswise, and also crosswise of their breasts. Two pots of hot medicine were taken first and then two pots of cold medicine later to induce vomiting.[66]

[66] The ball game and scarification seem to have been adopted from the Yuchi, who were neighbors of the Tuskegee after they moved west.

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796 The Coweta busk has been given up for some time. As the capital town of the Lower Creeks, specific information regarding it would be of interest, but the notes I have are somewhat confusing and suggest that some of them apply to an earlier form of the busk and some to a later form. According to one informant, the day of gathering and the day of eating were identical. On the morning after this day six men went out very early before they had eaten anything and brought in the medicines. Those who were going to fast also abstained from food. The medicine was prepared and taken about noon. Afterwards there was a ball game between the men and women, followed by a dance which lasted until midnight. They rested from midnight until morning and next day began taking the medicine again. They took it four times a day for four days, fasted, and danced the feather dance and the gun dance. The night of the fourth day there was an all-night dance, and during this time the chief usually talked to them, warning them not to commit adultery or have sexual relations within the prescribed limits and bringing his remarks home by pointing to a long pole on which hung switches, and the ears, nose, and hair cut off of some earlier offender. Early next morning all went to the creek and dived into the water four times. Then they came back, all ate salted food, and the visitors, of whom there would then be crowds, were given food. That night they danced again, sometimes until midnight, sometimes all night. On the following morning the visitors prepared to go, and they gave a sign with the hand which signified "You friends that are here, now I am going." After the visitors had gone the chief made another speech to his own people, after which they, too, prepared to leave. The new fire was probably lighted on the first day of the fast, and four ears of corn were brought in and laid upon the sticks or beside them. Four fishes were also brought in. My informants did not know what was done with them, but, judging by the treatment accorded the meat at Tukabahchee, it may be considered probable that they were burned in the new fire. In late times there were only three men in the north bed during the fast, and these moved into the south bed when visitors were admitted. Women and children were admitted to seats in the east bed in later times, but anciently it was occupied by the younger men. There were two medicine pots, one of which contained both pasa and miko hoyanīdja and was warmed, while the other contained miko hoyanīdja alone and was cold.

According to a second informant the Coweta fasted one entire day and took what they called "the white nourishment" three days longer. This included all kinds of food but meat and salt. While this is probably correct I am doubtful whether we have here the original custom or a stage in the decay of the institution, a compromise to alleviate the asperity of the abstinence.

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The account of this busk given by a third informant differs considerably and is probably the later form:

When the time was approaching for the annual busk the town chief and his assistants, who were all from the same bed, would call together those Coweta men who lived near by and they would fix upon a date for the busk. Those Coweta living at a distance were notified in the usual way through a messenger who brought each a little bundle of sticks about as large as matches. One of these was thrown away every day until two were left, when the man knew that it was the day when he must start. On the day represented by the last stick all were gathered at the square ground. That night they had a dance, and in the morning before breakfast some persons were sent out after the different medicines. When these individuals came back they took a bath and then ate for the first time that day. The rest of the day all spent as suited them, and that night there was another dance. Next day was the day of feasting. If there were delegations of visitors from other towns of the same fire clan they would come in, one delegation at a time, the Chiaha, the Broken Arrows, etc. Each delegation would first dance around outside of the square toward the northeast while the Coweta men danced around toward the southwest. Then they came in and the visitors sat first in the north bed which had been vacated for them. As they did so they raised their right hands toward the Coweta (who were seated in the Chiefs' bed) but in a direction over the heads of the latter with a kind of sweep and said, "Are you friends here?" After remaining in the north bed a short time the visitors got up again and passed around in front of the Chiefs' bed. The Coweta chief would say "Have you come?" (ȧlahkitcka') and the chief of the visitors would answer "Yes" (Hehé). Each of the Coweta would then give a piece of tobacco to the visitor opposite him and the latter would give another piece in return. Then the visitors made the same salute as before and passed out to eat. After that 10 bowls of food were brought into the square all prepared. Then the visitors' women were called in and a bowl of food was sent to each delegation of visitors. The women took this to their own people and they feasted upon it.

Before this feast was served, however, the Coweta danced the gun dance (tabŏtcka obánga). Part of them came in with guns loaded only with powder and discharged them. Then all would run down to the creek while another squad armed with guns or bows and arrows pursued them all the way. All then bathed and returned. Women danced this dance and while they were doing so four men sang for them, using a drum and a cocoanut rattle. My informant added that nowadays this dance would be unsafe, for someone would certainly be shot to satisfy a grudge. After the women had been dismissed

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796 with their bowls of food and the visitors had begun their feast the Coweta commenced to fast, though they had in fact eaten nothing that morning. They remained inside the bounds of the square and could not so much as touch one of those who had eaten. In case a man did so he was fined 25 or 50 cents. Each of the three medicines, pasa, miko hoyanīdja, and ási, was mixed in a different vessel. The bark of the miko hoyanīdja was scraped off before it was put into the pot, but the pasa was put in whole, after which water was added, the medicine man conjured it, and it was drunk hot. Two bearers carried the medicines in long-handled gourds to those who were to drink and uttered the yahola cry as they delivered it.[67] Each took enough of it to make him vomit. All of the fasters took the medicine four times during the day, but the day following was the regular busk day. Early on the morning of that day before sunrise four green logs about a yard long were brought in, placed in a cross shape, each stick toward one of the cardinal points, and, by means of flint and steel, fire was started at the place where all came together, the sparks being caught upon some punk (totpāfka). There had been a fire in this place during the preliminary days but before the new fire was lighted all of the ashes from this were cleared away along with all of those of the fire of the preceding year. In the time of my informant this fire was not distributed to the camps. The sticks were named after the points of the compass: South, wahála; north, holīna; east, hasōsa ("rising sun"); and west, akálatka ("toward the sunset"). Four roasting ears were brought in by persons who had special charge of them, but my informant did not know what was done with them. Two men called "the fishers" also went out and brought in four fishes. Probably these were all burned in the fire.

The medicine was taken at about 9, 12, 3, and 6 o'clock. After the first medicine taking they danced the tcidahaia obánga, with the usual feathered canes. One man led, accompanying himself with a rattle, and the others responded. The song goes like this:

hátci dá+hia
hátci dá+hia
hīha hī+hō+++

This refrain is repeated over and over many times. After this was over the dancers went down to the creek to bathe. By this time the four busk logs were about burned up and were all shoved on together and a big fire made up about which the people danced all night. When the fast was over they partook of a meal in which salt must be used. The dances on the last night were of various kinds, and at intervals the chief made speeches to his people, telling them how to behave, and in general inculcating virtues. Finally he

[67] This informant probably confused the customs connected with the ási with the usages regarding the regular busk medicines.

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THE CREEK BUSK: THE WOMEN'S DANCE

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THE CREEK BUSK: WOMEN'S DANCE AT THE OKCHAI BUSK IN 1912

p. 588(B)

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a. Box for tobacco, medicine, and drum in the Chiefs' Bed

b. Rite of the emetic

THE OKCHAI BUSK

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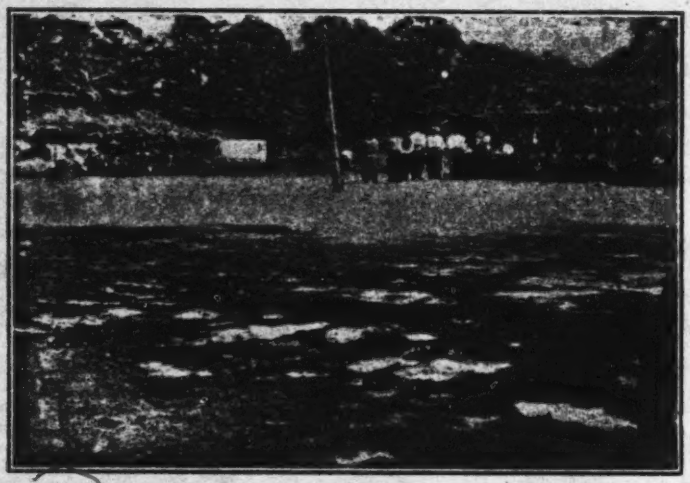

TAKING THE EMETIC AT OKCHAI

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a. The tcitahaia or "feather dance"

b. The tcitahaia or "feather dance"

c. The Square Ground just after the fasters have left to bathe in a neighboring creek

THE CREEK BUSK

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a. Drum

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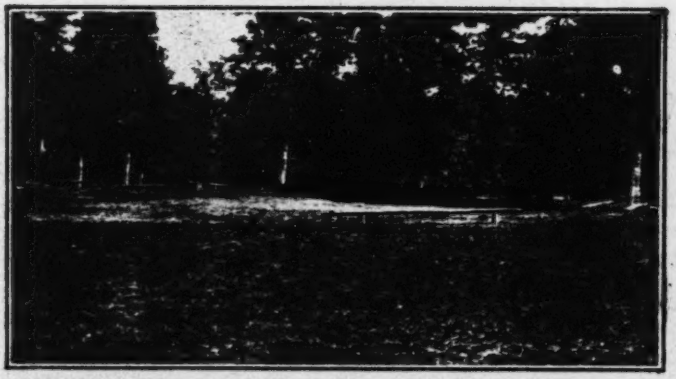

b. Ceremonial ground near Braggs, Okla., used by the Natchez, Creek, and Cherokee Indians

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c. House of the Kiln or Prophet Yahola

THE CREEK AND NATCHEZ INDIANS

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told them that if they lived through another year they must all assemble at the busk again. The next morning all went home. In commenting on the Coweta busk Bosomworth says that it was said to be an ancient custom for the chief to remain eight days in the square ground after the ceremony was over, a period which he spent "in performing several ceremonies and giving several necessary orders to his people." [88]

I find a conflicting note to the effect that the four busk logs were pushed in every day for four days, after which occurred the all night dance. Perhaps this applied to the older form of the busk. During this fast a man of the Aktayatci and two others were the only occupants of the north bed. Like one or two of the extant grounds, Coweta had a small house for the medicine pots.

I have myself witnessed the busks of Eufaula, Hilibi, and Okchai, all of which are similar (see pls. 8–12). At Eufaula the women's dance took place very late in the afternoon, at Hilibi it was very early, while at Okchai it was intermediate in time. The medicine at Okchai was taken considerably earlier in the day than at the two other places. The following additional notes were obtained from Tàl mutcàsi, the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łàłogàlga, who was familiar with the older customs.

When the ashes were removed from the old fire [89] by the warriors the camps were cleaned up and the warriors removed the ashes from them also. The women's medicine was placed southwest of the square, the men's medicine on the north end of the Chiefs' bed. The fire has been lighted in recent years with a match. Like the Tukabahchee they brought sand and laid it out in the place where the fire was to be lighted. Each of the four foundation sticks was conjured in advance and placed at the center of one of the four beds. A man was appointed to take charge of each stick and at a given word they approached the center and laid their four sticks down at the same instant in their proper positions.[89a] Anciently two sticks of post oak were used in making fire and later flint and steel were obtained from the French, and the sparks were caught upon true punk obtained from hickory or sycamore trees where the limbs have come away. When the punk caught fire, it was picked off, mixed with hay, and fanned until the whole burst into flames. The Àsilanabi and Łàłogàlga squares are within a few miles of each other, and nowadays (1912) they fast two days at Asilanabi and two days at Łàłogàlga to make the four.

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[88] The Bosomworth Journal Ms., S. C. Colls., p. 25.

[89] Burning coals were brought from the old square ground fire of the Okchai in Alabama by a leading man of the town and his benihs, kept alive during the migration west and buried about 2 feet under ground beneath the fire in the new square ground near Hanna, Okla. Ashes from the old Kasihta ground are also said to have been brought west for burial under the new ceremonial fire.

[89a] This treatment of the sticks is like that in the busk described by McGillivray. See p. 822.

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796 Before the Civil War the Lutcapoga busk included a fast of four days, from which it may be inferred that the entire length was eight. This would apply as well to Tulsa, the mother town. This fast was from the evening of the first day to the morning after the fourth. Medicine was taken every day.

One description of the busk now remains to be considered—the one given by Adair. This is in several separate fragments which have to be pieced together, and there is a running comparison with Hebrew customs which must be carefully excised. Of all accounts that have been preserved it is the most elaborate in detail, though the material is not systematically presented. Furthermore, we do not know certainly to which tribe or town it belongs. The context and the use of Chickasaw expressions throughout would lead us to suppose that we are having a Chickasaw ceremonial presented to us, but if so this is the only reference to a busk ceremonial in that tribe. As has been noted in several places, the Chickasaw were closely associated with the Creeks in many ways and had probably borrowed some of their customs—for a time there was a Chickasaw town among the Upper Creeks—but all other early writers are silent on the subject of a Chickasaw busk, and at the present day these Indians remember nothing whatever regarding such a ceremony. Their modern ceremonies are the Pishofa dances which differ from the Creek ceremonial in almost every particular. If this is a description of a Creek ceremony, it would probably be the busk of Coosa, Abihka, or Okfuskee, but this point along with the question whether it is Chickasaw or Creek must remain in doubt. In the square ground where it took place the Chiefs' bed was at the west, that of the Warriors at the south, that of the second men or henihâlgi north, and that of the Youths east. It is thus described:

"The Indians formerly observed the grand festival of the annual expiation of sin, at the beginning of the first new moon, in which their corn became fulleared; but for many years past they are regulated by the season of their harvest . . .

"As the first of the Neetak Hoollo, precedes a long strict fast of two nights and a day, they gormandize such a prodigious quantity of strong food, as to enable them to keep inviolate the succeeding fast, the sabbath of sabbaths, the Neetak Yah-ah: the feast lasts only from morning till sunset. Being great lovers of ripened fruits, and only tantalized as yet, with a near view of them; and having lived at this season, but meanly on the wild products of nature—such a fast as this may be truly said to afflict their souls, and to prove a sufficient trial of their religious principles. During the festival, some of their people are closely employed in putting their temple [the tcokofa] in proper order for the annual expiation; and others are painting the white cabbin, and the supposed holiest, with white

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clay; for it is a sacred, peaceable place, and white is the emblem. Some, at the same time are likewise painting the war-cabbin with red clay, or their emblematical red root, as occasion requires; while others of an inferior order, are covering all the seats of the beloved square with new mattresses, made out of fine splinters of long canes, tied together with flags. In the mean time, several of them are busy in sweeping the temple, clearing it of every supposed polluting thing, and carrying out the ashes from the hearth which perhaps had not been cleaned six times since the last year's general offering. Several towns join together to make the annual sacrifice; and, if the whole nation lies in a narrow compass, they make but one annual offering; by which means, either through a sensual or religious principle, they strike off the work with joyful hearts. Every thing being thus prepared, the Archi-magus [i. e. the medicine maker] orders some of his religious attendants to dig up the old hearth, or altar [in the center of the square], and to sweep out the remains that by chance might either be left, or drop down. Then he puts a few roots of the button-snake-root, with some green leaves of an uncommon small sort of tobacco, and a little of the new fruits, at the bottom of the fire-place, which he orders to be covered up with white marley clay, and wetted over with clean water.

"Immediately, the magi [the doctors] order them to make a thick arbour over the altar, with green branches of the various young trees, which the warriors had designedly chosen, and laid down on the outside of the supposed holy ground: the women, in the interim are busy at home in cleaning out their houses, renewing the old hearths, and cleaning all their culinary vessels, that they may be fit to receive the pretended holy fire, and the sanctified new fruits, according to the purity of the law; lest by a contrary conduct, they should incur damage in life, health, future crops, &c. It is fresh in the memory of the old traders, that formerly none of these numerous nations of Indians would eat, or even handle any part of the new harvest, till some of it had been offered up at the yearly festival by the Archi-magus, or those of his appointment, at their plantations, though the light harvest of the past year had forced them to give their women and children of the ripening fruits, to sustain life. Notwithstanding they are visibly degenerating, both in this, and every other religious observance, except what concerns war; yet their magi and old warriors live contentedly on such harsh food as nature affords them in the woods, rather than transgress that divine precept given to their forefathers.

"Having every thing in order for the sacred solemnity, the religious waiters carry off the remains of the feast, and lay them on the outside of the square; others of the inferior order carefully sweep out the smallest crumbs, for fear of polluting the first fruit offering; and before sunset, the temple must be cleared, even every kind of

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796 vessel or utensil, that had contained, or been used about any food in that expiring year. The women carry all off, but none of that sex, except half a dozen old beloved women are allowed in that interval to tread on the holy ground, till the fourth day. Now, one of the waiters proclaims with a loud voice, for all the warriors and beloved men, whom the purity of the law admits, to come and enter the beloved square, and observe the fast; he likewise exhorts all the women and children, and those who have not initiated themselves in war, to keep apart from them, according to law. Should any of them prove disobedient, the young ones would be dry-scratched, and the others stript of every thing they had on them . . .

"Their great beloved man, or Archi-magus, now places four sentinels [the dog-whippers], one at each corner of the holy square, to keep out every living creature as impure, except the religious order, and the warriors who are not known to have violated the law of the first-fruit-offering, and that of marriage, since the last year's expiation. Those sentinels are regularly relieved, and firm to their sacred trust; if they discerned a dog or cat on the out-limits of the holy square, before the first-fruit-offering was made, they would kill it with their arrows on the spot.

"They observe the fast till the rising of the second sun; and be they ever so hungry in that sacred interval the healthy warriors deem the duty so awful, and the violation so inexpressibly vicious, that no temptation would induce them to violate it; for, like the Hebrews, they fancy temporal evils are the necessary effect of their immoral conduct, and they would for ever ridicule and reproach the criminal for every bad occurrence that befel him in the new year, as the sinful author of his evils; and would sooner shoot themselves, than suffer such long-continued sharp disgrace. The religious attendants boil a sufficient quantity of button-snake-root, highly imbittered and give it round pretty warm, in order to vomit and purge their sinful bodies. Thus they continue to mortify and purify themselves, till the end of the fast . . .

"That the women and children, and those worthless fellows who have not hazarded their lives in defense of their holy places and things, and for the beloved people, may not be entirely godless, one of the old beloved men lays down a large quantity of the small-leafed tobacco, on the outside of a corner of the sacred square; and an old beloved woman carries it off, and distributes it to the sinners without, in large pieces, which they chew heartily, and swallow, in order to afflict their souls. She commends those who perform the duty with cheerfulness, and chides those who seem to do it unwillingly, by their wry faces on account of the bitterness of the supposed sanctifying herb. She distributes it in such quantities, as she thinks are equal to their capacity of sinning, giving to the reputed,

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worthless old He-ben-pickers, the proportion only of a child, because she thinks such spiritless pictures of men cannot sin with married women; as all the females love only the virtuous manly warrior, who has often successfully accompanied the beloved ark.

"In the time of this general fast, the women, children, and men of weak constitutions, are allowed to eat, as soon as they are certain the sun has begun to decline from his meridian altitude; but not before that period . . .

"The whole time of this fast may with truth be called a fast, and to the Archi-magus, to all the magi, and pretended prophets, in particular; for, by ancient custom, the former is obliged to eat of the sanctifying small-leafed tobacco, and drink the snake-root, in a separate hut for the space of three days and nights without any other subsistence, before the solemnity begins; besides his full portion along with the rest of the religious order, and the old war-chieftains, till the end of the general fast, which he pretends to observe with the strictest religion. After the first-fruits are sanctified, he lives most abstemiously till the end of the annual expiation only sucking water-melons now and then to quench thirst, and support life, spitting out the more substantial part . . . Thus the Indian religious are retentive of their sacred mysteries to death, and the Archi-magus is visibly thin and meagre at the end of the solemnity . . . The superannuated religious are also emulous in the highest degree, of excelling one another in their long fasting; for they firmly believe, that such an annual self-denying method is so highly virtuous, when joined to an obedience of the rest of their laws, as to be the infallible means of averting evil, and producing good things, through the new year. They declare that a steady virtue, through the divine co-operating favour, will infallibly insure them a lasting round of happiness.

"At the end of this solemn fast, the women by the voice of the crier, bring to the outside of the holy square, a plentiful variety of the old year's food newly dressed, which they lay down, and immediately return home; for every one of them know their several duties, with regard to both time and place. The centinels report the affair, and soon afterward the waiters by order go, and reaching their hands over the holy ground, they bring in the provisions, and set down before the famished multitude. Though most of the people may have seen them, they reckon it vicious and mean to shew a gladness for the end of their religious duties; and shameful to hasten the holy attendants, as they are all capable of their offices . . .

"Before noon, the temple is so cleared of every thing the women brought to the square, that the festival after that period, resembles a magical entertainment that had no reality in it, consisting only in a delusion of the senses. The women then carry the vessels from the temple to the water, and wash them clean for fear of pollution.

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As soon as the sun is visibly declining from his meridian, this third day of the fast, the Archi-magus orders a religious attendant to cry aloud to the crowded town, that the holy fire is to be brought out for the sacred altar—commanding every one of them to stay within their own houses, as becomes the beloved people, without doing the least bad thing—and to be sure to extinguish, and throw away every spark of the old fire; otherwise, the devine fire will bite them severely with bad diseases, sickness, and a great many other evils, which he sententiously enumerates, and finishes his monitory caution, by laying life and death before them."[70]

The costume assumed by the Archi-magus or fire maker at this time is thus described by Adair:

"Before the Indian *Archi-magus* officiates in making the supposed holy fire, for the yearly atonement of sin, the Sagan clothes him with a white ephod, which is a waistcoat without sleeves. When he enters on that solemn duty, a beloved attendant spreads a white-drest buckskin on the white seat, which stands close to the supposed holiest, and then puts some white beads on it, that are given him by the people. Then the *Archi-magus* wraps around his shoulders a consecrated skin of the same sort, which reaching across under his arms, he ties behind his back, with two knots on the legs, in the form of a figure of eight. Another custom he observes on this solemn occasion, is, instead of going barefoot, he wears a new pair of buckskin white moccasenes made by himself, and stitched with the sinews of the same animal. The upper leather across the toes, he paints, for the space of three inches, with a few streaks of red—not with vermilion, for that is their continual war-emblem, but with a certain red root, its leaves and stalk resembling the ipecacuanha, which is their fixed red symbol of holy things. These shoes he never wears, but in the time of the supposed passover; for at the end of it, they are laid up in the beloved place, or holiest, where much of the like sort, quietly accompanies an heap of old, broken earthen ware, conch-shells, and other consecrated things. . . . The American *Archi-magus* wears a breast-plate, made of a white conch-shell, with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the end of an otter-skin strap, and fastens a buckhorn white button to the outside of each . . . The Indian wears around his temples, either a wreath of swan-feathers, or a long piece of swan-skin doubled, so as only the fine snowy feathers appear on each side. And [he] wears on the crown of his head, a tuft of white feathers, which they call *Yatèra*. He likewise fastens a tuft of blunted wild Turkey cock-spurs, toward the toes of the upper part of his moccasenes. . . Thus appears the Indian Archi-magus . . . when he is to officiate in his pontifical function, at the annual expiation of sins.[71] . . .

[70] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 100-103. [71] Ibid., pp. 89-94.

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"Now every thing is hushed. Nothing but silence all around: the Archi-magus, and his beloved waiter, rising up with a reverend carriage, steady countenance, and composed behaviour, go into the beloved place, or holiest, to bring them out the beloved fire. The former takes a piece of dry poplar, willow, or white oak, and having cut a hole, so as not to reach through it, he then sharpens another piece, and placing that with the hole between his knees, he drills it briskly for several minutes, till it begins to smoke—or, by rubbing two pieces together, for about a quarter of an hour, by friction he collects the hidden fire; which all of them reckon to immediately issue from the holy Spirit of fire . . . When the fire appears, the beloved waiter cherishes it with fine chips, or shaved splinters of pitch-pine, which had been deposited in the holiest: then he takes the unsullied wing of a swan, fans it gently, and cherishes it to a flame. On this, the Archi-magus brings it out in an old earthen vessel, whereon he had placed it, and lays it on the sacred altar, which is under an arbour, thick-weaved a-top with green boughs . . .

"Their hearts are enlivened with joy at the appearance of the reputed holy fire, as the divine fire is supposed to atone for all their past crimes, except murder: and the beloved waiter shews his pleasure, by his cheerful industry in feeding it with dry fresh wood; for they put no rotton wood on it . . . Although the people without, may well know what is transacting within, yet, by order, a crier informs them of the good tidings, and orders an old beloved woman to pull a basket-full of the new-ripened fruits, and bring them to the beloved square. As she before had been appointed, and religiously prepared for that solemn occasion, she readily obeys, and soon lays it down with a cheerful heart, at the out-corner of the beloved square. By ancient custom, she may either return home, or stand there, till the expiation of sin hath been made, which is thus performed—The Archi-magus, or fire-maker, rises from his white seat and walks northward three times round the holy fire, with a slow pace, and in a very sedate and grave manner, stopping now and then, and speaking certain old ceremonial words with a low voice and a rapidity of expression, which none understand but a few of the old beloved men, who equally secrete their religious mysteries, that they may not be prophaned. He then takes a little of each sort of the new harvest, which the old woman had brought to the extremity of the supposed holy ground, rubs some bear's oil over it, and offers it up together with some flesh, to the bountiful holy Spirit of fire as a first-fruit offering, and an annual oblation for sin. He likewise consecrates the button-snake-root, and the cusseena, by pouring a little of those two strong decoctions into the pretended holy fire. He then purifies the red and white seats with those bitter liquids, and sits down. Now, every one of the outlaws who had been catched

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a tripping, may safely creep out of their lurking holes, anoint themselves, and dress in their finest, to pay their grateful thanks at an awful distance, to the forgiving divine fire. A religious waiter is soon ordered to call to the women around, to come to the sacred fire: they gladly obey.—When they come to the outside of the quadrangular holy ground, the *Archi-magus* addresses the warriors, and gives them all the particular positive injunctions, and negative precepts they yet retain of the ancient law, relating to their own manly station. Then he changes his note, and uses a much sharper language to the women, as suspecting their former virtue. He first tells them very earnestly, that if there are any of them who have not extinguished the old evil fire, or have contracted any impurity, they must forthwith depart, lest the divine fire should spoil both them and the people; he charges them to be sure not to give the children a bad example of eating any unsanctified, or impure food, otherwise they will get full of worms, and be devoured by famine and diseases, and bring many other dangerous evils both upon themselves, and all the beloved, or holy people . . .

"In his female lecture, he is sharp and prolix; he urges them with much earnestness to an honest observance of the marriage-law, which may be readily executed, on account of the prevalent passion of self interest. Our own christian orators do not exert themselves with half the eloquence or eagerness, as when that is at stake which they most value. And the wary old savage has sense enough to know, that the Indian female virtue is very brittle, not being guarded so much by inward principle, as the fear of shame, and of incurring severe punishment; but if every bush of every thicket was an hundred-eyed Argos, it would not be a sufficient guard over a wanton heart. So that is natural they should speak much on this part of the subject, as they think they have much at stake. After that, he addresses himself to the whole body of the people, and tells them, in rapid bold language, with great energy, and expressive gestures of body, to look at the holy fire, which again has introduced all those shameful adulterous criminals into social privileges; he bids them not to be guilty of the like for time to come, but be sure to remember well, and strongly shake hands with the old beloved straight speech, otherwise the divine fire, which sees, hears, and knows them, will spoil them exceedingly, if at any time they relapse, and commit that detestable crime. Then he enumerates all the supposed lesser crimes, and moves the audience by the great motives of the hope of temporal good, and the fear of temporal evil, assuring them, that upon their careful observance of the ancient law, the holy fire will enable their prophets, the rain-makers, to procure them plentiful harvests, and give their war-leaders victory over their enemies—and by the communicative power of their holy things, health and prosperity are

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certain: but on failure, they are to expect a great many extraordinary calamities, such as hunger, uncommon diseases, a subjection to witchcraft, and captivity and death by the hands of the hateful enemy in the woods, where the wild fowls will eat the flesh, and beasts of prey destroy the remaining bones, so as they will not be gathered to their forefathers—because their ark abroad, and beloved things at home, would lose their virtual power of averting evil. He concludes, by advising them to a strict observance of their old rites and customs, and every thing shall go well with them. He soon orders some of the religious attendants to take a sufficient quantity of the supposed holy fire, and lay it down on the outside of the holy ground, for all the houses of the various associated towns, which sometimes lie several miles apart. The women, hating sharp and grave lessons, speedily take it up, gladly carry it home, and lay it down on their unpolluted hearths, with the prospect of future joy and peace." [72]

After these lectures the women hasten to prepare food of the new year on the new fire which they have obtained, and meanwhile a dance takes place which is described in a different place by Adair as follows:

"While their sanctified new fruits are dressing, a religious attendant is ordered to call six of their old beloved women to come to the temple, and dance the beloved dance with joyful hearts, according to the old beloved speech. They cheerfully obey, and enter the supposed holy ground in solemn procession, each carrying in her hand a bundle of small branches of various green trees; and they join the same number of old magi, or priests, who carry a cane in one hand adorned with white feathers, having likewise green boughs in their other hand, which they pulled from their holy arbour, and carefully place there, encircling it with several rounds. Those beloved men have their heads dressed with white plumes; but the women are decked in their finest, and anointed with bear's-grease, having small tortoise shells, and white pebbles [or beads], fastened to a piece of white-drest deer-skin, which is tied to each of their legs [on the outside].

"The eldest of the priests leads the sacred dance, a-head of the innermost row, which of course is next to the holy fire. He begins the dance round the supposed holy fire, by invoking Yah, after their usual manner, on a bass key, and with a short accent; then he sings Yo Yo, which is repeated by the rest of the religious procession; and he continues his sacred invocations and praises, repeating the divine word, or notes, till they return to the same point of the circular course, where they began: then He He in like manner, and Wah Wah. While dancing they never fail to repeat those notes; then *Heleluiah*, *Halelu-Yah*, and Aleluiah and Alelu-Yah, 'Irradia-

[72] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 105-108.

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tion to the divine essence,' with great earnestness and fervor, till they encircle the altar, while each strikes the ground with right and left feet alternately, very quick, but well-timed. Then the awful drums join the sacred choir, which incite the old female singers to chant forth their pious notes, and grateful praises before the divine essence, and to redouble their former quick joyful steps, in imitation of the leader of the sacred dance, and the religious men a-head of them. What with the manly strong notes of the one, and the shrill voices of the other, in concert with the bead-shells, and the two sounding, drum-like earthen vessels, with the voices of the musicians who beat them, the reputed holy ground echoes with the praises of Yo He Wah . . . They continue their grateful divine hymns for fifteen minutes, when the dance breaks up." [73]

At the same time the âsi was being prepared. Adair continues:

"The Archi-magus sends a religious attendant to pull some cusseena, or yopon, belonging to the temple; and having parched it brown on the altar, he boils it with clear running water in a large earthen pot, about half full; it has such a stong body, as to froth above the top by pouring it up and down with their consecrated vessels which are kept only for that use: of this they drink now and then, till the end of the festival, and on every other religious occasion from year to year. Some of the old beloved men, through a religious emulation in sanctifying themselves, often drink this, and other bitter decoctions, to such excess, as to purge themselves very severely,—when they drink it, they always invoke Yo He Wah [i. e., always utter the yahola cry].

"If any of the warriors are confined at home by sickness, or wounds, and are either deemed incapable or unfit to come to the annual expiation, they are allowed one of the consecrated conch-shells-full of their sanctifying bitter cusseena, by their magi. The traders hear them often dispute for it, as their proper due, by ancient custom: and they often repeat their old religious ceremonies to one another, especially that part which they imagine most affects their present welfare; the aged are sent to instruct the young ones in these particulars . . .

"Though the Indians do not eat salt in their first-fruit oblation till the fourth day; it is not to be doubted but they formerly did. They reckon they cannot observe the annual expiation of sins, without bear's oil, both to mix with that yearly offering, and to eat with the new sanctified fruits; and some years they have a great deal of trouble in killing a sufficient quantity of bears for the use of this religious solemnity, and their other sacred rites for the approaching year; for at such seasons they are hard to be found, and quite lean. The traders commonly supply themselves with plenty of this oil from winter

[73] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 96-98.

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to winter; but the Indians are so prepossessed with a notion of the white people being all impure and accursed, that they deem their oil as polluting on those sacred occasions, as Josephus tells us the Jews reckoned that of the Greeks. An Indian warrior will not light his pipe at a white man's fire if he suspects any unsanctified food has been dressed at it in the new year. And in the time of the new-ripened fruits, their religious men carry a flint, punk, and steel, when they visit us, for fear of polluting themselves by lighting their pipes at our supposed Loak ookproose [Luak okpulosi], 'accursed fire,' and spoiling the power of their holy things. The polluted would, if known, be infallibly anathamatized, and expelled from the temple, with the women, who are suspected of gratifying their vicious taste. During the eight days festival, they are forbidden even to touch the skin of a female child; if they are detected, either in cohabiting with, or laying their hand on any of their own wives, in that sacred interval, they are stripped naked, and the offender is universally deemed so atrocious a criminal, that he lives afterwards a miserable life. Some have shot themselves dead, rather than stand the shame, and the long year's continual reproaches cast upon them, for every mischance that befalls any of their people, or the ensuing harvest,—a necessary effect of the divine anger, they say, for such a crying sin of pollution. An instance of this kind I heard happened some years ago in Talase, a town of the Muskohge, seven miles above the Alebama garrison.[73a]

"[The food having been prepared] the women now with the utmost cheerfulness, bring to the outside of the sacred square, a plentiful variety of all those good things, with which the divine fire has blessed them in the new year; and the religious attendants lay it before them, according to their stated order and reputed merit. Every seat is served in a gradual succession, from the white and red imperial long broad seats, and the whole square is soon covered: frequently they have a change of courses of fifty or sixty different sorts, and thus they continue to regulate themselves, till the end of the festival; for they reckon they are now to feast themselves with joy and gladness, as the divine fire is appeased for past crimes, and has propitiously sanctified their weighty harvest.[74] . . .

"When we consider how sparingly they eat in their usual way of living, it is surprising to see what a vast quantity of food they consume on their festival days. It would equally surprise a stranger to see how exceedingly they vary their dishes, their dainties consisting only of dried flesh, fish, oil, corn, beans, pease, pompions, and wild fruit. During this rejoicing time, the warriors are dresst in their wild martial array, with their heads covered with white down; they carry feathers of the same colour, either in their hands, or fastened

[73a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 100-102. [74] Ibid., pp. 90-92.

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to white scraped canes, as emblems of purity, and scepters of power, while they are dancing in three circles, and singing their religious praises around the sacred arbour, in which stands the holy fire. Their music consists of two clay-pot drums, covered on the top with thin wet deer-skins, drawn very tight, on which each of the noisy musicians beats with a stick, accompanying the noise with their voices; at the same time, the dancers prance it away, with wild and quick sliding steps, and variegated postures of the body, to keep time with the drums, and the rattling calabashes shaked by some of their religious heroes, each of them singing their old religious songs, and striking notes in tympano et choro. Such is the graceful dancing, as well as the vocal and instrumental music of the red Hebrews on religious and martial occasions, which they must have derived from early antiquity. Toward the conclusion of the great festival, they paint and dress themselves anew, and give themselves the most terrible appearance they possibly can. They take up their war-instruments, and fight a mock-battle in a very exact manner: after which, the women are called to join in a grand dance, and if they disobey the invitation they are fined. But as they are extremely fond of such religious exercise, and deem it productive of temporal good, all soon appear in their finest apparel, as before suggested, decorated with silver ear-bobs, or pendants to their ears, several rounds of white beads about their necks, rings upon their fingers, large wire or broad plates of silver on their wrists, their heads shining with oil, and torrepine-shells containing pebbles, fastened to deer-skins, tied to the outside of their legs. Thus adorned, they join the men in three circles, and dance a considerable while around the sacred fire, and then they separate.

"At the conclusion of this long and solemn festival, the Archi-magus orders one of the religious men to proclaim to all the people, that their sacred annual solemnity is now ended, and every kind of evil averted from the beloved people, according to the old straight beloved speech; they must therefore paint themselvec, and come along with him according to ancient customs. As they know the stated time, the joyful sound presently reaches their longing ears: immediately they fly about to grapple up a kind of chalky clay, to paint themselves white. By their religious emulation, they soon appear covered with that emblem of purity, and join at the outside of the holy ground, with all who had sanctified themselves within it, who are likewise painted, some with streaks, and others all over, as white as the clay can make them: recusants would undergo a heavy penalty. They go along in a very orderly solemn procession, to purify themselves in running water. The Archi-magus heads the bold train—his waiter next—the beloved men according to their seniority—and the warriors by their reputed merit. The women follow them in the

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same orderly manner, with all the children that can walk, behind them, ranged commonly according to their height; the very little ones they carry in their arms. Those, who are known to have eaten of the unsanctified fruits, bring up the rear. In this manner the procession moves along, singing . . . till they get to the water, which is generally contiguous, when the Archi-magus jumps into it, and all the holy train follow him, in the same order they observed from the temple. Having purified themselves, or washed away their sins, they come out with joyful hearts, believing themselves out of the reach of temporal evil, for their past vicious conduct; and they return in the same religious cheerful manner, into the middle of the holy ground, where having made a few circles, singing and dancing around the altar, they thus finish their great annual festival, and depart in joy and peace.[75]

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In a note he adds:

"They are so strictly prohibited from eating salt, or flesh-meat, till the fourth day, that during the interval, the very touch of either is accounted a great pollution: after that period, they are deemed lawful to be eaten. All the hunters, and able-bodied men, kill and barbecue wild game in the woods, at least ten days before this great festival, and religiously keep it for their sacred use." [76]

If this was indeed a Chickasaw ceremony it declined rapidly, and the declension had begun even in Adair's time, for he says: "As they degenerate, they lengthen their dances, and shorten the time of their fasts and purifications; insomuch, that they have so exceedingly corrupted their primitive rites and customs, within the space of the last thirty years, that, at the same rate of declension, there will not be long a possibility of tracing their origin, but by their dialects, and war-customs." [77] It may be added that a comparison of the earlier and later forms of the busk tends to bear out Adair's statement with reference to the lengthening of the dances and the shortening of the fasts and purifications. In other words, the social features progressively expanded at the expense of those of a strictly religious nature. It is a process common in all parts of the world where faith in an institution is gradually decaying. In this case the decay was due not so much to the direct influence of European missionaries as to the general modifying tendencies accompanying the advance of white civilization.

A word or two might be added regarding the busk of the Alabama Indians now living in Texas. It is rather curious to find that the Alabama in Oklahoma who have been in close contact with the whites still maintain a busk ground, while those in Texas, though they are

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[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 108-111. [76] Ibid., p. 98.

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796 [177] comparatively remote from white settlements of any size, gave theirs up so long ago that only the oldest people know much about it. The Alabama kept their busk some time in June. It was thought that after it was held the corn would not hurt anybody but before that it was wrong to touch it. If anyone did not take part in the ceremony the other people would not talk to him, let him come into their houses, or have anything to do with him. They said "it was wrong." At the beginning of this ceremony each family brought a quantity of ears of corn already roasted to the square ground and it was put up on a scaffolding made of canes and raised on forked posts to a height of perhaps 4 feet. Then all the people came there and danced until midnight. At about that time some of the roasting ears were shelled and a few men took a handful apiece and threw it over the house. This was done four times. What was left they ate. Then one man blew through a cane into a pot of medicine which had previously been heated and all had to drink some of this. After drinking it they went away and vomited it up. They used the pasa (Koasati pasé), but there was another medicine in the pot with it. The taking of this medicine was thought to bring good luck and health. Early on the following morning the new fire was made in the square by twirling a stick from a bush called hàsa'lâpo against a stick of slippery elm (bàkca). Previously all of the fires in the village had been extinguished, and each woman carried home some of the new fire. The new fire is said to have been made out in the woods and was brought into the square from there. Next day the people went home and roasted more corn which they brought to the same place. In the evening they danced, threw more corn over the roof, and again ate. They did this four nights in succession and then the ceremony ended.

The "old dance" was probably danced at this time, but I am not sure. As the Alabama performed it there was one drummer and he had one assistant to help him sing. There were five or six songs. The dancers went about the fire in two files, the women next to the fire, the men outside. Each dancer held his hands clasped in front and twisted his body from side to side as he proceeded. They danced around the fire once, stopping and completing the first song at the same time. Then they went around singing another song and stopped again at the end of one circuit. When the last song was taken up they went around twice before they stopped.

796 171 Ceremonies modeled after those of the Creek busk seem to have spread to the Cherokee within recent years, though certain changes have been introduced. When I first visited the few surviving speakers of Natchez near Braggs, Okla., the ceremonial ground of the Indians near by had the four cabins typical of Creek practice and was resorted to by Natchez, Creeks, and Cherokee,[77] but on my next

[77] See Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pl. 10.

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visit the ground had been moved and seven cabins had been substituted for the four (pl. 13, *b*). This was to conform to the sacred seven of the Cherokee and the seven clan system, each cabin being occupied by some one of the seven clans. Afterwards I visited two or three other ceremonial grounds in the Cherokee Nation, all with the same arrangment, but I know practically nothing regarding the ceremonies which take place there. My Natchez informant stated that anciently the miko used to stand in front of the fire in the ceremonial ground holding the peace pipe with the stem away from him and the other men would then come in succession, take it from his hands and puff four times toward the sky in the direction of the deity. This happened just before they began dancing. He also stated that they had about three special "stomp dances" during the year, accompanied by feasting and a ball game, from which it appears either that he is citing the Creek custom or that the Natchez usage was the same.

We will now give an abstract of the more important ceremonials which have been described:

THE CHIAHA BUSK (ELLIS CHILDERS)

First day.—Camping day, when the people go into camp about the square ground.

Second day.—Visitors' day, when visitors from towns of the same fire clan are entertained.

Third day.—Feasting day; visitors and townspeople both eat quantities of food.

Fourth day.—Visitors leave for their homes early in the morning. The men of the town fast.

Fifth day.—Fines are collected from those who failed to attend and the proceeds, being usually in the form of eatables, are consumed along with other food.

THE KASIHTA BUSK (HAWKINS)

First day.—Square cleaned. Asi or black drink is brewed. The new fire made. The turkey dance performed by women of the Turkey clan. Pasa prepared and drunk. The tadpole dance performed. They dance the heniha dance all night.

Second day.—Women dance the itcha dance (not the "gun dance" as Hawkins says). Shortly after noon the men bathe in the river. They feast on new corn.

Third day.—The men sit in the square.

Fourth day.—The women get and carry home the new fire. The first four logs are entirely consumed on this day. The fasters eat salt. They dance the long dance.

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Fifth day.—Four new logs are procured for the fire. Asi is drunk.

Sixth day.—The men remain in the square.

Seventh day.—The men remain in the square.

Eighth day.—Old man's tobacco (hitci pákpągi) is thrown into the fire. The fasters anoint themselves with clay and ashes and go to the river with much ceremony to bathe.

THE EUFAULA BUSK (JACKSON LEWIS)

First day.—Day of assembling.

Second day.—Women's dance is held during the day. A general dance all night.

Third day.—The new fire is kindled. Medicines are dug, prepared, and taken four times. Between drinkings speeches are delivered and names given out. They dance the tcitahaia dance. A general dance follows lasting all night.

Fourth day.—Day when the busk breaks up.

THE OTCIAPOFA BUSK (SWAN)

First day.—New fire is made. Four ears of corn are placed upon it. Asi is prepared, some poured into the fire, and the rest drunk. The new fire is distributed.

Second day.—The men take the pasa.

Third day.—The younger men go hunting and fishing; the elders stay in the square and take ási.

Fourth day.—There is a feast and dance this evening.

THE COWETA BUSK (FIRST INFORMANT)

First day.—Day of assembling and eating.

Second day.—The new fire is lighted and corn and fish burned in it. Medicines are prepared and taken about noon. They dance the tcitahaia dance and the gun dance. There is a ball game. A general dance until midnight.

Third day.—Medicines are taken again four times; they dance the tcitahaia and gun dances.

Fourth day.—The same.

Fifth day.—The same. That night the chief delivers speeches and they dance until morning.

Sixth day.—All bathe in the creek. They eat food that has been salted and serve their visitors.

Seventh day.—The visitors leave. The town chief makes a speech to his own people, who then leave for home.

THE COWETA BUSK (SECOND INFORMANT) [77a]

First day.—All assemble at the square. They dance all night.

Second day.—The medicines are gathered. They dance all night.

[77a] This is the "third informant" cited on page 587.

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Third day.—The day of feasting; visitors are entertained. The Coweta Indians fast and take medicines four times. The Coweta Indians dance the gun dance. They bathe in the creek.

Fourth day.—The fast day proper. The old fireplace is cleaned up and the new fire lighted. Four ears of corn and four fishes are brought to the place and burned. They take medicines four times; after the first time they dance the tcitahaia dance. They eat salted food. The chief makes speeches to them in the evening and they dance all night.

Fifth day.—All go home.

THE TUKABAHCHEE BUSK

First day.—All assemble.

Second day.—The women dance. Materials for the new fire and medicines are procured. They dance at night. The men sleep in the square.

Third day.—The men fast. Ashes are cleared from the old fireplaces, sand spread there, the new fire lighted, four ears of corn put into the fire and the fire distributed. Medicines are prepared and taken; some youths get the stomp dance medicines and take their busk medicines after they come back. All go to dive into the creek. They break their fast. There is an all-night dance.

Fourth day.—All rest; later some play ball. There is a feast on green corn and other vegetable foods. A council is held in the evening and directions sent out for a hunt on the following day. An all-night dance follows.

Fifth day.—The men go hunting.

Sixth day.—A piece of beef is brought and put into the fire. A war dance is held. A feast follows, consisting largely of meat; salt is used.

Seventh day.—There is a second fast.

Eighth day.—The chief delivers an address to his people and dismisses them for the year.

THE TUKABAHCHEE BUSK (OLDER FORM)

The first two days are the same.

Third day.—Ashes are cleared from the old fireplaces, and sand spread there for fires and to rest the copper shields upon. The shields are washed in the creek and placed on the sand. The fire is lighted, four ears of corn are burned in it, and it is distributed. Asi is prepared and given to the shield bearers. The bearers dance with the shields. Pretended scouts go out and on coming back are given tobacco. There is a stomp dance that night to which no women are admitted.

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Fourth day.—A gun dance is held, including a mock fight. All bathe in the creek. They rest the remainder of the day. The dumpling dance is sometimes indulged in in the evening.

Fifth day.—The men go hunting.

Sixth day.—A piece of meat is put into the fire. They bathe in the creek and the "busk is destroyed." The women dance. The old dance is danced. Necessary work is done.

Seventh day.—They fast all day. At night there is a stomp dance.

Eighth day.—The chief delivers a lecture to the people and they go home.

THE BUSK DESCRIBED BY ADAIR

First day.—The square is thoroughly cleaned and painted; new coverings are made for the seats; the fireplace is cleaned out. A feast follows, the remains of which are afterwards carefully removed. The men are called into the square in the evening to fast.

Second day.—The men fast all day. The medicines are taken. Women, children, and men in feeble health fast until noon and then eat.

Third day.—Food is brought by the women to the edge of the square where it is taken by the men and eaten, the feast being completed before noon. All of the fires are extinguished, and a new fire is made in the tcokofa. New corn, bear's oil, the pasa, and the âsi are put into the fire. The medicine maker ("archi-magus") lectures the people. The women get the new fire and take it home. Six old women dance in the tcokofa. (The âsi has been prepared while the above was going on and is taken from time to time.)

Fourth day.—The women prepare a great feast. A mock battle is fought. A big dance takes place. All plunge into running water.

Adair is somewhat confusing, inasmuch as he speaks of the ceremony sometimes as lasting four days, sometimes eight.[78] In the enumeration of the eight, the three or four days in which the medicine maker had to fast in preparation may be included. Accounts of the other ceremonies are too fragmentary to be analyzed; the value of the material they contain is principally as illustrative of the rest.

With the preceding may be compared the Yuchi ceremonial as recorded by Doctor Speck. He has begun numbering the days of this ceremony with that which we have called the "day of feasting," making seven in all, but before this is a day of assembling which, if added to the rest, makes the conventional eight. In order to compare this ceremonial more satisfactorily with the others, I shall venture to change the numbering by reckoning the day of assembling as the first.

First day.—The people assemble.

[78] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 199.

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Second day.—Materials for the new fire and the medicines are procured. A sumptuous evening meal is served. In the evening the big turtle dance takes place. The town chief delivers a speech.

Third day.—The medicine plants are brought to the square. The new fire is lighted. The medicines are prepared. The males of the town are scratched. The medicines are taken. The men go to the creek, wash off their paint, and cleanse their hands, the town chief remaining meanwhile in the square. Some ears of corn are rubbed over the bathers and some are thrown into the fire. The men in the square smoke tobacco. The town chief makes a short speech. Food is brought into the square and eaten, the fast being ended. The fasters retire to their camps to rest. The young boys have a ball game. The young men play ball. They dance all night in the square. (The feather dance is sometimes danced once before and once after taking the medicines; the gun dance was performed in the day by one town and in the evening by another.)

Fourth day.—The assembly temporarily disbands, most of the people going to their own homes.

Fifth day.—The people remain at home.

Sixth day.—The people reassemble at the square.

Seventh day.—A feast consisting of meat takes place at noon. At night there is a general dance.

Eighth day.—The ceremonial gathering breaks up.

The fourth or fifth day, perhaps both the fourth and the fifth, undoubtedly corresponded to the day spent in hunting mentioned in describing some of the Creek busks. In later times they merely went to the store instead of to the forest.

Some additional remarks may now be made regarding certain features of these busks. First we will take up the medicines. Anciently it is probable that four pots of medicine were used but now the number is reduced to two. The ási was brewed by itself and seems to have been used at a different time during the ceremonies from that in which the pasa and the miko hoyanīdja were taken. One of the chief reasons for giving up ási was the fact that the plant was not readily obtainable in the western homes of the Creeks. The pasa was usually in a pot by itself and it was warmed over a slow fire; in Chiaha the miko hoyanīdja was combined with several other medicines, among which were the ice weed (hitūtábi) and cedar, and taken cold. At Tukabahchee hitci pákpągi is used as a "foundation" for the warm medicine or adiloga, and the pasa was put with these, while the miko hoyanīdja was taken cold. The 10 medicines composing the adilō'ga were spiceweed, cedar, strawberry, grapevine, blackberry, mistletoe, horsemint, maremint, everlasting, and a forked oak limb, one of the arms of which while still on the tree had pointed toward the west and the other toward the south. Sometimes they added more medicines, as for instance the dewberry, and for

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each one they made a mark on the ground. At Eufaula they formerly used the pasa and miko hoyanīdja, but now have given up the pasa. The wormseed, taken just before the busk broke off, was considered a vermifuge. At Kasihta, according to Hawkins, the pasa, which the early writers call "the war physic," was drunk on the afternoon of the first day, while the miko hoyanīdja, and thirteen other medicine plants were put into two pots and taken on the last day.[79] The two bearers of the medicine in that town in later times belonged to the Alligator clan. At Tuskegee two pots of hot medicine were taken, followed by two pots of cold medicine. At Coweta the pasa, miko hoyanīdja, and ȧsi were each mixed in a separate pot. At the Fish Pond town on the morning after the men had finished drinking two men carried medicine to the women for their households. What was left was poured out around the fire. It was thought that the fire would become too hot if the medicine was poured upon it, probably from the magic qualities communicated. On the other hand a Hilibi man said that a little medicine was put on the fire by his own people and the Eufaula Indians to subdue it and in this way reduce the likelihood of fevers during the ensuing year.[80] Anciently the medicine was not poured out in this way, though the custom has been in vogue for some time. At Nuyaka the old fire was put out by two men, one of the Bear and one of the Wind clan, who walked around it four times and then threw medicine on it, after which it was rebuilt and the busk went on. The Mikasuki used pasa, miko hoyanīdja (Mikasuki ayikstȧnage), ȧdilōga, and ȧsi (Mikasuki ȧsoktce'), but when their square ground in Florida was destroyed by the whites and Coweta they gave up the last.

The following information was vouchsafed by an old Hilibi Indian during the busk at Eufaula:

When the medicine maker blows into the medicine all of the men in the beds are very quiet and attentive and are absorbed in what is going on. When he blows, the god that is in him goes into the medicine from the soul of the blower. He always blows facing the east so as to see the rising sun over the fire, for the fire was thought to be an important and useful thing which the Indians did not create but which was given them by God, and it was reverenced accordingly. The miko hoyanīdja is taken to ward off ills, to act as a kind of wall about the people against pestilence or any kind of disease. The mashed medicine should be taken home after the busk and used in cases of sickness. The pasa is "for the coldness of the corn." It is thought to be especially for the children and is put on the heads and hands of women, children, and men. Properly it is not a medicine but a thank offering for the corn of the preceding year.

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[79] See pp. 577-578.

[80] See also Adair's description, p. 506.

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The new fire at Eufaula is now lighted with a match, but earlier flint and steel were used and still earlier two sticks of wood. Jackson Lewis said that the lower stick was taken from a tree called afoslibakfa which looks something like a pawpaw and the bark of which may be stripped up from the root very readily (wahu tree—Loughridge). The twirling stick was a piece of cane. Six or seven men took turns at this and sometimes Jackson Lewis affirmed that a bow was used. The fire is now carried down to the camps but not to the homes. Pope, whose acquaintance was particularly with Broken Arrow, says that the base stick was a dry piece of poplar and the twirling stick a stick of sassafras, and that the fire making was done by the medicine maker.[51] This appears to have been the usual ancient custom. Bartram mentions the addition of resin as an aid in fire production.[52] Jackson Knight, who belonged to the western Abihka town, affirmed that the four foundation sticks were intended to point to the entries, as was also the case with the Tukabahchee sticks.

The busk dances may be summarized as follows:

Itcha obânga,[53] *called in Eufaula ni'ta obânga (the daylight dance).*—This is the women's dance which took place on the day just before the fast day proper. The atasa and attachments carried by the leading women seem to indicate that this was originally a scalp or war dance, and this view is strengthened by the fact that at Nuyaka the management of it was in the hands of the occupants of the south bed, all of whom belonged to Tciloki or war clans. On the other hand, at Eufaula it was conducted by the White clans.

Tcitahaia, popularly known as the "feather dance" because the dancers have canes in their hands with feathers fastened at the ends.—This is distinctly a peace dance. At Tukabahchee the feathers were attached to the canes by members of the Bird clan, and in some towns they were feathers of the little white heron (fus hâtka) or the white crane. In Tukabahchee only the White clans carried feathers of this kind, the Tciloki carrying eagle feathers. The song accompanying it is said to have been obtained by a certain man from the summer crane. He was traveling along in a certain place, heard this song, and wondered for a long time what caused it, but finally discovered that it was a crane. The entire dance was also under the supervision of the White clans, and nowadays it is said that the feathers and the dance both typify the peace with the American Government, while the clearing out of the white yard signifies that they are true to the obligations of that treaty. I was told that when the Tukabahchee danced the feather dance, which they no longer do, when they took up their feathered canes, they rubbed out the prints made by the butt ends of the wands with the soles of their feet.

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[51] Pope, Tour, p. 58.

[52] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 27.

[53] This word is confounded by Hawkins with Itca', "gun." See p. 578.

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796 *Obânga tcâpko, "the long dance."*—This was danced in the evening. At Tukabahchee it was danced on the evening of the third day, the dancers carrying feathered wands as in the feather dance, and it was also danced on the afternoon of that day, the dancers holding the shields. It is not now much used.

Tabotcka obânga, "the gun dance."—This was usually danced early in the morning after the fast day and took place on the ball ground. In this dance firearms were discharged, and human effigies were made and shot at. Sometimes they painted these with pokeberry juice, made them look as if they had been wounded or killed, and carried them out in that condition. The presentation was frequently so realistic that the uninitiated were very much frightened.

Obânga atcūli, "the old dance."—This was danced on the evening of the fast day after the fast was over and marked the time when the fasters were perfectly free. It was, however, danced only by the men, who at that time wore tortoise-shell rattles on their legs.

Obânga hadjo, "the drunken dance."—This was danced on the night after the preceding and usually when the concourse was ready to break up.

Paihka obânga, "the war dance."—This was danced at the time of the first stomp dance of the season at Tukabahchee by a man named itci yâhola.[53a]

The dumpling dance was sometimes danced for amusement at Tukabahchee on the evening of the fourth day.

Anciently Hawkins tells us that the turkey dance was performed by women of the Turkey clan on the first day of the busk and later on the same day came the tadpole and heniha dances, the latter at night.[54]

Many other dances, especially the animal dances, were introduced on the last night. They began then with the common or stomp dance (sätkita obânga) which lasted until about midnight, after which the animal dances were introduced and continued until morning.

796 539 Speeches were usually made by the chief's yatika, but the war speaker (holibonaia) might be called upon on occasions of national emergency and if any good speaker was known to be present among the visitors he would be invited to address the assemblage. According to one man a tâstânâgi was chosen to make a speech several times during the night of the general dance, and according to another speeches were made by men of the Tcilokis, but it was the general opinion that the yatika was chosen from any clan. Before he spoke a man would spit four times very deliberately to each side and repeat a formula. Formal speeches usually began with the word Ta-a-a intukâ'stci, "Now everybody's attention."

[53a] See p. 557. [54] See pp. 577–578.

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These speeches were couched in a particular form, contained certain peculiar words, and were uttered in a rhythmic manner which may be likened to the intoning of a religious service. The late Chief G. W. Grayson, of Eufaula, Okla., supplied a short speech after the ancient type which is incorporated herewith. Such a speech was known as the "long talk" and it was delivered by the chief's yatika or "long talker" just before the women danced the Itcha obánga or "daylight dance."[84a] Mr. Grayson says: "You will notice the speaker often ends his sentences with 'he says so,' because the chief never makes a public address. You will understand that this is not a stereotyped copy of a talk that would in every instance be delivered at such a gathering, but *about* such as I have often heard, only this is abbreviated, as it fails to touch upon many subjects usually included in such talks. . . As I have told you, if this style of public speaking was ever the only way the Creeks spoke, it is now long since obsolete, except at the 'busks' and just before entering the ball play." Mr Grayson has kindly furnished both a line for line and a free translation of this speech, the original being in the official Creek orthography.[84b]

Text With Interlinear Translation

Ta intukvstai!

1. Hayomate:
   Now:
2. Momet umvres en kuhmit?
   Thus it shall be I thought for them,
3. Tvsekvyv tate netta-kvcekv em vruecicit omvyenken
   and caused broken days to go about among the men.
4. Tvsekvyv, cuku-lice elkv-vhuske emvhunkvtkv hvyomvteket
   and the men, and those interned in the house, so great a number left of death
5. "Upunvkvn okvtetisos" vn kuhmit
   "He meant talk" they thought of me
6. Tak fettv tate vn cukulahken hecvyofv,
   My dooryard they two have come in when I see
7. "Muntos komit es vm ahlvpvtke estvmahet os," maket omes ce.
   So it is, I think, and am greatly satisfied, so he says:
8. Momen hvyomate?
   And now.
9. Pun cuku-pericvlke fullvranet omes.
   Our visitors will go about among us.
10. Momen ometo estomis.
    Even if that shall be.

[84a] See p. 609.

[84b] This system has the following peculiarities: v=ŭ (u obscure); r=l (nord l); e=i; i=ai; c=ts.

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11. Mvnnetvlke afvcketv eten haye omet,
The young sporting among themselves.
12. Etepelice omis mome ocet omes.
Laughing at each other they ofttimes do.
13. Mv tat momen umekares;
That must not be.
14. "Vnen ukhoyis omes" komvranat ocet ometokv,
"They probably mean me" because they may think.
15. Mvt momen umekares maket omesce.
That must not be, so he says.
16. Munkv este e vhericet.
Therefore the people must be careful of themselves.
17. Tak kaket umvres;
As they two sit down;
18. Momen enhesse take em vlaket unt on omatehkvn.
And if their friends shall come to them.
19. Humpetv hulwakusat en kvlepet.
Victuals no matter how humble, you must break with them.
20. Umvranet omes komis maket omesce.
Is the way I want it to be, so he says.
21. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
22. Este en hesse take.
Person's friends.
23. Hupvye estvmahen sehokvteto estomis.
Although they two may have stood very far away.
24. Hvyomat em vcukuperet.
If they are now visiting them.
25. Em fullet unt on omatehkvn.
And going about among them.
26. Vhericet vseket.
Take care to shake hands with them.
27. Em vpelet.
Laugh with him.
28. Etem punahoyet omvres.
Talk with him they should.
29. Maket omesce.
So he says.
30. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
31. Vmveulke sehokof.
My old people when they two stood.
32. Heyvt em afvcketvt omvtetis.
Although this was their amusement.
33. Vntatehkvn es cvhuse ome hakvtet unt omis.
And although I have about forgotten it.

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34. Hvyomat vhuckapkuse tayate.
Now that which will at least resemble it.
35. Afvcketv hayit.
Amusement I shall make.
36. Hvyomate tak kakin.
And I too shall sit.
37. Vm estomvranet omes komis maket osce.
Until it shall happen as it may, is my purpose, so he says.
38. Momen cuku-lice tate afvcketv tat.
And the interned-in-the-house, amusement.
39. En hayvrabvyet omes, maketos.
For them I shall provide, so he says.
40. Munkv cuku-lice a.
Therefore the interned in the house.
41. Awet estomet em vculvke tate em afvcketvt omvte.
They must come up, how their old ones that were, their amusement was.
42. En kerket ometokv.
As it is known to them.
43. A awet vsehoket umvres maket omesce.
They must come up and stand by it, so he says!

Free Translation

I deemed it proper for our people, and a few days since caused notice (broken days) to be given out among them; and when I see so many men and women who have been spared from death and who have heeded my notice, and come into the public square, I am greatly pleased, he says. And now we will have visitors coming to be with us to enjoy with us these exercises. We are glad to have them and when they come, let there be no loud and boisterous laughing indulged in by our young people, lest the visitors construe such hilarity as having been excited by their appearance and thereby be made to feel embarrassed. This must not be. Our people therefore are enjoined to keep close watch over themselves, doing nothing that the visitor might become offended at while we are here. And if friends shall come to your camp, you are enjoined to set before them such scanty table fare as you are able to offer, be it ever so little.

You will doubtless be visited by friends living in distant parts of the country; when they shall come you are asked to give them the glad hand of friendship, laugh and talk with, and make them feel perfectly welcome; this is my desire. And now, when my old people practiced their old customs in their entirety, the purpose for which we meet here to-day was their joy and glory. And although I have well-nigh forgotten those beloved customs, I shall at least attempt a semblance of them as best I may, and continue in the performance

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596 539 to the end, so he says. I propose to provide some amusement for our women, so he says. *So I enjoin upon our women that they* promptly take their places; and as they understand the custom of our forebears, they are asked to carry them out on this occasion, so he says.

796 During the busk names and titles different from those ordinarily used were employed. The women were called Hŏmpita haya ("food preparers"), or Tcukole'idji ("having a house"). This last term is said to have been extended also to the children—that is, it included all of those who remained in the houses instead of going to war or the chase. According to Cook it was applied in Tukabahchee only to the four women who acted as leaders in the women's dance. It was very bad form to refer to a woman or to women by the common terms. In important speeches the people of the Raccoon clan often said "I am of the Shawanogis," and this term also extended to related clans like the Potato and Fox. This applied particularly to Tukabahchee and was based on the close friendship between the Tukabahchee and the Shawnee. According to Alindja, one of the best Tukabahchee authorities, it was extended really to the whole of Tukabahchee town, the term Tciloki bringing about a separation. The Raccoon clan at Tukabahchee also called themselves Isti mikági doiyát ("chiefs that we are") or isti tcilokogi doiyát ("Tcilokis that we are"). The towns often had particular busk names. The Abihka would be known as Abihka nági, the Coweta as Kawita mahma'ya, the Kasihta as Kasihta láko. The Okchai called themselves by that name and the almost as common term Łálogálga. The Okfuskee and Tulsa people called themselves Kos i'stági ("people of Coosa"). The Pákán tallahassee used the word Pákana.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

General Remarks

756 Just as among the beings and objects in nature there were certain which possessed or acquired exceptional supernatural powers, so there were certain men who were possessed of such power or were mediums for its expression. They were also versed in the powers possessed by other created things and hence were partly prophets or soothsayers and partly doctors, while some of them occupied official or semiofficial positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.[88] If this means that the female doctors were more numerous than the male he is probably incorrect, since very little is said of female doctors by anyone else, and I have heard little about them personally. Perhaps Swan had reference in part to the common practitioners,

[88] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.

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persons who did not assume to have much supernatural power but were none the less acquainted with remedies and were called in in cases of minor importance. It is likely that such persons existed in almost every large family group and probably they were more often women than men. The old women were naturally the midwives. As with us there were home remedies known to almost every one, still others known only to certain of the old people, and finally medicines and medical processes which were the sole property of the various grades of shamans. 756

The "Knowers"

The principal individuals who combined medical and priestly functions were the kĭlas or "knowers," usually called by the whites "prophets," and the priests or doctors proper, known as alektca, or medicine makers, hilis-haya. There were only a few of the former and they are said always to have been men, but the second were more numerous, and had more to do directly with healing. While the kĭla might also be a good doctor his work in that line was generally confined to a determination of the kind of disease with which the sick person was afflicted.[88] He might best be described as the diagnostician, though his diagnosis consisted merely in the examination of an article of clothing belonging to the sick man. From this he claimed to be able to determine the nature of the disorder and he sent back word accordingly. Of course, many doctors, partly from having seen so many cases diagnosed by the kĭla, would be so expert that they would not ordinarily need to refer to him. The kĭla was something of a clairvoyant and probably a juggler also, and about this class many wonderful tales are told. It was thought that the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient kĭla. Natchez and Cherokee informants stated that twins would be prophets until they were 8 or 10 years old, when the gift would leave them, but if they were carefully watched they would become prophets when they grew up. My Cherokee interpreter had a brother and sister who were twins. His father, a man often outlawed, said that they frequently warned him of impending trouble. It was thought that triplets might know still more. In one case triplets told their father, who had been acquitted several times before the courts, that the next time he would be hung, and in consequence he took good care to keep out of trouble. It was the kĭla who learned events from birds as narrated on page 496. He could foretell death, sickness, or crime, and in the last case he would sometimes send his dogs to punish the offenders. 791 756

[88] The people of Tukabahchee and neighboring towns believed that Megillis Hadjo [mike hilis hadjo?], the prophet of Tukabahchee, met by Hitchcock in 1842, had control over the elements and could make the weather pleasant or disagreeable. They thought he could see into the future and predict events, and in cases of sickness he was frequently called upon to divine and to define the cause.—Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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It is asserted that a prophet could tell a person where to find a stolen horse; could shorten a road, making it draw together as if it were made of rubber; could make beads, finger rings, or bullets swim on the surface of the water; could throw a bead into the middle of a stream, make it swim toward shore, and cause another bead to swim out to meet it. He could determine whether a person's life was to be long or short by setting up a stake and making another object move toward it "by his power." If this reached the stake, the person's life would be long; if it fell short of it his life would be short.

Near Yahola station, on the Midland Valley Railroad, lived an old kíla from whom the station derived its name. He had cleared out spaces around his house said to represent the square grounds of the different Creek towns (pl. 13, *c*).

The Texas Alabama tell of a prophet who stopped rain by fasting and putting medicine on the water of a creek. Another stopped a storm which was brought on when his companion shot a buzzard, mistaking it for a turkey. On another occasion some people were in the middle of a lake and were surrounded on all sides by enemies who had lighted fires all about on the banks so that they could not escape during the night. However, a prophet among the people on the water made it rain, thereby putting out the fires, and enabling them to get through the lines of their enemy. Still another prophet brought on rain in the following manner. He sent a boy out to catch fish, and when they were brought he dived with them to the bottom of a creek and gave them to certain long, horned snakes living there which go under both the water and the land. These snakes are called in Alabama tcinto sáktco and have been described on page 494. Then these snakes made the rain fall. More often, however, rain making is ascribed to a separate set of rain makers.

Although he confounds knowers and shamans, it must be the former to whom Bossu refers in the following words:

"The savages have much confidence in their medicine men; the cabin of the jugglers (jongleur) is covered with skins which serve him as a covering or clothing. He enters it entirely naked and begins to pronounce some words which none understands: it is, says he, to invoke the spirit; after which he rises, cries, is agitated, appears beside himself, and water pours from all parts of his body.

"The cabin shakes, and those present think that it is the presence of the Spirit; the language which he speaks in these invocations has nothing in common with the language of the savages; it is only through a heated imagination that these charlatans have found the means of making it pass for a divine language, it is thus in all times that the most clever have duped the others."[87]

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[87] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. 2, p. 38, note.

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The "Fasters" or Doctors

The doctors or priests—at least a great majority of them—belonged to a class of learned men called isti poskálgi ("fasting men"), already referred to, who had received their training in certain schools of higher learning, if we may so denominate them. This training was called by the same name, pōskita, "to fast," as that given to the great town ceremonial, because in both fasting was an essential element. It was generally undertaken in summer when a person can lie out of doors comfortably and proceeds about as follows, according to Jackson Lewis, who had taken five courses in this aboriginal college. From one to four young men—Lewis did not remember parties of more than four—would go into the town and engage some old Indian who was known to have passed through the course and was prepared to teach them. Then all repaired together to a stream of water, usually a densely wooded creek bottom where they were not likely to be observed. As a further protection they threw together boughs so as to screen themselves still more completely, for during their stay there they did not want to be so much as seen. The "red root," miko hoyanîdja, was dug by each candidate, pounded up and put into a pot already provided, and the pot filled with water. Then the instructor came in and blew into the medicine through a cane. After blowing into it and singing over it he went away. This was supposed to give the medicine virtue. Then the novice drank great quantities of medicine at intervals of an hour or more, so arranging it that by noon he would have taken it four separate times. At noon the instructor came back and then began to tell the novice either by words or songs some of the most elementary things he had to learn. After talking for some time he went away. When the sun was just above the western horizon he came back and gave more instruction and left the man in the woods again.

The first thing that would be taught was how to treat gunshot wounds. There were three ways of treating these: (1) For flesh wounds, (2) for bowel wounds, (3) for head wounds. The instructor would tell what to do and what songs to sing in order to give virtue to the medicine they made for the wounds. Then the instructor said, "You sing this. Sing it as I have sung it to you." Sometimes these are merely recited formulas. When the novice had repeated as best he could what the instructor had told him the instructor criticized, and corrected him where he had made mistakes. Then he instructed him again and said, "Now go over it as I have." He did not stop because his pupil had repeated it correctly once but made him go over it often later, because unless it was gone over in just such a manner it would not be effective when used. After this

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756 he would teach the novice the proper treatment for any disease that the latter might desire to learn about. This instruction was continued for four successive days. Then the novice stopped because the teacher thought it better for him to think these things over and repeat them to himself for a while before learning more. After a month or two, during which the novice went back to the town, he could return to the woods and take another course. There were only slight variations between the methods of instruction of different teachers. Few ever took a complete course. After the fifth or sixth 4-day period one could ask the teacher to put him through the 8-day session, and after that he could ask the teacher to put him through the 12-day session, which was the last. There were very few teachers because very few had passed through the 12-day course. This instruction seems to have required fasting and isolation from noise because nothing was written and everything must be imprinted on the mind. Noises would disturb the process. After the first 4-day session had been gone through a blanket was thrown about the novice and water was poured upon hot stones inside of this until steam was raised, and after the novice was thoroughly steamed he went to bathe in a cold creek. Then he went home feeling very hungry but unable to eat much because his stomach was drawn up from fasting and the frequent taking of the red root emetic. None of the other tribes with which Lewis was acquainted had anything similar to this. After the education had been completed the old teacher would dig a trench in the ground, put a cane in the novice's mouth so that he might breathe through it, cover him with earth, put leaves over all, and set fire to them. Then he would order the novice to get up and, having done so, he was ready for any emergency in life. Lewis knew of many who had not gone as far as he but pretended to be proficient in all branches. One who had gone as far as himself was entitled to embellish his headdress with a feather of the horned owl, "which many fellows who actually know little wear to-day." It also entitled him to wear a buzzard feather, the insignia of the man able to treat gunshot wounds. Lewis once cured his son, who had been shot through the breast so that the air seemed to be coming out of the vent. The buzzard's feather was used because that feather was employed in cleaning out the wound before treating it. Lewis could appropriately wear a fox's skin, because he could cure a snake bite. These insignia ought to be worn only when a body of people is going to war or is collected on account of some danger. They served to single out the persons who were to be approached in case of trouble. If you find an Indian with a streak of red paint in one corner of the mouth extending down to the side it means he is capable of treating a person injured in an affray. The fox's skin is worn because foxes catch and eat snakes,

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showing that they, like the wearer of the fox skin, can conquer them. 756
A person who can cure a snake bite also has a tobacco pouch made of opossum skin, because an opossum can kill and eat a snake like a fox. In early times these men were always preparing young people for war, and, as much of this work had to be done at night, fine eyesight was requisite. The old teacher also taught his pupil how to trail and locate an enemy and he believed he was teaching him how to acquire extraordinary vision at night. That was why the latter used an owl feather.

When the novice fasted it was expected that he would have a 756
dream (or vision). Lewis himself dreamed that a very clear, beautiful day had dawned upon him and a number of white birds were coming toward him. When his teacher heard it he said, "That is a very good sign, a clear day and white birds. You will be a good doctor of gunshot wounds." 787

The only other account of this poskita known to me is the following, 756
from Hawkins: 785

"At the age of from fifteen to seventeen, this ceremony is usually performed. It is called Boos-ke-tau, in like manner as the annual Boosketau of the nation. A youth of the proper age gathers two handsfull of the Sou-watch-cau, a very bitter root, which he eats a whole day; then he steeps the leaves in water and drinks it. In the dusk of the evening, he eats two or three spoonfuls of boiled grits. This is repeated for four days, and during this time he remains in a house. The Sou-watch-cau has the effect of intoxicating and maddening. The fourth day he goes out, but must put on a pair of new moccasins (Stil-la-pica). For twelve moons, he abstains from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, peas and salt. During this period he must not pick his ears, or scratch his head with his fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons he must have a fire to himself, to cook his food, and a little girl, a virgin, may cook for him; his food is boiled grits. The fifth moon, any person may cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one spoon and pan. Every new moon, he drinks for four days the possau, (button snakeroot,) an emetic, and abstains for these days, from all food, except in the evening, a little boiled grits, (humpetuh hutke.) The twelfth moon, he performs for four days, what he commenced with on the first. The fifth day, he comes out of his house, gathers corn cobs, burns them to ashes, and with these, rubs his body all over. At the end of this moon, he sweats under blankets, then goes into water, and this ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended to four, six, or eight moons, or even to twelve days only, but the course is the same.

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756 785 "During the whole of this ceremony, the physic is administered by the Is-te-puc-cau-chau thluc-co, (great leader,) who in speaking of a youth under initiation, says, 'I am physicing him,' (Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to-misce-cha,) or 'I am teaching him all that is proper for him to know,' (nauk o-mul-gau e-muc-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha.) The youth, during this initiation, does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a like course with himself, and if he dreams, he drinks the possau." [88]

Those who had gone through with this training were held in high esteem, and there appears to have been no fast for persons not intending to become doctors except at the great annual ceremony. 756 791 In lore of this kind the Shawnee are believed to be very rich. The following quotation from Adair shows that, in spite of Lewis's claim that this ordeal was peculiar to the Creeks, a similar institution existed among the Chickasaw, except that admission was secured through inheritance:

"*Ishtohoollo* is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest: those friend-towns, which are firmly confederated in their exercises and plays, never have more than one *Archi-magus* at a time . . . They, who have the least knowledge of Indian affairs, know, that the martial virtues of the savages, obtains them titles of distinction; but yet their old men, who could scarcely correct their transgressing wives, much less go to war, and perform those difficult exercises, that are essentially needful in an active warrior, are often promoted to the pontifical dignity, and have great power over the people, by the pretended sanctity of the office" . . . [89]

It appears that this order of "magi" were the custodians not only of medical secrets but of secrets supposed to be of value in warfare, of the sacred myths, and of various branches of learning.

At the head of the priesthood in each town was the hills-haya or "medicine maker," who communicated the necessary spiritual qualities to the medicines at the annual busk, had general charge of the public health, protected all from ghosts, and so on. While fitness was regarded rather than descent in selecting this high priest, some towns at least preferred to take him from a certain clan, oftenest the clan of the miko. According to the last miko of Chiaha the medicine maker of that town was elected for four years only, at the end of which period he might be reelected or displaced. Speaking of the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century, Adair says: "the title of *old beloved men*, or *archimagi*, is still hereditary in the *panther*, or *tyger family*." [90] Bartram calls this functionary the "high priest." The Creeks "have," he says, "an ancient high-priest, with juniors in

[88] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 78-79.
[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 81.
[90] Ibid., p. 81.

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every town and tribe. The high-priest is a person of great power and consequence in the state. He always sits in council, and his advice in affairs of war is of the greatest weight and importance, and he or one of his disciples always attends a war party." "It sometimes happens," he adds, "that the king is war-chief and high-priest, and then his power is very formidable and sometimes dangerous to the liberty of citizens, and he must be a very cunning man if the tomahawk or rifle do not cut him short." [91]

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The following statement by the same writer bears out what Jackson Lewis says regarding the insignia of graduates and adds some details.

"The junior priests or students constantly wear the mantle or robe, which is white; and they have a great owl skin cased and stuffed very ingeniously, so well executed, as almost to represent the living bird, having large sparkling glass beads, or buttons, fixed in the head for eyes; this ensign of wisdom and divination, they wear sometimes as a crest on the top of the head, at other times the image fits on the arm, or is borne on the hand. These bachelors are also distinguishable from the other people by their taciturnity, grave and solemn countenance, dignified step, and singing to themselves songs or hymns, in a low sweet voice, as they stroll about the town." [92]

They were, of course, men who had taken some courses in medicine. Regarding the headdress it is instructive to compare those in some of Le Moyne's drawings of the Florida Indians.[92a]

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A graduate in medicine, or at least one of a certain degree, could paint a black circle round each eye when he went out at night. This was in imitation of the markings of the raccoon and signified that he could see anything in the dark. If a man had been killed at night a doctor having this power would paint these circles about his eyes and track the murderer right to his own house. He could see his tracks "like a spider's web" and follow them. One of the means for attaining this ability to see in the dark was by using the "star medicine" (kodjodjámbà hiliswa). According to Silas Jefferson, a man with a "skunk's pouch" was considered a great medicine man capable of charming any kind of animal. There was no uniformity, however, in the costumes worn by doctors. Outside of certain generally understood insignia each dressed to suit himself. One doctor is said to have carried big spiders and snakes about in order to scare people.

Frequent scratchings were resorted to by the medicine men that they might keep in health. A graduate in medicine was not allowed to eat catfish, for if he did it was thought that the fish bones would cause weevil to bore into the beans.

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[91] Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 34.

[92] Bartram, Travels, p. 512.

[92a] Le Moyne, Jacques, Narrative, Trans., Boston, 1875.

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METHODS OF PRACTICING

755 177 771 The method of bestowing medical treatment seems to have changed progressively after first contact with the whites, the religious features becoming less and less pronounced and the features connected with the administration of the medicine more and more important. 755 Adair's account of the performance among the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century is as follows:

"When the Indian physicians visit their supposed irreligious patients, they approach them in a bending posture, with their rattling calabash, preferring that sort to the North-American gourds: and in that bent posture of body, they run two or three times round the sick person, contrary to the course of the sun, invoking God as already exprest. Then they invoke the raven; and mimic his croaking voice . . . They also place a bason of cold water with some pebbles in it on the ground, near the patient, then they invoke the fish, because of its cool element, to cool the heat of the fever. Again, they invoke the eagle, (*Ooóle*) they solicit him as he soars in the heavens, to bring down refreshing things for their sick, and not to delay them, as he can dart down upon the wing, quick as a flash of lightning. They are so tedious on this subject, that it would be a task to repeat it: however, it may be needful to observe, that they chuse the eagle because of its supposed communicative virtues; and that it is according to its Indian name, a cherubimical emblem, and the king of birds, of prodigious strength, swiftness of wing, majestic stature, and loving its young ones so tenderly, as to carry them on its back, and teach them to fly.[93]

Of the Chickasaw of a later date we read:

"When they are sick, they send for a doctor, (they have several among them,) after looking at the sick a-while, the family leave him and the sick alone. He then commences singing and shaking a gourd over the patient. This is done, not to cure, but to find out what is the matter or disease: as the doctor sings several songs, he watches closely the patient, and finds out which song pleased: then he determines what the disease is: he then uses herbs, roots, steaming, and conjuring: the doctor frequently recommends to have a large feast: (which they call *Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah;*) if the Indian is tolerably well off, and is sick for two or three weeks, they may have two or three Tonsh-pa-shoo-phahs.[94] They eat, dance, and sing at a great rate,

[93] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 173-174.

[94] Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah is ta-shi ăt pishofa, "the corn is hulled."

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at these feasts; the doctors say that it raises the spirits of the sick, and weakens the evil spirit.[95] 755

Today they call these dances by a shortened form of the name, Pishofa dances; they will be discussed at length in a subsequent paper.

The later Creek performance was much tamer than the ancient ritual. If a person were sick and his family knew what medicine to send for they did so; if not they got the physician's advice and procured the herbs, and other things he ordered. The pot was laid out for him with the medicine plants near it and beside all a cane for him to blow through, also a chair for him to sit in and a small gift to encourage him. Four root stalks or branches of the medicine were generally used, and in gathering these the doctor sometimes faced east and sometimes one of the other cardinal points in accordance with the nature of the remedy. Bark and branches were generally taken from the east sides of the trees. The medicine was piled into the pot at the direction of the physician, along with water, after which he blew into it through the cane four separate times after as many repetitions of a sacred fromula suited to the kind of disease which he supposed the patient had contracted. He came four successive mornings, allowing the gift to remain where it had been placed until the fourth, when he took it with him. This gift might be some cloth—perhaps 10 yards of calico—money, a handkerchief, or, if the doctor were a woman, a shawl. Money has been given only in late times.

The points of the compass are frequently named in these formulæ. 755
The circuit is always sinistral or contraclockwise, and according to 823
the best information I could get it usually begins with the north
and ends with the east because the east is associated with life or 822
the renewal of it. According to one informant, however, it ended with the south, and there may have been variations in the formulæ because the colors attached to these points are admitted to vary. One of my best informants stated that they were either: North (honeta), green; west (akálatká), red; south (wahála), black; and east (hásosa), white; or else north, red; west, green; south, black; and east, white. The black is said to stand for the shade or something of that sort, but it does not seem natural that it should be to the south. The table following contains seven lists of colors applied to the cardinal points by several different bodies of Creeks, and a list from the Cherokee band of Natchez, obtained from several different authorities.

[95] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 310.

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	North	West	South	East
Chekilli, speech to Oglethorpe (Kasihta).	Red and yellow.	Black	Blue	White.[1]
Tuggle, Ms	Red	Yellow	Black	Do.[2]
Lasley Cloud, through F. Speck (Tuskegee).	Black	do	Red	Do.[3]
Big Jack (Hilibi)	Green	Red	Black	Do.
	Red	Green	do	Do.
Z. Cook (Tukabahchee)	Black	do	White	Red.
Silas Jefferson (Tuskegee)	Green	Black	Brown	Yellow.
Texas Alabama	Yellow	do	Red	White.
Watt Sam (Natchez)	do	do	do	Do.

[1] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 245.
[2] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[3] Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 23.

Here red and yellow is each applied to the north in three lists, and black and green in two; black is applied to the west in four lists, yellow and green in two each, and red in one; black is applied to the south in three cases, brown in one, red in three, and blue and white in one each; white is applied to the east in seven cases and yellow and red in one each. In conjuring for the dog disease the cardinal points were faced in the same order as that first given, ending with the east, but no colors were mentioned. In others neither the points nor the colors occurred. When he blew into the medicine, however, the doctor almost always faced east. An Alabama doctor would sing one verse of the medicine formula and call upon the north, sing another and call upon the west, sing a third and call upon the south, and sing a fourth and call upon the east. Then he would blow into the medicine and do the same thing again, passing around the circuit four times and blowing into the medicine after each circuit. Afterwards the patient was given some medicine to drink, and, wetting the ends of his fingers in it, the doctor rubbed some on the patient's ears, arms, legs, breast, and in fact his whole body. The north was referred to as the "yellow water," the west as "the black water," the south as "the red water," and the east as "the white water," and they were enumerated in that order, as in the table above.

755 According to my Natchez informant, himself a medicine man, the sick person must be laid with his head to the east. It was like administering poison, he affirmed, to turn the heads of the sick in any other direction, because "the east meant long life and good fortune while the west meant short life." Bark, roots, and other portions of trees or bushes which entered into the remedies were taken from the east side. If a person became weak and emaciated, his name might be changed.

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Blood letting and sucking were frequently resorted to. Swan says that the Indians sometimes believed that they had been supernaturally shot by enemies hundreds of miles away and would then consult a doctress. "The cunning woman tells them that what they have apprehended is verily true, and proceeds to examine and make the cure. In these cases, scratching or cupping is the remedy; or, as is often the case, sucking the affected part with her mouth, she produces to their view some fragment of a bullet, or piece of a wad, which she had purposely concealed in her mouth to confirm the truth of what she had asserted; after this, a few magic draughts of their physic must be administered, and the patient is made whole."[96] Jackson Lewis said that pricks were sometimes made over the affected part with a little piece of glass. The large end of a short piece of cow horn was then placed over them and a quantity of blood sucked out through a hole pierced in the small end. Silas Jefferson states that he was once treated by a snake doctor who simply chewed up a bit of root and, holding it in his mouth, sucked out the poison. Next day he was perfectly restored. But unlike the former European practice, blood letting was not resorted to in cases of fever.[97] 755

Eakins says that bandages and lints were applied in many cases. He continues: "The success with which they treat gunshot wounds, cuts, &c., is generally attributed to the care of the physician. The Creeks never amputate. They are skilful in the use of splints. For removing the wounded they use the litter."[97] 752 727 783

Adair furnishes some information regarding the treatment of those wounded in war.

"The Indians . . . build a small hut at a considerable distance from the houses of the village, for every one of their warriors wounded in war, and confine them there . . . for the space of four moons, including that moon in which they were wounded, as in the case of their women after travail: and they keep them strictly separate, lest the impurity of the one should prevent the cure of the other. The reputed prophet, or divine physician, daily pays them a due attendance, always invoking Yo He Wah to bless the means they apply on the sad occasion; which is chiefly mountain allum, and medicinal herbs, always injoyning a very abstemious life, prohibiting them women and salt in particular, during the time of the cure, or sanctifying the reputed sinners. Like the Israelites, they firmly believe that safety, or wounds, etc., immediately proceed from the pleased, or angry deity, for their virtuous, or vicious conduct, in observing, or violating the divine law.

"In this long space of purification, each patient is allowed only a superannuated woman to attend him, who is past the temptations of

[96] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271. [97] Ibid., vol. i, p. 274.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day." [90]

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man [752 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor 727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the tcokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle." [1] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[2]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
791 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[90] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 126.
[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[2] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 50.

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kerchief at a tree up which it ran like a squirrel. His opponent then produced a number of centipedes which ran about everywhere but hurt no one. The first then began to try to reach his antagonist in the shapes of various animals, sometimes burrowing under the earth to get at him. Finally, however, the other created a centipede which bit him in the hand and killed him. 756 791

As noted above, Shawnee doctors were in particular esteem among the Creeks, an esteem shared by all the other peoples in contact with them. Even the Texas Alabama know the reputed powers of Shawnee doctors well and told me the following story regarding the accomplishments of one of them. 756

Some Alabama were once traveling along with this doctor. One night they heard what sounded like the whinnying of horses. The Shawnee told them, however, that it was produced by some Comanche Indians, and when day came they discovered four of these Indians in a tree. By his medicine he caused these persons to fall asleep and then tumble to the ground without waking up. In a river bend near by was a great crowd of Comanche, but the Shawnee rendered himself and his companions invisible, so that the Comanche did not see them, and they passed safely on.

It was claimed that when a doctor died all of the medicine he had taken ran away from him in the forms of animals of various kinds, such as lizards and snakes. He died because or when these creatures became too powerful for him. As long as he kept his power over them they remained in him and were his strength. This is from Creek sources and is confirmed in substance by what is said about witchcraft, to which we will turn presently.

The following from Adair leads one to suppose that the medicine maker and other doctors whose positions were official or semiofficial were forced to undergo a special fast and purification before taking their posts, but I have no other evidence regarding it.

"The Indian priests and prophets are initiated by unction. The Chikkasah some time ago set apart some of their old men of the religious order. They first obliged them to sweat themselves for the space of three days and nights, in a small green hut, made on purpose, at a considerable distance from any dwelling; through a scrupulous fear to contracting pollution by contact, or from the effluvia of polluted people—and a strong desire of secreting their religious mysteries. During that interval, they are allowed to eat nothing but green tobacco, nor to drink any thing except warm water, highly imbittered with the button-snake-root, to cleanse their bodies, and prepare them to serve in their holy, or beloved office, before the divine essence, whom during this preparation they constantly invoke by his essential name, as before described. After which, their priestly

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756 garments and ornaments, mentioned under a former argument, page 84, are put on, and then bear's oil is poured upon their head."[3]

789 Certain things were done to ward off misfortune before any actual ill effects had been experienced—an aboriginal application of the ounce of prevention axiom. Hitci pàkpàgi, the "old man's tobacco," was kept on hand as a protection against the souls of the dead, and a great deal was paid for it. Some of the busk medicines were carried home to help guard the family from harm during the succeeding year, and just outside of and above the door of one of my informants was hung the adilōga or mixed medicine used at that time, while the other medicine, the miko hoyanīdja, was hung just to one side within. This is said to be a common custom with the old-time Indians. At intervals it was thought best to scratch the grown-up men in order to let out bad blood, supposed to have become clogged up inside of them. An Okfuskee Indian told me that he had only recently performed such an operation on 13 men at Nuyaka. These were adults; usually only the young people were scratched.

When a hunting party set out and as soon as it had gotten to the edge of the town, an old man would fall back behind the rest, chew up some sassafras or angelica root, and spit it out toward each of the cardinal points four times. Then he would walk back, singing, and do the same thing four times more. This ceremony was supposed to counteract anything that the spirits of the living might do to injure the hunt by thinking or talking too mich about the hunters or by making sport of them. When they came into the settlement on their return they built a fire in a place apart by themselves and sang and danced the stomp dance there all night to prevent the fires they had lighted during the hunt from creating diseases among the families.[4]

The following performance belongs in the same category as the phenomena just considered.

"In the Summer-season of the year 1746 [says Adair], I chanced to see the Indians playing at a house of the former Mississippi-Nachee, on one of their old sacred musical instruments. It pretty much resembled the Negroe-Banger in shape but far exceeded it in dimensions: for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight strings made out of the sinews of a large buffalo. But they were so unskillful in acting the part of the Lyrick, that the *Loache*, or prophet who held the instrument between his feet, and along side of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilst a lusty fellow held the other; by sweating labour they scraped out such harsh jarring sounds, as might have been reasonably ex-

[3] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 122.

[4] Further information on hunting ceremonies will be found on pp. 444-445.

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pected by a soft ear, to have been sufficient to drive out the devil if he lay anywhere hid in the house. When I afterward asked him the name, and the reason of such a strange method of diversion, he told me the dance was called *Keetla Ishto Hoollo*, 'a dance to, or before, the great holy one;'[5] that it kept off evil spirits, witches, and wizards, from the red people; and enabled them to ordain elderly men to officiate in holy things, as the exigency of the times required.

"He who danced to it, kept his place and posture, in a very exact manner, without the least perceivable variation: yet by the prodigious working of his muscles and nerves, he in about half an hour, foamed in a very extraordinary manner, and discontinued it proportionally, till he recovered himself."[6]

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The Indians were and still are satisfied that their system of doctoring is vastly superior to that used by the whites, but the system of white doctoring with which the Indians were formerly familiar can not be said to represent upon the whole a very perfect development of the medical art, and there has been more than one occasion for them to complain like the Chickasaw of Adair's time of the performances of "civilized" surgeons. The success of native remedies was due in part without doubt to the real medicinal virtues of the plants used, in part to the good effects of such a simple assistant as sweat bathing, and perhaps to a greater extent to the power of suggestion. Swan was, however, quite right in saying that the results were not ascertain as had commonly been reported.[7]

WEATHER CONTROLLERS

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Besides the healers there were men and women who professed to be able to cause rain or drought, to blow away the clouds, or "blow the rain" as they described it. When a storm was coming up an Alabama doctor would blow into his clasped hands, rub them together, and then wave them upward and outward. Then, even if it rained, the wind would not blow. The same person claimed to be able to cause rain or drought.

Hitchcock says: "There are people who affect to think they can make it rain and they go to a piece of shallow water and roll and wallow in the muddy water every morning for four mornings in succession. They have a pot of medicine in one hand and a buffalo tail in the other and sing continually for an hour or more. During this time they take black drink every morning."[8]

He also gives some interesting particulars regarding the meteorological activities of Megillis Hadjo, the prophet or kīla of Tukabah-

[5] Hīla ishto holo, "dance of the spirit or spirits"; hīla, "dance"; ishto, "big"; holo, what is "holy, sacred," or "supernatural."

[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 175.

[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.

[8] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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chee town. "In the summer of 1840," he says, "there was a great drought in the country, threatening the destruction of the crops, and the old man was called upon to make it rain. After performing his ceremony for a time he published that he was about to be so successful that the country might be flooded, and he thought it best to desist, which he did. Last winter (1840–41) was very cold and the old man was requested to moderate the weather; the present winter (1841–42) is remarkably mild and the old man explains it by saying that he blew off the cold of last winter so far that it has not come back." [9]

Some interesting particulars regarding rain makers are also given us by Adair. According to him, these persons obtained rain by interceding through their conjurations with "the bountiful holy Spirit of Fire," by which he supposes they referred to the supreme deity of the southern Indians, although in fact it may have been the particular being presiding over thunder.[10] This power of intercession had been established in ancient times and was not exercised merely at the option of its possessor, but was a duty which he owed to the community and which the community could demand from him. If he failed he was likely to be shot dead because it was supposed that he really had the power but refused to exercise it, and was thus an enemy to the state. However, he frequently saved himself by laying the blame upon lay infractions of the sacred regulations or taboos—among them the payments which they owed to him—which rendered his best endeavors unavailing. If the drought were prolonged as much as two years, a council was held at which they did not fail to discover that the trouble was due to persistent violations of the taboos by certain individuals, who were then promptly dispatched. Too much rain might work as much to the harm of the rain maker as too little, Adair instancing a case of a Creek rain maker who was shot because the river overflowed the fields to a great height in the middle of August.[11] These men had a transparent stone "of supposed great power in assisting to bring down the rain, when it is put in a basin of water," and this power was supposed to have been passed down to this one from a stone to which the power had originally been committed. As usual, this stone could not be exposed to the gaze of the vulgar without losing mightily in efficacy.[12] The control of the rain maker extended only to the summer rains and not to those which fell in winter, and it was believed that this was also of supernatural ordination. The summer rain had to be sought for; the winter rain was given unsought. If the seasons were good, the rain maker was paid a certain proportion of each kind of food. It is amusing to note that, like the apologist for obsolescent institutions at the present day, the Chickasaw rain maker with whom Adair conversed took the ground "that though the former beloved speech

[9] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 85.
[11] Ibid., pp. 85-86.
[12] Ibid., pp. 86-87.

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had a long time subsided, it was very reasonable they should still continue this their old beloved custom; especially as it was both profitable in supporting many of their helpless old beloved men, and very productive of virtue, by awing their young people from violating the ancient laws."[13] 791

There were others who claimed they could make the waters in swollen streams subside, and still another class of dew makers, who could also prevent the dew from falling. If there had been a dry spring someone might say, at the time of the first stomp dance, "There is a dew maker over yonder. Let us invite him to make dew for us." It is said that such a man could not assist anyone, even though he desired to do so, unless he were formally invited. The council having agreed, he would come over and go through with his incantations, and a treat was given him by way of payment. If, after this had been done, it still continued dry at the time of the next stomp dance, it might be suggested that a rain maker be called in. Eakins remarks dryly that "the weather, about the time of the distribution of the annuity, in some parts of the nation, falls under the scrutiny of the physic-makers."[13a] He probably means men of the above class.

According to early writers some doctors claimed to be able to control the thunder and lightning, but we are not informed whether they were a separate class or identical with one of those already mentioned. Bartram was present when a Seminole chief threatened one of the white traders that, if he did not comply with his requests, he would cause the thunder and lightning to descend upon his head and reduce his stores to ashes.

WITCHCRAFT

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The great powers which doctors and graduates of the native schools generally enjoyed, while in theory capable of being exerted for the good of the community and the individuals composing it, might equally well be perverted to their injury or destruction. Jackson Lewis said that the same learned men who acted as instructors in medicine and the lore of the tribe generally could teach witchcraft, but he added that they advised against it, saying that it was only for mischief and that anyone who practiced it would eventually come to a dog's death, because witches were killed. But since such knowledge was known to reside in the great doctors and graduates and it was never certain that it would not be employed, these people were constantly open to suspicion, and, as Swan tells us in the quotation given above, a doctor whose patient died was apt to suffer from the imputation of witchcraft and be put to death himself. An Alabama informant told me that when he was a young man an old woman was accused of being a witch and cut to pieces. This sus-

[13] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 94-94. [13a] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 277

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754 picion was also encouraged by the doctors themselves, who frequently attributed sickness to the doings of witches, and the public mind was kept wrought up to a condition of feverish excitement and fear by the most grewsome tales vouched for as absolute truth.

Says Stiggins:

"They are tinctured with superstition and believe anything of a marvelous report. As soon as it is announced that a man is acquainted with the work and dismal effects of the diabolical art, such as flying about the country far and near to poison such people as are inimical to him, or blowing and infusing a contagious air into a house in passing by it at night or into the nostrils and lungs of a particular person while asleep, by which the wizard often destroyed by instant death a person or an entire family that he did not like—the wizard it was said being seen at twilight only of an evening flying about to do mischief—whenever such a person was found, I say, it was not for him to exculpate himself. He was seized by a mob, tied to a tree with ropes, and lightwood piled around him and set on fire and he burned to death with as little compunction or remorse of conscience as, in the Roman inquisition, many of the most enlightened and well disposed to peace and good order, were brought to a fiery ordeal for the common good." [14]

Hitchcock learned that witches and wizards "can take the form of owls and fly about at night and at day return home in the form of women and men; that they can take the heart and the spirit out of living men and cause their death; that they can cripple people by shooting rags or blood into their legs through a reed or out of their mouths." "Formerly," he was told, "the Indians have been known to knock old women regarded as witches on the head and throw them into the water. Now there is a law against it, but even last year an old woman was killed as a witch." [15]

Adair says that "there are not greater bigots in Europe, nor persons more superstitious, than the Indians, (especially the women) concerning the power of witches, wizards, and evil spirits. It is the chief feature of their idle winter night's chat: and both they, and several of our traders, report very incredible and shocking stories. They will affirm that they have seen, and distinctly, most surprising apparitions, and heard horrid shrieking noises." [16]

754 888 Suspicion of witchcraft attached not only to doctors and graduates but to old persons of both sexes. I was told that formerly the Creeks did not allow their children to hang around where old people were conversing, for they thought that by standing around them and looking at them they would get into the habit of telling lies and also that

[14] Stiggins, Ms. [15] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.

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the old people might bewitch them. This does not speak very highly for the reputation for veracity enjoyed by the aged. It was thought that any old man who had passed through as many fastings as most of them had undergone at that time of life might be a wizard. It was feared that he might shoot a pain into the child or injure it in some other manner. One of my informants said he had often been slapped hard enough to be knocked down when he was standing near some of the old people. The following from Adair gives additional information regarding witchcraft among the Chickasaw, and contains the only extant account of an exorcism to preserve the house from evil influences. He says: 754 888

"In the year 1765, an old physician, or prophet, almost drunk with spirituous liquors, came to pay me a friendly visit: his situation made him more communicative than he would have been if quite sober. When he came to the door, he bowed himself half bent, with his arms extended north and south, continuing so perhaps for the space of a minute. Then raising himself erect, with his arms in the same position, he looked in a wild frightful manner, from the south-west toward the north, and sung on a low bass key *Yo Yo Yo Yo*, almost a minute, then *He He He He*, for perhaps the same space of time, and *Wa Wa Wa Wa*, in like manner; and then transposed and accented those sacred notes several different ways, in a most rapid guttural manner. Now and then he looked upwards, with his head considerably bent backward; his song continued about a quarter of an hour. As my door which was then opened stood east, his face of course looked toward the west; but whether the natives thus usually invoke the deity, I cannot determine; yet as all their winter houses have their doors toward the east, had he used the like solemn invocations there, his face would have consequently looked the same way, contrary to the usage of the heathens. After his song, he stepped in: I saluted him, saying, 'Are you come my beloved old friend?' he replied, *Arähre-O*, 'I am come in the name of Oea.'[16a] I told him, I was glad to see, that in this mad age, he still retained the old Chikkasah virtues. He said, that as he came with a glad heart to see me his old friend, he imagined he could not do me a more kind service, than to secure my house from the power of the evil spirits of the north, south, and west,—and, from witches, and wizards, who go about in dark nights, in the shape of bears, hogs, and wolves, to spoil people: 'the very month before, added he, we killed an old witch, for having used destructive charms.' Because a child was suddenly taken ill, and died, on the physician's false evidence, the father went to the poor helpless old woman who was sitting innocent, 754

[16a] This is Hill, "I come," followed by a simple exclamation. The being "Oea" is contributed by Adair's imagination.

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and unsuspecting, and sunk his tomahawk into her head, without the least fear of being called to an account. They call witches and wizards, *Ishtabe*, and *Hoollabe*, 'man-killers,' and 'spoilers of things sacred.'[17]

"My prophetic friend desired me to think myself secure from those dangerous enemies of darkness, for (said he) *Tarooa Ishtohoollo-Antarooare*, 'I have sung the song of the great holy one.'[18] The Indians are so tenacious of concealing their religious mysteries, that I never before observed such an invocation on the like occasion—adjuring evil spirits, witches, etc. by the awful name of the deity."[19]

This exorcism probably gives a clue to one of the reasons why the doors of the winter houses opened eastward; also the reason for the eastward orientation of most of the chiefs' houses in the square ground.

From the Texas Alabama I learned that a witch operated by taking a small raveling of wool which he talked to and blew upon and then sent through the air to the person he wished to injure. It would go into this person and prevent him from breathing, or hurt him in some other way, so as to endanger his life unless the trouble were located. If a doctor were called in he would take a sharp bit of glass, make some incisions over the place where the raveling had lodged, and, applying a horn to the spot, suck the foreign body out. These bodies looked black, red, or blue. My informant had seen the operation performed and the bodies that were removed. Besides woolen ravelings, ravelings of other kinds might be used, charcoal, and probably bones also. The injuries inflicted by charcoal were very serious.

Sometimes a man or woman who disliked a hunter would make medicine in order to keep him from killing game. The Alabama called this impiafõtcī, "to make him kill nothing."[19a] The hunter might go to a doctor, however, and have him make medicine to counteract that of the witch. A man once saw an eagle catching fish and used the impiafõtcī against it so that it could get nothing and almost starved to death. The eagle went out in all directions and caught nothing, but finally he went up into the sky and caught a fish there. Next day the same thing happened and now the man who had tried to bewitch the eagle began to get thin, and finally he died. The eagle had beaten him.

From the same source I learned that a man who had acquired the black art would sometimes wake up in the morning and see a hatchet or a knife on his breast. Then, when he killed someone by means of

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[17] Ishto, big; abi, to kill; holo, what is sacred; abi, to kill.

[18] Talos, song; ishto, big; holo, sacred; ontaloali, or intaloali, I have sung to them.

[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 176-177.

[19a] Piafo signifies "unlucky"; impiafõtci, "to cause one to be unlucky."

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his arts, he was sure to be found out and killed himself by the man's relatives with the same kind of weapon he had seen in his vision. 754

In speaking of doctors I have mentioned the native belief that they owed their power to animals of various kinds, but that if these became too strong they would kill the doctor and leave him. The same idea appears in witchcraft, although my information here is specifically from the Alabama and Koasati. When a man became a witch these Indians believed he was full of lizards, which compelled the person of whom they had possession to kill someone every little while. If he did not they would begin to bite him and would finally devour him. Such a person could be cured, however, by undergoing a treatment to expel the lizards.

After a would-be wizard had completed his course of training, the teacher directed him to begin by killing one of his own family. He gave him medicine and told him to go and do so immediately. If he said he would not kill his own people, the instructor answered "Go on! you said that is what you wanted to do." But if he urged him repeatedly to no purpose, he said, "All right! kill a fox squirrel and bring it here!" After he had done so, the instructor said, "Throw it on top of the house." The wizard-novice did this, and after the body had remained so long that it stank, the other said, "Eat it!" Then the instructor conducted him to a place where there was water and said, "Vomit on the water." So he threw up and discharged lizards until the water was covered. The witching powers went with them.

The Koasati cured a wizard by binding spunk wood all over his chest and belly, taking him to a place where there was water, and rolling him over and over there, when he would throw up lizards in the manner described.

A milder form of witchcraft was that exercised by a man or woman to inspire love in a person of the opposite sex. The following account of such a conjuration is also from the Alabama of Texas. 789

When a youth fell in love he would sometimes, especially if he were rejected, go to a male or female conjurer for assistance. Then the conjurer would take some tobacco, put it into a small deerskin sack, sing, and repeat the girl's name, and blow into it through a short cane. After doing this four times he would wrap it up in a handkerchief and give it to the young man. The latter would then put on his head band and his other fine clothing, sprinkle some tobacco over his clothes, make a cigarette, and blow the smoke all over himself. Then the girl would fall in love with him. A girl could make a man fall in love with her in precisely the same way. Sometimes, however, this would be tried in vain several times. Then the conjurer would go to a small brook and make a little water hole, perhaps half a foot deep. He would blow into this four times through a cane, repeating the girl's name each time. The youth

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789 would then come there, stoop down and drink some of the water, and throw it up again into the pool. He would do this four times. Then he would divide the dam that held the water in this pool and let it all run away. After that he would go to a large creek, remove his clothing, and dive under water four times. Then he would come out and lie in the bushes almost all day (having started out early in the morning) so that no one could see him. About 3 o'clock he started home, avoiding meeting or speaking to anyone. In perhaps a week he would dress himself up as before and go to see the girl he was in love with, who would then fall in love with him. Sometimes, however, the girl's mother would make medicine against him so that he could not succeed in spite of all his efforts.

DISEASES AND REMEDIES

General Remarks

164 To the discussion of this subject I will prefix the following general remarks from Bartram regarding the diseases of the Indians in his time. However superficial, it has the advantage of being the only statement of the kind belonging to an early period from a man competent to express anything like a scientific opinion.

"The Indians seem in general healthier than the whites, have fewer diseases, and those they have not so acute or contagious as those amongst us.

"The small-pox sometimes visits them, and is the most dreaded of all diseases.

"Dysentery, pleurisy, intermittent fevers, epilepsy and asthma, they have at times.

"The hooping-cough is fatal among their children, and worms very frequent. . . .

"They have the venereal disease amongst them in some of its stages; but by their continence, temperance, powerful remedies, skill in applying them, and care, it is a disease which may be said to be uncommon. In some towns it is scarcely known, and in none rises to that state of virulency which we call a *pox*, unless sometimes amongst the white traders who themselves say, as well as the Indians, that it might be eradicated if the traders did not carry it with them to the nations when they return with their merchandise; these contract the disorder before they set off, and it generally becomes virulent by the time they arrive, when they apply to the Indian doctors to get cured." [29]

753 We will now turn to the native conception of diseases and their remedies. This is best illustrated in the abstract by the following myth collected by Dr. Frank Speck from an old Creek medicine man known as Kabitcimala (Kapitca imala), or Leslie Cloud.

[29] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 43-44.

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"The old people, our Maskogi ancestors, were gathered together in the olden times. The deer said that he was the cause of a sickness. So he made the medicine for its cure. The panther said that he was the cause of one. It was he, then, who made the medicine for that trouble. Then again, the bear was the cause of one. He said that he made the medicine for that. Then the snake caused one, and made its medicine. Then again, the hog said he was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. The bird was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then again, the wildcat was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then again, the horse said that he was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then the beaver said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the dog said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the otter said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the fish said it was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the game animals said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the water animals said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the animals of the sea-shore said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the animals in the sea said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then the snake tribe said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the animals-moving-about-in-the-water said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then the small-living-things-in-the-water said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the raccoon said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then the white-hog (opossum) said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the sky-hog said he was the cause of one and made medicine for it. Then again, the rainbow said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the spirits of the dead said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the different kinds of dirt said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, new-fire-when-it-is-cold said it was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the buzzard said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, living-people said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the turkey said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the wolf-in-the-water said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the land-wolf said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the rattlesnake said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the owl said he was the cause of one and made

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753 the medicine for it. Then again, what-is-inside-of-me said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it."[20]

Mooney's Cherokee version of the "Origin of Disease and Medicine"[21] agrees with the above in tracing diseases to the animals, but according to this the animals created diseases in self-defence, and the plant creation volunteered the remedies which were to counteract them. The two stories agree, however, in tracing diseases mainly to the animals. This my Natchez informant also confirmed.

Long as is the list given by Speck's informant it by no means exhausts the alleged sources of disease and it is difficult to see how some of these could have prescribed their own cures. The myth does not perhaps represent the philosophical idea held by all doctors but it is universally true of the Creeks that animals along with many other things were supposed to occasion diseases, that there were cures for each, and that the remedies used often had some kind of resemblance, real or supposed, to the reputed causes. We will take up these causes of disease in order with the information which I have obtained regarding the method of treating each malady. The greater part of this information was obtained from Jackson Lewis, to which I have added a small amount from various other Indians and what could be gleaned from earlier writings.

756 The same evolution which had carried the Creeks to a point where they had schools of medicine, even though rudimentary in their nature, had brought about specialization both in the medicines used and in the practice of the different physicians. I have already spoken of the separate class of kîlas or diagnosticians and the common or family doctors. Among regular practitioners, however, there was a further specialization. Each doctor did not pretend to cover the whole field of medicine. One would treat for the deer, one for the many snakes, one for the disorders contracted from graves, and so on. It was a common thing to specialize on diseases due to thunder. A doctor might tell what he knew of the disease but refer the patient to another if the method to be employed in treating it had not been given to him.

According to my Natchez informant one who had been struck by lightning and had afterwards recovered could cure diseases of all kinds.

753 The diseases were named from those animals or objects which the symptoms seemed to simulate or recall. Thus the water animals brought diseases of the stomach, bowels, liver, etc., the fish and snail (lâbo), which exude slime like phlegm, caused diseases of the lungs, and so on. Sometimes the medicine contained only one thing, sometimes several. It would vary also with the class of creatures causing the trouble and the particular representative of that class.

[20] Memoirs Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 148-149.
[21] 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, pp. 280-282.

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Thus the same basal medicines were used in curing diseases caused by water creatures, but diseases caused by particular water beings such as the water wolf, the rainbow, or the water tiger, would require some additions. On the other hand we find single remedies employed in curing diseases due to the eye and tongue of the deer which are combined in the remedy for the deer disease. 753

Creek Medicines

Deer diseases.—There was a disease produced by the common deer, one produced by "the many deer," a name used for all species and varieties of deer, and one produced by a newly born fawn or a fawn still in its mother's womb. This last is called the "soft deer" (itco lowagi). The eye of the deer will produce eye troubles and the tongue of the deer throat troubles. The prescription for the common deer disease, the symptoms of which appear to be rheumatic pains in any part of the body, was to take some deer's potato (itco imaha), pāsa, itco hitcigu (a very fragrant weed looking something like goldenrod), cedar (atcīna), and a small piece of the tender end of the summer grapevine. These were to be boiled together and the person steamed in them, more being taken internally. As in all other cases to these ingredients must be added, in order to produce any results, the formula repeated by the doctor four times and blown into the medicine through a cane tube. In treating "the many deer" and fawn diseases the same medicines were employed, only the formulæ being varied. In treating the "deer eyes" disease itco hitcigu is used alone and in treating the "deer tongue" disease miko hoyanīdja. By other informants I was told that the common deer disease was rheumatism or neuralgia or sometimes a severe headache, and when it was incurable, or at least very acute, it was considered to be the "soft deer" disease (or "limber deer" disease—itco lowagi).

According to one of these men the "deer chief" disease (itco miko) was a name given to rheumatism when it was in one place, but evidently it was rheumatism of the severe type, for Jackson Lewis said that unless well treated it swelled the joints and sometimes lamed a man for life. For it he used itco imaha and the bark scraped off of the wild crabapple (itco impākana) in some quantity, a sprig of cedar, and four roots of the pāsa. The swollen and inflamed places were steamed with this. 753 539

Tuggle has the following about this disease:

"Echo-polsa [itco pulsi]—Deer sickness.

"The medicine is made from the deer-potato or echo-mahhar [itco imaha], mixed in water.

"Song:

Hohtikes.
Hohtikes.

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[539]

Hohtikee.
Echo.
Hohchetice.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Echo.
Mikkatee.

'Translation:

Hohtikee [hâtki], white.
Echo [itco], deer.
Hachetice [from hatci], tail.
Hotikee, white.
Echo, deer.
Mikkatee [mikati], has been king." [32]

According to Jackson Lewis, there is a grub which lives in the nostrils of the deer and comes out of them in the fall as a little butterfly called kauûlgi in Hitchiti and tcoânâga (itco hanako) in Muskogee. This is a good sign of the presence of deer and is sometimes found forming in deer. By the Indians it is considered to be the cause of catarrh. This belief was confirmed by Zachariah Cook. In treating it Jackson Lewis used the itco hitcigu and the itco imaha, with which might be included the pâsa. After these have been boiled in water and allowed to cool they are inhaled through the nostrils. He declared that he had cured numerous cases by means of this medicine.

The bear disease.—The patient is taken with a violent fever, accompanied by thirst for cold water, and he has frequent evacuations of the bowels. This trouble Jackson Lewis said was not very difficult to control. According to Zachariah Cook, this disease is called ponâtâ haledji, which refers to the bear without naming him. The patient has a high fever and is out of his head; he is troubled about his mouth, pulls at the bed clothes, and gathers them in his arms as if he would pull them all together. One doctor told Cook that he could always cure this disease if he could get to the patient in time.[33]

The blood-of-the-bear disease.—The patient vomits up blood, or at least spits it up continually. The treatment is to take roots of the miko hoyanîdja, and roots of the frostweed (hitutape), mix these with water and give the decoction to the patient internally. If this does not appear to be as efficacious as desired, parings of the root of the kistuwa, the "red root" of the whites, are put into a bottle along with cold water and some of this liquid drunk from time to time.

The bison disease.—I learned that there was such a disease but no facts regarding it.

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[32] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[33] See p. 644.

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The rabbit disease.—The patient has pain in the lower part of the abdomen and is unable to pass water easily, what is passed being very red. The eyes are very yellow and there is sometimes paralysis in the lower parts of the body. Treatment: A bundle of stalks of a certain plant, for which I was unable to get either the native or English name, is procured, boiled in water, and administered. This plant is described as a grass or reed growing near streams to the height of 1½ or 2 feet, having leaves much resembling the leaves of the cane. The fruit is very thin and flutters from the stalk, which is jointed. Jackson Lewis was so enthusiastic about the medicinal properties of this plant that he declared it had been known to cure even those cases accompanied by paralysis of the lower limbs, and no formula was needed with it. 753

The raccoon disease.—This usually afflicts children; the patients are in poor health with greatly distended stomachs.

The squirrel disease.—The patient's gums are so inflamed that he can hardly eat. Treatment: A small quantity of bark of the red oak and hickory is taken from the places where the tree trunks enter the ground, boiled in water, and cooled, after which the patient rinses out his mouth with the infusion. He must also refrain from eating anything that is very soft.

The dog disease.—There are severe pains in the bowels and stomach accompanied by vomiting.[24] Treatment: Use parings of sassafras roots, adding to them a small handful of a fine grass known to the Indians as "dog's bed." These are boiled in water and a little given to the patient to drink warm. In repeating the formula for this disease the points of the compass are successively addressed but no colors are mentioned. 753 539

Tuggle has the following to say about the dog disease:

"Cramps in the stomach, or dog-sickness, is caused by a dog.

"The medicine is prepared from tobacco, cut up and put in water, making a weak tea, which the patient drinks and also uses as a wash.

"The song is sung while blowing in the water, in order to properly medicate the preparation. Each stanza is repeated four times and after each the doctor blows into the medicine. Finally both stanzas are sung four times and blowing done between.

Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Efa
Polsa
Thlohko
Elahtee
Hahlahtee
St Chay

[24] According to Hitchcock, Megillis Hadjo, a famous Tukabeehee Kiln living in 1842, also identified the dog disease with pains in the bowels.

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Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
St Chay

"Translation:

Yohholee [yulihl], be easy
Efa [ifa], dog
Polsa [pulsi], sickness
Thlahkko [łáko], large
Elathe [ilitá], dead
Hohlahtee [hálati, to hold, to pull?], cramping
St Chay [tcē], stop, or like *Selah*. It merely indicates the end of a sentence, or an idea.

"In the second verse—

Hohlohtee [hálati], holding him, or, it's got him." [25]

The wolf disease.—The symptoms and treatment are the same as for the dog disease.[26] But see below.

The rat or mouse disease.—The only information I have regarding a disease caused by rats or mice is the following from the Tuggle manuscript. It will be seen that it may have been only the wolf disease under another name:

"The medicine for pains in the temple (headache) is mikko-whe-ar-ne-chah [miko hoyanīdja], or red-root.

"It is put in water and during the chant or song the medicine man blows in the water through a cane and after the song is complete, each verse being sung four times and then the entire song four times, the water is poured over the patient's head. This is repeated four days, always before eating in the morning.

"This sickness is caused by rats or mice, and the song is to drive them away. Some say Yaha, the Wolf, causes it. It is sung in a low monotonous tone—a chant. Each verse is repeated four times and after each repetition the doctor blows into the medicine.

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee chah-tee
Holochee chah-tee
Man-kaht-kan
Hah-yeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee lahnee
Holochee lahnee

[25] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[26] Megillis Hadjo attributed "stricture in the bladder" to obsession by a mad wolf.

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Mankaht kan
Hahyeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Chaysee lustee
Holochee lustee
Man kohtkan
Hohyeen
Yohfeenohhokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee hutkee
Holochee hutkee
Maukabbkan
Hahyeen
Yohfee nohhokee

"The translation of this song is as follows:

Hohnohnohhee, gallop slowly away (like a rat galloping)
Chaysee [tcisi], rat or mouse
Chahtee [tcati], red
Holochee [aholotci], cloud
Mauhobt can [? (tcaka, my head)], my head
Hohyeen [haihoyin], hot
Yoh fee noh-ho-kee [finôki, shaking?], roaring

"Literally:

Gallop away
Gallop away
Gallop away
Red rat
Red cloud
My head
Is hot
Is roaring

"The 'Red cloud' may refer to a rush of blood to the head.

"In the second verse the color of the rat is changed to 'lohnee' [lâni], yellow, and so with the cloud.

"In the third verse the rat is 'lustee' [lâsti], black, and also the cloud.

"In the fourth verse the rat is 'white' [hâtki], as is also the cloud."

The lion disease (*Lion*—"*Person-eater*," *Isti-papa*).—According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms of this are a kind of cramp or "holding" inside of the chest. According to Zachariah Cook this disease is cholera morbus. Jackson Lewis said he had never treated it but Cook said it was cured by using the "big medicine" (hilis lâkât), which is the "butterfly plant." The song used with this refers to

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753 the myths telling how Rabbit left the Lion on the other side of the ocean. Cook had learned of this largely through a virulent epidemic of cholera near 1870–1875.

The wildcat and panther diseases.—According to Cook powerful cramps in the stomach are attributed to a wildcat or some such powerful animal, but, beyond this and the reference by Speck, I have no information regarding a wildcat or panther disease.

The mole disease (*tako aledji*).—The symptoms are cramps in the bowels, colic, etc. This information was from Zachariah Cook, who did not know how it was treated.

The opossum disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this was the name given to croup (nuklahe) in children. Jackson Lewis did not know the native explanation for this trouble.

The *beaver* (itchaswa), *otter* (osâna), and *muskrat* (oktcûtʼko) are supposed to bring about liver complaint, bowel troubles, gravel, etc., like some of the other water animals. Megillis Hadjo, the Tukabahchee kīla mentioned by Hitchcock, held that "costiveness proceeds from two beavers in the bowels of the patient, who have made a dam in him; if pains are added, a bear is inside fighting with the beavers." This agrees with what I was told by William McCombs to the effect that cramps in the bowels were due to the beaver and badger, the beaver because he dams up streams as the bowels are stopped up and the badger because he is thought to have bellyâche all the time and the continual running off of the bowels is thought to be due to him. The treatment is much like that used with diseases caused by the other water animals, but I have no specific information regarding it. The prescription contains some of the same remedies as those used in diseases due to water snakes and turtles and some that are different.

The eagle disease.—The patient has cramps in the muscles of the neck or a "crick in the neck" so that the head is turned to one side and can not be moved back. Jackson Lewis said it was probably due to the fact that the patient had handled an eagle feather. According to Mr. McCombs it was believed that the eagle caused the trouble by perching on the back of the neck and must be driven off by the fumes of cedar.

The buzzard disease.—When a child vomits and purges a great deal he is afflicted by the buzzard.

The many-snakes disease.—The "many snakes" have already been mentioned as a term used to include all sorts of serpents and lizards, real and imaginary, though not frogs, toads, or alligators. They are the active causes of a great many diseases such as swellings, abscesses, etc.

The gatherers-in-the-waters disease.—This term is used for the inhabitants of the water elsewhere described. The person suffering

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from this disease has pains in the stomach or bowels, more often the latter, and retches and vomits at times. Sometimes he also has pains in the sides and back. In treating, the roots of a sycamore—the sycamore being a water tree—willow roots, a bunch of small roots from the birch, a piece of wood broken from a stick lying in shallow water in the woods and nearly rotted, are collected. With them is put some water dipped out of a small whirlpool in running water, and a little water from a hairlike line often seen on ponded water just back of a little fall. Then more water is added, the whole boiled and used warm, a little being drunk, some put on the body, and some used in steaming the body.

Regarding the "snake disease" Zachariah Cook said that the name was given to swellings, boils, carbuncles arising in several places, and inflammatory rheumatism. Certain rheumatic pains or certain kinds of paralysis were attributed to the "unseen-snakes-in-the-water disease" (ayà haigida), or "many-animals-of-the-water disease" (wiak wilagi sûlgat). This last is evidently the "many-snakes disease." It seems that these creatures taken separately could produce diseases also. According to Cook the water tiger (wi-katca) causes congestion of the stomach, the water-king deer (wiofûts miko) something similar to rheumatism of the bowels, and the water buffalo (wi yanasa) an inward corruption of the liver something like the snake disease.

The snake disease.—By this is meant simply snake bite. The medicinal plant used by Jackson Lewis blooms about July and the flower is white. When ready to open it shows a number of teeth inside just like the teeth of a snake. The roots are said to be large and oval. One of my informants was treated by a doctor in a case of snake bite. The doctor chewed up some of this root and then sucked the wound.

The snake medicine, of which a specimen was furnished by Caley Proctor, and which may be identical with the above, was *Manfreda virginica*, called abi-tcápko ("long stem") in Creek. It was said to be a sure cure both for snake bite and the bite of a centipede. The roots were boiled in water and the bite washed with the liquid. Another way employed by a doctor was to take some common tobacco into his mouth, suck the bite four times and as he did so hum four times the following formula: tohiudjidi tohiłákodi solonk, the words of which seem to have no meaning.

When this snake medicine was not to be had the summer grape (pálko łáko, "big grape") might be substituted. The tendrils and soft, succulent ends of the vines were boiled thoroughly and the infusion afterward given to the patient to drink.

Some doctors attained such proficiency that they were not afraid to pick up any kind of snake. A man named Kaska, living between

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753 Beggs and Hamilton, possessed this power and he would not allow any of his family to kill a snake. Upon one occasion Adair "saw the Chikkasah Archi-magus chew some snake-root, blow it on his hands, and then take up a rattlesnake without damage." In another place he has the following to say about native snake medicines:

"I do not remember to have seen or heard of an Indian dying by the bite of a snake, when out at war, or a hunting; although they are often bitten by the most dangerous snakes—everyone carries in his shot-pouch, a piece of the best snake-root, such as the *Seneeka*, or fern-snake-root,—or the wild hore-hound, wild plantain, St. Andrew's cross, and a variety of other herbs and roots, which are plenty, and well known to those who range the American woods, and are exposed to such dangers, and will effect a thorough and speedy cure if timely applied. When an Indian perceives he is struck by a snake, he immediately chews some of the root, and having swallowed a sufficient quantity of it, he applies some to the wound; which he repeats as occasion requires, and in proportion to the poison the snake has infused into the wound. For a short space of time, there is a terrible conflict through all the body, by the jarring qualities of the burning poison, and the strong antidote; but the poison is soon repelled through the same channels it entered, and the patient is cured." [27]

I do not know whether the following formula was used in cases of snake bite or a more esoteric kind of snake sickness. It is from the Tuggle collection.

[539] "After preparing this medicine [for "snake sickness"], the medicine-man sang this song:

O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, hater of snakes, come
Snakes [who] have hurt this man, come
Come, O white fox, and kill this snake.

O, spirit of the red fox, come, etc.

O, spirit of the black fox, come, etc.[28]

James Islands and N. L. Alexander, two Creek Indians, told General Hitchcock that "a case of salivation . . . was caused by two rattlesnakes in the mouth," adding that "they required five dollars for a prescription." This disease is evidently different from all of those snake diseases above mentioned, except possibly the last.

The turtle disease.—The sympton of this is a chronic cough which results in appreciably reducing the flesh of the victim. Treatment:

[27] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 235-236.

[28] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn. Probably one verse, referring to a blue or yellow fox, has been lost. This formula is peculiar in beginning with the east, but it is impossible to tell whether the points of the compass are taken in sinistral order or in dextral order.

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Make an infusion in water of the roots of a plant called "turtle's liver" (lutca logi). This is not found in the Creek Nation but in the country of the Cherokee (Oklahoma), and it has small circular leaves and beautiful blue flowers. If it can not be obtained, substitute for it a small piece of buckeye and a small piece of devil's shoestring. The patient must drink small quantities of this decoction from time to time warm. Warm cloths may also be put into it and then around the throat and chest. 753

Zachariah Cook, however, gave the name "turtle disease" (hilutca) to a hard boil forming one head. He mentioned another disease called "turtles-of-the-water" or "many turtles" (lutca sulgat), which is some sort of stomach trouble or liver complaint. It is almost identical with a disease known as "wolf-of-the-water" (wiofi yaha), and the two are treated alike, but I did not learn how.

The terrapin (lutca lobotski) disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this deforms a person by cramping his stomach or raising a lump on his shoulder. It is said that small people were affected in this way, and this suggests that it may be a name applied to the disease producing hunchbacks. In the song used in treating this disease the terrapin is called lutca hayegi, "the turtle rattles are made of."

The alligator was not accused, so far as Jackson Lewis could remember, of causing any disease, but Zachariah Cook said that it was included in the turtle disease, by which I suppose he meant that it was an animal which produced the same trouble either separately or in conjunction with the turtle.

The perch disease (sàndàlàkwà, perch).—The symptoms of this are a very acute attack of coughing which the patient can hardly stop. Treatment: Sassafras and the devil's shoestring are boiled and about a tablespoonful given at a dose.

The "periwinkle" disease.—Tuggle has the following to say about this: 753 539

'Karpochee, or Periwinkle sickness, caused by the periwinkle. The jaws swell as in mumps.

"The medicine is prepared from the gourd, Phibbee [fibī], either from the green leaves, or from the seed, when the leaves can not be obtained. In the following song which goes with this medicine each verse is repeated four times and after each time the medicine is blown into as is customary in other cases. At the end the entire song is repeated four times, and the blowings again take place.

"The song:

Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee

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Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee

Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee

"Meaning of words:

Cheke [tcikhī], rough (up and down) [raised in
Thlahkotee [łákotī], big (large, swollen)
Chekochetee [tcutkutcitī], little
Fohyohyoke [from folotkī], twisted

"Literal translation:

Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big

Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little

Twisted big
Twisted big
Twisted big" [29]

Unless there is some usage of the word periwinkle other than that known to me, as applied to a small marine shell, it would seem as if Tuggle must have erred in translating the name of this disease. For a long period of time the periwinkle can have played no part in the life of the Creek Indians.

753 *The slug disease.*—The patient has some cough but more particularly a very considerable expectoration of phlegm. Treatment: The same as for the perch disease but with a different formula.

The millepede disease.—The patient coughs and is so hoarse as almost to lose his voice. Treatment: An infusion of ginseng is to be drunk very warm.

The ant disease (*tákodja'*, *ant*).—According to Zachariah Cook when matter runs from a boil leaving holes the trouble is attributed to the ant.

[29] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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The "mastodon" disease.—It was asserted by William McCombs that there was such a disease recognized, its native name being Łakłâga, "the greatest of great [animals]." This name may perhaps have been applied to some mythic animal on the basis of mastodon or other bones found from time to time.

The hâtckutcâp disease.—This is caused by a mythical animal described elsewhere.[29a] Those who happen to see this creature have a severe fever and some have been known to die.

The hâtcko-fâski disease.—This is produced by another mythical animal described elsewhere. I have no information regarding the malady itself.[29a]

The good-snake disease.—A disease is produced by the bodyless celestial snake described in the section on religion.[29b] In treating it Jackson Lewis took roots of the sycamore, willow, and birch, sprigs of cedar, and seed pods of the red sumac which he boiled in water, using the resulting liquid to give the patient a sweat bath. A little was also given the patient to drink. The treatment was repeated on several successive days.

The rainbow disease.—As its name implies, this was supposed to be caused by the rainbow. Its symptoms are like those of the preceding and it was treated similarly.

The little people and giants have elsewhere been described; as also the effects produced by them in bewildering persons and leading them astray.[29c] The disease caused by them is known as labâtkâdilōga, "gathered on land"—i. e., not in the water—or "outside gathering on land."[29d] Treatment: Procure four little forked limbs of the post oak, one little sprig of the wild plum—a sprig of the huckleberry (tsafâknâ), one of the mistletoe, one of the red haw, one of the cedar and one of a bush like the huckleberry but growing 4 feet high and bearing in June. The red haw and cedar are taken because the giants are said to feed upon their berries. To these things is added a pine cone if it can be gotten, if not a sprig of pine with the needles on; also a sprig of the winter huckleberry (owīsa); a kind of high-bush huckleberry which ripens in November and during the winter, and grows on rough ground far up in the mountains; a sprig of the black haw (silāwa); a sprig of the summer grape or "big grape"; a sprig of the winter grape or "little grape"; a sprig of the muscadine (tsoloswa); four sprigs from blackberry bushes; four sprigs from dewberry vines; one sprig from the raspberry; and finally sprigs of two plants which appear to be a large and a small variety of straw-

[29a] See p. 497.
[29b] See p. 494.
[29c] See pp. 496-497.
[29d] The word is compounded of łabâtki, "straight," and adilōga, "together."

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berry. Four shoots of each are taken. To all these may be added a very small quantity of horsemint. The patient is to drink some of this, sponge his body with the liquid, and use it in sweat bathing. The doctor, as usual, sings over it and blows into it with a cane, after which it is boiled and used warm. When the patient has recovered the doctor strictly enjoins him from using intoxicating drinks.

Zachariah Cook called this particular disease pneumonia, and said that hitci pàkpàgi was put into the medicine as a "foundation." When it had been compounded and conjured they sprinkled it about around the house—four times around the outside and four times around the inside alternately, i. e., once outside, then once inside, and so until they were through. This was done for four successive days by some one in the family selected for the purpose, after the doctor had come and conjured the medicine, at about sunset.

The spirit-of-war disease.—When a person is not sick in bed but keeps talking deliriously about war, battle, and things connected with them, saying "there come the enemy" and using other similar expressions until his health is injured and he is in danger of dying, it is said that he is afflicted by the spirit of war. Treatment: Cut four little forks from a post oak, take a quantity of horsemint, either dead or fresh, a sprig of pine with the leaves on, and a quantity of spicewood. Boil these in water, steam the patient with the infusion, and when it is cold bathe him in it.

Thunder disease.—The symptoms of this were severe pains in the head and arms. Sometimes the lightning shocks a person, almost kills him, and makes him delirious. Treatment: Take a piece of the "rattan vine," a sassafras root, and some gunpowder, and add water to them. The "rattan vine" grows in the bottoms and is called in Creek itō yektsá, "strong wood." It does not grow thickly anywhere. The mixture above described is not heated, but the doctor repeats formulæ over it and blows into it through a tube 5 or 6 feet long, whereas the tube commonly used is only about 3 feet long. The making of medicine for this disease is looked upon as very important and nothing about it must be done triflingly. There are doctors who are specialists in it.

The sun disease.—The patient has a sensation of heat in the crown of the head, accompanied by general aching, and toward midday falls about and becomes light headed. This trouble is caused by the sun assisted by the morning star, the moon, and a certain red star, and the disease is sometimes called a-i'lá. Treatment: Use miko hoyanīdja, a piece of the root of the wild or domesticated sunflower, a puffball, and some angelica obtained from a drug store. Mix these up with water and pour the whole cold over the head of the patient, allowing it to run back into the dish from which it is dipped. If this is repeated often the patient will almost surely recover.

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The fire disease.—Naturally enough fevers are often supposed to be occasioned by the fire, but there are several different kinds of fire responsible for them. According to one informant there are the new busk-ground fire (totkà mutcàsà), the hunters' fire, i. e., the fire which the hunters use while they are out (ponàtà hoboya imitotka), the fire the hunters build after they get home (totkà nàtkàbofa), and "the different kinds of fires" (also called totkà nàtkàbofa). According to Adair the old year's fire was considered "a most dangerous pollution."[30]

Diseases might also come from the paddle used in the stomp dance, and the other stomp dance accessories, as also from the unseen animals of the square ground.

Tuggle notes that according to some "all disease . . . is caused by the winds, which are born in the air and then descend to the earth."[31] By this he evidently means that the diseases are born in the air, not the winds. While it is often said that "sickness comes in the wind" it would seem that this applied rather to certain kinds of sickness caused by the winds, just as sickness was caused by the thunder, sun, etc., not that all sickness was so caused. This would perhaps account for the Chickasaw aversion to the north wind which, according to Adair, they called "very evil and accursed,"[30] though its origin in the cold quarter is sufficient explanation.

Disease was supposed to emanate from women during their monthly periods and attack men, especially in the spring of the year. This might be from contact with them or be brought by the wind blowing from them. According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms were a numbness, especially of the lower limbs, accompanied by nosebleed and headache, and a mental depression so great that the patient does not care whether he lives or dies. This agrees to some extent with Zachariah Cook's description of it as a kind of biliousness. A woman's period is called ibōski and the treatment for it ibōskilīl. Both informants agreed that the medicine for it was miko hoyanīdja, which a man could drink, bathe in, and sweat-bathe in. Jackson Lewis said that the doctor sometimes took his patient away from the settlement, had him fast and then gave him the medicine and had him vomit. This treatment was sure to restore him perfectly.

Another dangerous source of disease was a dead body. This disease was called ikàn odjàlgi, which means "land owners," the dead being so called. Certain maleficent influences were believed to emanate from a dead body even after it was laid away in the ground, and persons in the vicinity were subject to aches and pains about

[30] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 22. [31] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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753 the joints of the legs, and in other places. The ghost of the dead man was supposed to be the efficient cause of this. Even the dirt that fell upon one's clothing in digging a grave or covering up the body, or the dirt from a grave upon which one stepped, was apt to bring on this disorder. If one engaged in digging a grave he was likely to have pains in the back. Sometimes he had a chilly feeling across his back with pains running round to the front of his body and fatigue in all of the lower limbs. A person who dug a grave could also communicate the disease and this was the principal reason for the regulations to which he was subjected, and which are elsewhere described.[23] This disease would seem to have been some form of rheumatism—Tuggle calls it "pains in the knees or rheumatism"—but one informant described it as dropsy, or at all events ascribed such an origin to dropsy. Treatment: Miko hoyanīdja and spicewood (kápápaska) were boiled in water, conjured in the usual manner, and divided into two parts, one hot and one cold. Then the affected parts were treated with the hot and cold medicines alternately.

753 539 According to Tuggle's informant, however, "the medicine is made from Ihee-so [wīso]—sassafras root." He gives the following formula to accompany it:

Me-kah-kee
Thlah-kah-kete
E-leen
E-kah-nah
So-feets-kaht
Te-tah-ker

Estee
Wah-keets-kaht
Te-tah-ken
Oh-than-étaht
Te-tah-ken

Oewa
Ahk-lope-kaht
Te-tah-ken

Literally translated:

Mekahkee [mikāgi], kings
Thlahkah-kete [lákakiti], big
Eleen [ilin], dead
Ekahnah [ikána], land
So feets kaht [sufitckat], dig it
Tetahker [titaki], ready
Este [isti], people
Wahkeets [wakēts], lay it down
Tetahkee [titaki], ready

[23] See pp. 388-398.

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Oh thlan etoht [ohlanitat], cover it up
Tetahken [titakin], ready
Oewa [oiwa], water
Ahklopekaht [aklopikat], wash it
Tetanken [titakin], ready

Or—

Great kings are dead
Be ready to dig the grave

Let the people bury them
Let them be ready to cover them

Let the water be ready for washing.[22]

This disease was connected with the whole question of ghosts and preventive measures and medicines against them. The Texas Alabama believed that if a person who had been by a grave came near one who was sick the latter would have fits. My informant claimed that upon one occasion a number of persons who had been near a grave came in where he was lying sick and sat down around him, whereupon he became deaf and acted as if he were out of his head. Such fits were thought to be caused by ghosts, and, to induce them to leave, the doctor would put cedar leaves into a pot over the fire without any water. As these leaves parched the smoke arising from them would fill the house. The ghost would like this and go away. Another Alabama medicine used against ghosts was the leaves of the sweet bay, which were made into a tea, drunk, and vomited up. This was done twice. 753

Among the Creeks generally hitci pákpągi was the sovereign deterrent for ghosts, though hilis hátki or ginseng was also used.

The Texas Alabama believe that if one's hands and feet are pierced by the "poison briar" he will not get well, but I did not hear of any doctoring in connection with this.

The same people also mention a disease called łefka, of the origin of which I am ignorant. It is produced by trying to lift a load beyond the person's real ability, causing perhaps a strained tendon. They treated it by tying about the affected part a briar much like the kanta, called in their language bákco oktcáko, "blue briar." At the same time they sang and blew upon the place. A white man was once cured in this way by two Indian women, but when one of my informants tried that remedy himself upon another occasion it would not work because he did not know the proper formulæ.

When a person exhibited a horror of other people and, if he found himself suddenly where there were many, always ran away, they said that his disease was due to people—i. e., he was suffering from witchcraft. Says Swan: 754

[22] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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754 "Stitches in the side, or small rheumatic pains, which are frequent with them [the Creeks], are often considered as the effect of some magic wound. They firmly believe that their Indian enemies have the power of shooting them as they lie asleep, at the distance of 500 miles. They often complain of having been shot by a Choctaw or Chickasaw from the midst of these nations, and send or go directly to the most cunning and eminent doctress for relief." [34] Male doctors prescribed for witchcraft equally with women.

114 Some other diseases and some different methods of treating the above are given by Doctor Speck, to whose paper (Mem. Am. An-
753 throp. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 121–133) the reader is referred. Also cf. the same writer's Yuchi paper, Anthrop. Pubs. Univ. Mus., I, pp. 132–135.

753 Sickness was sometimes attributed to the absence of the soul from the body, and this was probably assigned as a principal cause of disease as well as a secondary cause. It was then the object of the doctor to induce it to come back. I have an Alabama story telling of such an occurrence. This is given by the same people as the specific cause of "slow fever." [34a]

753 Adair gives us in one invaluable paragraph an account of the
177 origin and naming of a new disease. He says:

"In 1767, the Indians were struck with a disease, which they were unacquainted with before. It began with sharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and swelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and also the testicles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like space of time went off gradually, without any dangerous consequence, or use of outward or inward remedies: they called it *Wahka Abeeka*, 'the cattle's distemper,' or sickness. Some of their young men had by stealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themselves, and were smitten in that strange manner, by having their heads, necks, etc., magnified like the same parts of a sick bull. They first concluded, either to kill all the cattle, or send them immediately off their land, to prevent the like mischief, or greater ills from befalling the beloved people—for their cunning old physicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former resolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would spoil their open cornfields; upon which account, the traders arguments had no weight with these red Hebrew philosophers. But fortunately one of their head warriors had a few cattle soon presented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reasoning proved so weighty, as to alter their resolution, and produce in them a contrary belief." [35]

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[34] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[34a] See p. 666.
[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 122.

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Besides the accounts of diseases and their cures already given I have considerable information regarding medicine plants and their uses in diseases for which I have no native explanation, although in some cases the name of the plant probably contains the supposed cause of the disease. The greater number of these were obtained from Jackson Lewis, another portion was from a Wiogufki Indian named Caley Proctor, a brother of the leader of the "Snake Indians," Eufaula Hadjo. He stated that he learned these things from an old Indian named Nokos īmała just before he died. To this I have added what I could learn among the Alabama of Texas, and some information from one of the few surviving Natchez Indians. The former varies somewhat from the rest on account of a difference in the Texas flora, while the latter has probably absorbed a great deal from the Cherokee among whom the surviving speakers of Natchez are living. A certain disorder was injected into Creek medical practice by the removal of the tribe west of the Mississippi, though Eakins's statement that "The roots and herbs they were accustomed to use in the '*old nation*' they have not yet been able to discover in their new country," must not be interpreted in a too sweeping manner.[36]

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For the identification of the various plants I am indebted to Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the United States National Museum.

1. Miko hoyanīdja (a species of *Salix*, willow), "passer by of the chiefs," the medicine being supposed to pass by of its own power (G. W. G.) or perhaps "sovereign purgative." This is one of the two great busk medicines and as a remedy seems to have been thought more of than the pasa. It is known colloquially as the "red root," the roots of some being blood red and others pale red. Jackson Lewis said that it was used as part of the medicine in a great many complaints, such as fever with nausea and vomiting. According to Caley Proctor it was put in water and drunk by the patient, either cold or hot, in cases of internal fever, malaria, and biliousness. According to another informant it was used as "a graveyard medicine"—i. e., as he explained it, a medicine for dropsy—and also to cure the deer sickness. The patient was also bathed in it. It was used in conjunction with the spicewood (kápapāskā) in cases of rheumatism and swellings. According to another informant the miko hoyanīdja and pasa together will cure "the clap" almost immediately. Eakins says simply that it was used in fevers.[36]

2. Pāsa. This is the "buttonsnake-root" of the whites, also sometimes called "bear grass," and its scientific name is *Eryngium yuccaefolium*. The Natchez called it awe'lwaih; the Koasati pase'. As above noted, it was the second of the two important busk medicines. Its use in conjunction with miko hoyanīdja has been mentioned. According to Caley Proctor, it was pounded up, mixed with water and drunk cold in cases of neuralgia and in kidney

[36] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 274.

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troubles. It was also administered in cases of snake bite, and Jackson Lewis gave this as its principal use, in which he is confirmed by as old an authority as Adair.[27] Jackson Lewis added that it was used in conjunction with the "deer potato" in cases of rheumatism. Zachariah Cook said it was used for diseases of the spleen. According to another informant it was a great medicine to cleanse the system and purify the blood, and still another declared that its function at the busk was not so much to combat positive diseases as to produce a feeling of peace and tranquillity, an access of health as it were. Swan and other early writers, however, call this "the war physic."[28] Adair says "they frequently drink it to such excess as to impair their health, and sometimes so as to poison themselves by its acrid quality."[29] The Alabama and Koasati swallowed small sprouts of this plant in spring in order to make themselves strong and healthy during the ensuing year.

3. Hilis hàtki, "white medicine." This is ginseng and it was a very highly esteemed remedy. Caley Proctor said that when one suffered from shortness of breath the roots of this plant were cut up and put into boiling water and the infusion drunk. It was not used externally. Jackson Lewis also mentioned its use in cases of shortness of breath, and he added croup in children and a very low general condition. It constituted one of the elements in many compound remedies and generally relieved the patient. When a person was sick with fever and could not sweat new ginseng was boiled with ginger, then both were mixed with alcohol and a little given to the patient, when sweat would break out all over him. It was also used, according to both Caley Proctor and Jackson Lewis, to stop the flow of blood from a cut. The latter by its means cured a woman who had been shot in the head. Before applying the medicine in such cases the wound was cleaned out by the use of the long wing feather of a buzzard. At that time no one must be near, especially no woman, and above all a woman at the time of her monthly period. Elsewhere I have mentioned its employment to keep away ghosts, and Adair says "the Indians use it on religious occasions."[30]

Caley Proctor gave me the following formula used over this medicine in cases of shortness of breath:

> noki' [illegible] noki' le'slai salati'
> noki' lesfánk salati' kaka' kaka'

It is not known whether the words have any meaning. When this medicine is used to stop the flow of blood from cuts the following meaningless formula is hummed:

> katadás howá' kati lanidi'
> apátánalanidi' sali

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[27] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 169.
[28] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 265.
[29] Adair, op. cit., pp. 169-170.
[30] Ibid., p. 362. It was employed, for instance, during the busk at Kasihta (see p. 573).

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4. Notosa. This is the angelica, the roots of which were used in various physical ailments. Bartram calls it "the angelica lucida or nondo," and says "it is in high estimation with the Indians as well as with the white inhabitants, and sells at a great price to the Southern Indians of Florida, who dwell near the sea coast where this never grows spontaneously."[41] In another place he remarks that "its friendly carminitive qualities are well known for relieving all the disorders of the stomach, a dry belly-ache and disorders of the intestines, colic, hysterics, etc. The patient chews the root and swallows the juice, or smokes it when dry with tobacco. Even the smell of the root is of good effect. The Lower Creeks (Seminole), in whose country it does not grow, will gladly give two or three buckskins for a single root of it."[42] According to Jackson Lewis it was given to children as a vermifuge and to adults to alleviate pains in the back.

5. Wilāna. This is the wormseed (*Chenopodium ambrosioides*). It was used to purify the busk ground and in the final cleansing of the fasters at that time. According to Caley Proctor it was a kind of family medicine, apparently a sort of spring tonic, and was also used in cases of fever. Jackson Lewis said it was employed in a great many ailments.

6. Átcina, cedar. According to Caley Proctor cedar was used as a spring tonic, to thin the blood. The Alabama in Texas bandaged it, after it had been boiled, over a place where there were rheumatic pains. According to Jackson Lewis the sprigs and leaves were applied warm to places where pains and aches were felt. It was not taken internally.

7. Kápapāska, spicewood (*Benzoin aestivale*). When pains and aches were experienced an infusion was made of the branches and taken internally or the body steamed in the liquid in order to produce a perspiration. It was also taken in conjunction with miko hoyanīdja to produce vomiting, "which after some time purifies the blood greatly." Sometimes it was used as we use tea.

8. Kofûtcka łáko, horsemint (a species of *Monarda*). The entire plant was used in an infusion in order to bring on a perspiration. When one was delirious he could be cured by the use of horsemint and everlasting boiled together and administered internally. According to Caley Proctor it was boiled with miko hoyanīdja to cure dropsy and swellings in the legs. The patient drank it hot and also bathed in it. The Alabama called it tcinok tilaile, and it was used after a person had died, to ward off the rheumatism which was likely to ensue and also to cure all kinds of rheumatism. It was mixed with cold water, conjured by the doctor, and then each member of the household washed his body in it up to the ears, besides drinking some. It was used on the morning or evening after the death and was for protection against the ghost of the dead, which otherwise might afflict one with deafness.

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[41] Bartram, Travels, p. 328.

[42] Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. iii, p. 47.

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9. Kadohwa, honey locust. This is used not to cure disease but to ward it off. The sprigs, thorns, and some of the branches are chopped up quite fine and boiled in water. After the infusion has been thoroughly boiled the members of the family bathe in it to ward off contagions such as smallpox and measles. It should be employed for four successive days.

10. Ala (Alabama ayona), buckeye (*Aesculus*). This is a very strong medicine and but little can be taken at a time. The roots are employed in cases of pulmonary consumption. It is also used to stupefy fishes.

11. Aloniski or holoniski, the devil's shoestring (*Cracca virginiana*). Jackson Lewis said that this was used in the same way as the buckeye and for the same purpose. Caley Proctor said that eight roots were pounded up, mixed with water, and the resultant infusion drunk cold in cases of bladder trouble. Together with yelungadjādi it was used in cases of loss of manhood, being prepared in the same manner. Like the preceding, it was employed to stupefy fish.

12. Adokłá lásti, "black weed" (*Baptisia*), has a papilionaceous flower, yellow in color, and grows in clumps to a height of 2½ to 3 feet. The roots of this plant were boiled in water and administered to children who seemed drowsy and lifeless and on the point of coming down with some sickness. They were bathed in it and a little was given to them to drink.

13. Tcato hiliswa, "rock medicine," grows in clumps and has a beautiful blue flower which appears early in spring. The roots are hard to get out and are as bitter as quinine. It was not used like the other medicines but apparently only when the old medicine men were making the novices fast.

14. Yanasa hiliswa, "bison medicine." It was formerly customary to put some medicine made from the roots of this on the tongue of a newborn child to make him strong, robust, and daring. Some of it grows in the old Choctaw country.

15. Tcito yektca hiliswa, "medicine of the strong snake" (sarsaparilla). The roots were used when there was difficulty in urinating and blood was passed and there was pain about the lower part of the abdomen and in the back. Eakins says they resorted to it in cases of pleurisy.[48] The Choctaw and Chickasaw also use it, but they have a different name for the plant.

16. Sokha hiliswa, "hog medicine," boneset (apparently). When women complained of aches and pains in the hips they were steamed in a medicine made by boiling this. The Choctaw and Chickasaw called it cilup tileli, which means "something to scare away the spirits." A decoction was made from the roots and when persons had epilepsy they were steamed in it.

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[48] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 274.

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17. Tuhiligu, mistletoe (*Phoradendron flavescens*). The leaves and branches were used as one of the ingredients in medicines for lung trouble, consumption, etc.

18. Akhātka, "white down in" (the bottom), the sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*). Chips from the tree and bark were used to make a medicine taken internally in cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. The following three medicines were used for the same purpose:

19. Aktcelalāskā the white birch (*Betula*) of Oklahoma.

20. Tculi niha, (yellow) "pine rosin."

21. Hikūlwā, the black gum (*Nyssa*). The bark and chips of the wood were boiled and the decoction taken internally, or else the patient was bathed in it.

22. Tawa tcāti, "red sumac." This is the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*). The roots were boiled and the infusion taken internally in cases of dysentery. It was the leaves of this variety which they formerly mixed with their smoking tobacco, and Pope says "this preparation of *Sumach* and *Tobacco*, the *Indians* constantly smoke, and consider as a sovereign Remedy in all cephalic and pectoral Complaints." [44]

23. Tawa lāsti, "black sumac" (*Rhus copallina*). The roots were used like those of the preceding.

24. Ahwāna, willow (Alabama, ito loica). The roots were boiled in water and the infusion kept in the house in the summertime so that the family might bathe in it and drink it and thereby ward off fevers.

The Texas Alabama used this to cure fevers. The roots were put into cold water, and the doctor came every morning for four mornings and blew into the infusion, after which the patient drank of it and bathed in it all over.

25. Ki, mulberry (*Morus rubra*) (Alabama, bihala). The roots were used as an emetic. The Texas Alabama boiled and drank an infusion of these roots four or five times a day in cases of weakness accompanied by the passage of very yellow urine.

26. Tcoskā, post oak (*Quercus stellata*). The bark is used to make a drink which Jackson Lewis used in cases of dysentery. Other physicians employed it in various other ways, but he did not know how.

27. Pākānaho, the wild plum (*Prunus*). The roots were boiled in water, and the infusion was taken internally in cases of dysentery.

28. Itco impākānā, "deer's apple," a kind of wild crabapple (*Malus*). Jackson Lewis believed he had cured numerous persons of hydrophobia by taking the patient as soon as possible after he had been bitten, boiling some of this until a strong decoction had been made, and having the patient drink frequently of it, besides bathing him in the liquid and steaming the wound with it.

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[44] Pope, Tour, p. 45.

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29. Tàfõso, elm (*Ulmus*). Jackson Lewis knew that this was used in cases of toothache and he thought that the branches were taken, but there was a secret about its use which the doctors who knew about it did not divulge and he was not acquainted with it.

30. Pàlko làko, "big grape," the "summer grape." The use of this in snake bite has been mentioned already.[45] It was also employed in cases of tonsilitis, when the tendrils were steeped in hot water and cloths put into this and bound about the throat. With it must be little parings of ginseng.

31. Hayopalīdjà làko, the wild rose. The roots were boiled and administered internally to women when they were irregular in their periods.

32. Hayopalīdjà tcutci, a dwarf variety of wild rose. The roots of this were used with sumac in cases of dysentery. Either this or the preceding was employed by the Natchez in similar cases. My informant could not recall the Natchez name, but it is named in Cherokee tsistuunigist uhsti, "little rabbit food."

33. Taldakà, cottonwood (*Populus*). When an arm or leg had been broken cottonwood bark was boiled and the resulting liquid poured over the fractured part. Splints were made from the inner bark of this tree and it is asserted that the bone would then knit very soon. It was also used when ankles or other joints were sprained. If this tree is identical with the ito tàsikaya, or "warrior tree," it was also used in cases of dropsy, when the patient was bathed in an infusion made by boiling the roots.

34. Adàphà, dogwood (*Cornus*). Jackson Lewis had seen this used but had never employed it himself and had forgotten the nature of its supposed virtues. The Texas Alabama, however, boiled the inner bark of the dogwood and used it in cases of flux.

35. Imbàkbàki tcatī, "red blossoms," a plant growing in clumps in Oklahoma, with strong, rough, tuberous roots which are used as medicine in cases of pneumonia and to bring on perspiration and secure a reaction in what is called "winter fever." The bunches of this plant sometimes have red flowers and sometimes yellow ones.

36. Tinetki hiliswa, "thunder medicine," has very bitter roots and is used in fevers.

37. Itco imaha, "deer's potato," a *Lacinaria*, was used to cure the deer disease—i. e., rheumatism. The roots were pounded up and boiled, and the infusion rubbed on the affected parts. Some was also drunk. According to Jackson Lewis pàsa was used in connection with it and a little sprig of cedar was also put in. Caley Proctor did not mention these accessories.

38. Hitci omà, "like tobacco," mullen (*Verbascum thapsus*). The roots were boiled and used internally for coughs, but there must be added to them the roots of a plant growing in wet places called

[45] See p. 643.

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"button willow" in English and by the Creeks sàksa imito, "crawfish wood." This last reaches a height of 5 or 6 feet. The identification of this is somewhat doubtful as I showed a piece of mullen to Caley Proctor and he called it waga inhidji and said it was used for shooting pains in the chest and joints. The leaves were boiled and the patient bathed in the infusion while it was still hot. 757

39. Tcokiliba, the elderberry (*Sambucus canadensis*). The tender roots of this plant were pounded up, stirred into hot water, and bound on the breast of a woman suffering from a swollen breast. If the roots can not be gotten, the skin scraped off of the stalk may be employed.

40. Katco làko, "big briar," the greenbriar (*Smilax*). The roots of this plant, which are exceedingly hard, are pounded up, boiled, and the liquid poured over ulcers, particularly ulcers on the legs.

41. Ahàlobaktsi, or Halobàktci, *Gnaphalium obtusifolium*, was used, according to Jackson Lewis, in cases of mumps. A great many leaves were collected, even in winter when they are dried up, a strong infusion was made by boiling them in water, cloths were dipped in this, a little lard added, and the whole tied around the throat. According to Caley Proctor this was put with several other medicines, among which he mentioned atcīna, miko hoyanīdja, pāsa, wīlaṅa, and kofutcka làko, to add a perfume. They were boiled by themselves, and the infusion drunk when one was unable to keep anything upon the stomach. The patient also bathed in the liquid. To cure bad colds the tops were boiled, the odor inhaled, and the infusion drunk. The faces and heads of old people were bathed in it and some drunk when they could not rest well and woke up with a start as soon as they had fallen asleep.

42. Iswiani tcaitcga, "a purgative" (the only name known) (*Euphorbia?*). This is a small weed with small smooth leaves, and bears a bunch of flowers at the top. When broken it exudes a little milk. The roots are taken in an infusion to bring on an action of the bowels and it is a very violent remedy.

43. Wiso, sassafras (*Sassafras variifolium*). This was used as a medicine but I have no information as to how it was employed.

44. Puya fiktca hiliswa, "spirit medicine," is a weed a foot high which produces a little yellow fruit just where the leaf comes away from the stalk. This is said to be very fine for rheumatism and it is declared that it will cure gonorrhea. A bundle of roots is taken sufficiently large to fill the palm in the space inclosed by the thumb and second finger when the tips are brought together.

45. Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens*). Jackson Lewis knew no native name for this plant. It is good for women with urinary troubles or having pains about the small of the back. The person taking this medicine must not eat butter, milk, or bacon.

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46. Afàla oma, "like the ivy," the woodbine (*Parthenocissus*). The root of this is good medicine in cases of gonorrhea. Its use was learned from the Comanche.

47. Stilàst iga ("black man's medicine"), a plant with a yellow flower popularly known as "nigger head." The roots were boiled and used in cases of consumption.

48. Pisi hiliswa, "woman's-breast medicine," a plant the roots of which were mashed, mixed with warm water, and applied externally by women suffering from swollen breasts.

49. Ifulo hiliswa, "screech owl medicine," is found far out in the woods, growing in small bunches. An entire bunch was boiled so that the infusion might be as strong as possible. The water then turns red and is good for persons with watery eyes or other chronic eye troubles.

50. Kistowa, known popularly to the whites as "red root," a woody shrub with leaves along the stem and hard, woody, red roots. The roots are cut into long strips and put into a bottle with cold water. Afterwards the infusion is employed when blood is spit from the lungs.

51. Hitci pàkpàgi ("tobacco bloom"), native tobacco, some species of lobelia(?). This is said to grow to a height of about 10 inches, but otherwise to resemble the common tobacco exactly and to have the same kind of flower. Jackson Lewis said that he knew that the Creeks, Yuchi, and Shawnee had this but was not aware of its existence among any other Indians. It is of rare occurrence and very highly valued. Traditionally this plant was with the Creeks from the very beginning, and it is supposed to be older than the smoking tobacco. Nevertheless Tuggle seems to have preserved a myth recounting its origin.[42a] It derives its name from the fact that the flowers were the part used in medicine, four of them being generally placed in the pot. It was used in all kinds of cases, sometimes when a person was sick to the point of delirium, and it was used to ward off ghosts. Incidental references to this medicine have been made in other places.

The following medicines were described to me by Caley Proctor:

52. Awanhi hiliswa. This plant grows to a height of about 3 feet and bears a yellow flower. It is not used externally, but the roots are boiled and the infusion drunk to cure an enlarged spleen.

53. Yelungàdjādi hiliswa, a species of *Stillingia*, is a plant about a foot and a half tall and has a bushy top with no blossom, or probably an inconspicuous one. The roots were mashed and boiled and a woman who had just given birth to a child drank the liquid and was bathed in it. A woman suffering from irregular periods bathed in this, prepared with the addition of devil's shoestring.

[42a] See p. 558.

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54. Fatdjâdjī has a bunchy top, small yellow flowers, and short, very white roots. These last were boiled in water and the mixture drunk hot in cases of flux. When a small baby is very weak it is made to drink some of this and it is bathed in it.

55. Totkop łâko, a species of *Impatiens*, is boiled with kofûtcka łâko and spicewood and the mixture drunk hot in cases of dropsy. The patient also bathes in it.

56. Nuti hiliswa, "tooth medicine," yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*), was used, as its name implies, to cure any sort of toothache.

For some diseases objects shaped like the old atasa or war club were put into medicines. A white man long acquainted with the Indians said that one kind of treatment was to pour great quantities of cold water over the patient. Liver complaint is called in Creek wī'ak wiligi.

Alabama Medicines

57. Nâtikāca litcī, "cooler of the teeth," *Zanthoxylum americanum* Mill., popularly known as "prickly ash." The inside bark was beaten up and some of it was inserted into the cavity in an aching tooth, while more was placed around it and the whole wrapped up in a cloth. If a person itched all over, some was boiled in a pot and rubbed over him. When a man was out hunting and his dog did not follow the trail well he would sometimes put some of this bark into cold water and rub the dog's nose with it to improve his scent.

58. Hāk-himbâłka, "wild goose's berries," *Callicarpa americana*, popularly called the French mulberry. The roots and limbs were put into a pot together, boiled, and then poured into a big pan. This was then placed beside a person suffering from malarial fever ("sick one day and well the next") in a sweat house made like that of the Creeks. After he had perspired all over he came out and was bathed in water. The treatment was repeated until the patient was cured. Sometimes the pan was placed beneath the chair of a person having rheumatism and blankets were then fastened about him. This was also to induce perspiration and it was repeated four times if necessary. Slow fever was treated in the same manner but my informant assured me that it was unsuccessful in such cases, as he himself had tried it.

59. Comalī, a species of *Meibomia*, the popular name of which is "tick trefoil." A bad state of the lungs or sometimes a bad cold was cured by drinking a tea made of this before breakfast and then vomiting it up.

60. Ahisi łâksa, "bitter or strong medicine," *Gnaphalium obtusifolium* L., popularly known as "rabbit tobacco."[46] Łâksa indicates a taste between bitter and sour. This was often used mixed with other medicines, but my informant did not know what. It was used, furthermore, when a man was nervous, woke up frequently, and

[46] There is doubt of this, as the same name is given to an *Antennaria*, popularly known as "pussy toes."

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wanted to run away. It was then boiled in water along with cedar and the face of the patient washed in it until he got well. This sickness was thought to be brought on by ghosts and the medicine was intended to drive them off. Another way to effect the same end was by burning this plant and cedar together.

61. Hâtācipa, or Hâthācipâ, a species of *Solidago*, popularly known as "goldenrod," A tea was made out of the roots and drunk to cure a bad cold. Sometimes the root, which is bitter, was put into the cavity in a tooth to stop the ache.

62. Yenasa imilpa, "buffalo eat it," *Ceanothus americanus* L., the popular name of which is "New Jersey tea." The roots were boiled in water for two or three hours, the whole allowed to cool, and then it was used to bathe the feet or legs of one who had been injured in those members. This was done three times a day for one week, two weeks, or even for a month—i. e., until the injury was healed.

63. Wâsâko'tcī, a species of *Vaccinium*, the blueberry. It was used as a remedy for many different ailments but my informant did not know what these were.

64. Nita imilpa, "bears eat it," has black berries. It was used for the same purposes as the Nâtikāca litcī and in the same way. A poultice was made from it and applied in cases of pneumonia.

65. Ito hici' kocōma, "fragrant leaves," the sweet bay (*Myrica*). This was put into a big pot along with another medicine, perhaps cedar, and boiled. It was then administered to a person after a burial had taken place in order to secure him from disease. He did not retain it in his stomach, but went outside and vomited it up, after which he could eat.

66. Omâgāga, "open eyes," *Ascyrum multicaule*, popular name "St. Peter's-wort." When one had a bad case of dysentery these plants were put into a pot entire and boiled for a long time, and the infusion taken cold four or five times a day. In two or three days the patient would get better. It derives its name from the fact that a tea was also made from it with which to wash out the eyes.

67. Hācā'lâpo. The twirling stick used in producing fire in ancient times was made from this. A tea was made from the stalk and leaves of it, and given internally and externally to a person suffering from a disease locally known as "the itch," which seems to be prickly heat, shingles, or something of the kind.

68. Tcūyi, the pine. The inside bark of pine saplings was boiled in water and drunk to cure flux.

69. Ahisi home, "bitter medicine." The roots and the inside bark of the stalk were beaten up and put into water. After soaking thoroughly the medicine was tied up in a clean cloth and placed over any part of the body where a pain was felt, which it relieved, although it raised a blister. It was also put against the cheek outside of an aching tooth in order to destroy the pain—sometimes into the cavity of the tooth itself.

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70. Itichàlōkpa, the holly (*Ilex*). The inside bark was scraped off and boiled for a long time, perhaps four hours, in water, after which it was applied to sore eyes as a wash. It was administered three or four times a day.

71. Łatco, red oak. The bark was boiled, and in the morning before food had been taken the infusion was drunk and then vomited out by a person afflicted with lung trouble. It was sometimes used to wash bad smelling sores that had broken out on the feet or the head. When children old enough to walk were too weak to do so, red oak bark, tree moss, omāgāga, and oyimpàk'o (tall bushes which grow near rocks) were mashed up together and boiled in a pot and the whole used as a wash. Sometimes a doctor was employed in connection with this; sometimes not. Boiled red-oak bark was also resorted to in cases of sore throat.

72. Tàkàctaya, or Tàkāstāyà, *Cercis canadensis* L., popularly known as the "redbud" or "Judas tree." The roots and inside bark were put into a small bucket with water where they were sometimes conjured by the doctor and sometimes not. The mixture was then drunk from four to six times a day to cure a kind of "congestion" which causes one to become hot all over and is soon fatal if not checked.

73. Ahisi hàtka, "white medicine," perhaps ginseng. The roots were broken off and the milk that comes from them rubbed on sores.

74. Bàkca, bark of the slippery elm (*Ulmus fulva*). When a woman was in labor and the delivery was delayed this was sometimes administered to her after it had been boiled in water along with gunpowder. The reasons assigned involve sympathetic magic.

75. Ilopotle, "acting on or moving [the bowels]," *Sebastiana ligustrina* (Michx.) Muell. The roots of this were chewed to produce a movement of the bowels.

76. Dropsy was treated as follows: A limb was taken from the east side of each of four trees. These were put into a pot of water and boiled and the patient given a sweat bath. When he perspired profusely all over, he was washed in the same medicine and dressed in clean clothes. The same thing was repeated three times every day until he got well. Every morning, while this was going on, the doctor came and blew into the medicine. It was done for four successive days and if the treatment was ineffective it was repeated.

77. White-flour corn. To treat slow fever they pounded up four kernels of flour corn, mixed them with water, and poured the whole through a sieve held over the patient's head until all was gone. Next day the doctor did the same thing over again, calling upon the North, West, South, and East, blowing into the medicine and pouring it over the patient. Afterwards the patient's body was rubbed in order to bleach it, and that is why the white flour corn was used.

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In this way the soul of the sick man which was supposed to have gone up to the sky was recalled to its body.

78. Itco intcastuge, "deer's peas," *Erythrina herbacea*. The roots were pounded up, put into water, and the infusion drunk cold by a woman who had pains in the bowels.

79. Kâtsgimilpa, "catfish eat it," or "catfish food." This is the famous "black drink" or "cassine" (*Ilex vomitoria*) referred to by all early writers on the southern Indians. The Creeks commonly called it âsi, meaning simply "leaves," but sawâtcka is said by some to have been the true name.[46a] However, there appears to be some difference of opinion about this. I did not learn of any strictly medicinal purpose to which it was put by either the Alabama or the Creeks, though it was daily employed by the old people in early days to clear out the system and produce ceremonial purity. That it was supposed to possess more specific curative properties is shown by the following quotation from Adair:

"The Yopon, or Cusseena, is very plenty, as far as the salt air reaches over the low lands. It is well tasted, and very agreeable to those who accustom themselves to use it; instead of having any noxious quality, according to what many have experienced of the East-India insipid and costly tea, it is friendly to the human system, enters into a contest with the peccant humours, and expels them through the various channels of nature: it perfectly cures a tremor in the nerves." [47]

A toothache medicine was known to an old woman, now dead, living among the Alabama in Texas but belonging herself to the Biloxi or Pascagoula tribe. It is said to be only a few inches tall and to have a red blossom. Mrs. James McKee, wife of the farmer with whom I boarded while in Texas, told me that "old Sally," as this woman was called, had cured a toothache for her almost instantly by putting some of the root of this plant into the cavity. The first application was accompanied by intense pain which soon disappeared and never returned. Apparently the nerve had been killed. Afterwards she asked the old woman repeatedly to show her the plant but the latter refused to do so lest it should lose its efficacy.

Natchez Medicines

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The following medicines were enumerated to me by one of the few surviving Natchez Indians. As the latter are living among the Cherokee it is probable that they are as much Cherokee as Natchez, and indeed for some of them I could obtain only the Cherokee names. Unless otherwise stated, the native name is in Natchez.

80. Cherokee name kowaya yūst', "syphilis medicine," a species of *Ascyrum* popularly known as St. Andrew's cross. A tea was made from it and given to children unable to pass urine.

[46a] Possibly sawâtcka is from âsi, "leaves," and swotalteita, "to make vomit," or sawotka, "emetic."
[47] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 361.

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81. Paxpa'ugubic, *Triosteum perfoliatum*, popularly known as horse gentian and locally as pleurisy root. While this was a medicine plant, my informant did not know how it was employed.

82. This is a species of *Asclepias* popularly known as milkweed. My informant did not know of a native name for it either in Natchez or Cherokee. The root was cut into several small pieces, a tea made from them, and three swallows taken three times a day for four days to cure kidney trouble and Bright's disease. Meantime the patient must take nothing that contained salt.[47a]

83. Cherokee name antnàx iyūsti, "strawberry like," *Potentilla canadensis*, popularly called cinquefoil. This was given to one who had been bewitched.

84. We-bulu, *Smilax bona-nox*, popularly called cat briar. This stays green all winter, and so it is wet and rubbed on the face to make one young.

85. Tsoliyux, *Aristolochia serpentaria*. The whole plant is put into water and boiled, after which the infusion is taken internally while still warm to cure fevers.

86. Awel dàxdau^{a}, "dangerous plant," *Leptotaenia nuttallii*. If this plant is eaten in winter it is said that it will prove fatal because at that season the snakes put poison into it, but in summer it is used as a medicine, though my informant did not know for what diseases.

87. Cherokee name Tàloni yuxsti, perhaps from a town in the old country known as Tàlonigi [Dahlonega], (*Rhus trilobata*). The roots are gathered and kept all winter, and if a poultice is made from them and put over a boil it is certain to kill it.

88. Ooc bobàtsihic, "owl shoe," *Camassia esculenta*, popularly called quamash. It was used as a medicine but my informant could not say for what.

89. A species of *Porteranthus*, the Natchez and Cherokee names of which my informant could not give, nor did he himself know for what it was used, although he remembered having seen the old women hunting for it when he was a boy. He thought it might have been used by women during their monthly periods.

90. Cherokee name Ihiya yūst', "like cane," a species of *Panicum*, popularly called panic grass. An infusion was drunk warm to cure fevers which return every other day—i. e., malaria—and it was drunk hot for steady fevers.

91. Tsu ha'yax, *Rhamnus caroliniana*. Four blocks of wood were taken from this tree and a tea made out of them which was drunk for jaundice.

92. Cherokee name Gàhû^{a}ski, a species of *Pentstemon*. The *Collinsia violacea* is considered to be a smaller species of the same thing. A tea was made from the roots and administered to cure whooping cough, consumption, coughs, and colds.

[47a] This is probably identical with No. 93, though it may be a different species.

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93. A species of *Asclepias* popularly called "milkweed." No native name could be remembered. This was used in cases of syphilis.[47b]

94. Cāxwał. This is perhaps *Vernonia*, popularly known as ironweed. A tea was made out of the whole plant and drunk in cases of dysentery.

95. Wenądu ici, "cat's tail." This is still unidentified. A tea was made of the whole plant and was used like the preceding in cases of dysentery.

96. Agwenąhimbok, a species of *Antennaria*, popularly known as pussy toes (see p. 664). A tea was made from the tops and roots together and drunk warm to cure coughs and colds.

97. Awel abociił, *Northoscordum bivalve*, a relative of the wild onions. This was probably used as a medicine also, but my informant did not say for what.

98. Cedar (mōgąt) was used for pains in the shoulders, breast and back, for mumps, and swellings in the legs.

99. A root called by my informants the "pleurisy or butterfly root" is declared to have been as good a remedy as could be found for pneumonia or winter fever. The roots were boiled and the infusion taken a teacupful at a time. If one sick with a hot dry fever drank this and wrapped himself up well in bed he would soon perspire freely.

100. The "button snake-root" (āwelwaih; Creek, pāsa) is a great remedy for nosebleed. If the stem and leaves were chewed it would stop the flow of blood. A tea made of the parched plants was good for flux. After imbibing it the patient would fast until sundown and then make himself vomit. In olden days it is said to have been used instead of salt.

101. The entire plant of the long winter fern (tsōgōbīc, "bear paw;" Cherokee, "bear bed") was used as a remedy for scurvy.

102. The red willow (ōm bāgup, "red medicine"; Creek, miko hoyanīdja) was used for fevers.

103. The wormseed (ōm tsucgop, "strong-smelling medicine"; Creek, wīlāną) was given to people with fever or to children having worms.

104. "The devil's shoestring" (ąnūh tsānuh) was thought to be good for coughs. As among the Creeks, it was also used in poisoning fish.

105. A plant growing to a height of 2 or 3 feet on the uplands and 5 in the bottoms, with hollow stems reaching the size of a lead pencil, and a yellowish flower, is esteemed good for the liver (or spleen) and for pains in the side.

Songs with appropriate words must be employed in administering all of the above medicines.

[47b] Probably identical with No. 82, though possibly a different species.

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When a man became sick at the stomach and vomited it was believed that a dead person had been eating out of the same dish with him. 753

Water from certain springs was also used as a remedy. There is a prairie in the Cherokee Nation formerly known as Medicine Spring Prairie (Gun ōm gunâts) but now called Greenleaf Prairie (Tsu otol hāyāp). The medicine spring from which it was originally named is 4 miles east of Braggs and the water is good for rheumatism, fevers, backache, headache, pains in the breast or stomach, weak or sore eyes, and has especial value for children. The water makes one belch a great deal, and "when you first drink it you do not like it but after a time you get used to it and think it the finest water in the world." 757 312

In the mountains 5 or 6 miles farther east is another spring with the very same kind of water, and a third 2 to 3 miles above Gore, on the bank of the Illinois River. A long time ago the Indians used to throw things into these.

To these may be added some mention of medicines by early writers. Adair speaks of an aquatic plant, probably a species of yellow flowered water lily (*Nymphaea*), the seeds of which were used as food. After noting this fact he continues: "It is a sort of marsh-mallows, and reckoned a speedy cure for burning maladies, either outward or inward—for the former, by an outward application of the leaf; and for the latter, by a decoction of it drank plentifully." He adds that the Choctaw called one of their head towns by its name.[48] 757

Swan says: "The cassia fistularius, or pod of the wild locust, which grows here in abundance, furnishes them late in autumn with a kind of sweetmeats, which they gather and bring home wherever they can find it; and it is esteemed a good antidote in the complaints of their children."[49] It is quite certain that this is in reality the honey locust (*Gleditsia triacanthos*).

After mentioning whooping cough and worms as diseases from which Creek children frequently suffered Bartram says: "But (besides their well-known remedy, *Spigelia anthelmintica*), to prevent the troublesome and fatal effects of this disease, they use a strong *lixivium* prepared from ashes of bean-stalks and other vegetables, in all their food prepared from corn (*zea*), which otherwise, they say, breeds worms in their stomachs."[50]

Below we read: "The vegetables which I discovered to be used as remedies, were generally very powerful cathartics. Of this class are several species of the *Iris*, viz, *Ir. versicolor*, *Ir. verna*. And for the same purpose they have a high estimation of a species of either *Croton* or *Styllingia*, I am in doubt which." He adds that this last

[48] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 410. I have been unable to identify the name of the town.
[49] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[50] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 43.

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757 had been used very successfully by a white physician in North Carolina "in curing the *yaws*." [51]

Still farther on he says: "Several species of *Smilax*, the woody vines of *Bignonia crucigera*, some of the *bays* (*laurus*), are of great account with the Indians as remedies . . .

"The caustic and detergent properties of the white nettle (roots) of Carolina and Florida (*Jatropha urens*), used for cleansing old ulcers and consuming proud-flesh, and likewise the dissolvent and diuretant powers of the root of the convolvulus panduratus [*Ipomoea pandurata*], so much esteemed as a remedy in nephritic complaints, were discovered by the Indians to the inhabitants of Carolina." [52]

One or two other items may be added from notes taken by the Agent Eakins from an Alabama Indian:

"The big prairie-weed is used as an emetic, taken as a tea. For cathartics they have a number of roots and weeds, prepared as a tea . . . They have two modes of treating eruptions of the skin: First, the external application of a decoction of herbs; and, Secondly, by steaming with the same decoction. The cause of their known and general failure to treat small-pox, or varioloid, is, First, their limited knowledge of the nature of the disease; and, Secondly, their belief that it is contagious prevents their administering for its cure. In no cases, whatever, do men assist in parturition. After parturition, [844] they use a simple root or weed. For paralysis, their treatment is not, in all cases, successful, which is generally by roots or herbs. They use the vapor bath efficaciously." [53]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

796 Through the kindness of Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., I am able to add the following notes regarding a Creek busk witnessed by the artist J. M. Stanley and Mr. Sumner Dickerman in the summer of 1843, the year after the busk described by General Hitchcock. They were contained in a letter written at "Bayou Menard, Cherokee Nation, August 4, 1843," by Mr. Dickerman and printed in a newspaper, and give little more than an account—a very good one nevertheless—of the women's dance. The town was probably Tukabahchee, but this is uncertain. Mr. Dickerman, as well as his companion, seems to have had some artistic ability, since the services of both gentlemen were utilized by the Indians in painting a banner for the occasion. "On one side was painted the American Eagle, with the motto, 'E Pluribus Unum,' and the thirteen stars; on the other the crossed pipes, hatchet, and clasped hands, with the motto of 'Peace and Friendship.'" After Mr. Dickerman had run this up on a pole about 21 feet high, at one corner of the square, the Indians took it down and inverted it so that the eagle might be seen from the inside of the square as the wind was then blowing.

Mr. Dickerman describes the ceremonial ground as measuring "about 35 feet square," and says, "on each side is a small house with open front, facing the interior, and an entrance from each end of the house. Seats were arranged in

[51] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., p. 44.
[52] Ibid., pp. 46-47.
[53] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 274.

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each house made of matting of cane wove together with bark. In the centre of the square they have a fire, which is not suffered to go out during the year. At the time of the *Busk* every family in the town is obliged to put out their fire at home and go to the Busking ground and encamp." He was, as we know, misinformed regarding the fire, which was kept up only during the ceremonial period. He now proceeds to describe the doings of the first day as follows:

"The *Busk* is a religious ceremony, to return thanks to the Great Spirit for their abundant crops of Corn, and might be called their sacrament, as it is observed with the utmost strictness and self-denial. The first day of the ceremony was commenced by the women dancing. They gave us the highest seat in the synagogue, where we could see every thing that was going on. The little King, or Chief of the town, with three others, took their seats upon the cane mats at one corner of the square, and in a few moments after they were seated, four gourds were brought to them on a server made of cane, which was painted white with a kind of clay, and contained small round seeds. Each man took one and they then commenced singing and keeping time with the gourds, the women at the same time coming into the square in Indian file, marched up in front and faced the singers. After they had come in to the number of one hundred and fifty, the singing ceased, and the speaker gave them a 'talk,' the substance of which, I am sorry to say I am unable to give you, as we had no interpreter by us at that time. At the conclusion of the speech the singing again commenced, and the four old women who led the dance, each holding a stick about a foot long, painted red and ornamented with Eagle's feathers, commenced beating time. The King gave a signal by the shake of the gourd, and they all immediately faced about and commenced beating time with their feet. About fifty of them wore terrapin shells upon their legs, which are made in the following manner: They boil the terrapin, extract all the meat, and then fill it with small pebble stones. Ten or twelve of these are fastened in a semicircular form upon a piece of Buffalo skin, and tied upon the leg just above the knee. They generally wear one on each leg, and in dancing they all keep perfect time, and it is impossible to conceive what a rattling noise they make. Another double shake of the gourd, and they all commenced dancing around the fire in the centre of the square. In this way they continued dancing incessantly for two hours, the sun shining full upon them, and the thermometer ranging from 90 to 100 in the shade. Their dresses defy description. Out of the whole number I could not designate two of the same figure. They were principally of calico and cotton of their own manufacture. They were made in a style peculiar to the Creeks and Seminoles. The border is made to hang loose, and detached from the skirt. The skirt is tied around the waist, and is worked to the depth of 12 or 15 inches from the bottom with different colors, in various devices. On these occasions they always put on all and the best they have. I saw one woman near our camp put on five dresses. They wore a great many ornaments, such as beads, earrings, hair-combs, etc. I saw one woman with ten pair of silver ear-rings in her ears, four pounds of large blue and white beads around her neck, silver armbands upon her arms, and about ten yards of different colored ribbons flowing from the top of her head. While the women were dancing the men were all seated in the houses forming the square, feasting upon boiled meat, potatoes, honey and water-mellons. They asked us if we had eaten any green corn this season; we replied that we had. They then told us if we had not eaten corn we could have eaten with them, but if we had eaten of it we could not, for it would spoil their physic, and offend the Great Spirit. Thus passed the first day of the Bu[illegible] . . ."

Dickerman promised to continue his description of the ceremony in later letters but unfortunately they are not available to me.

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MODERN SQUARE GROUNDS OF THE CREEK INDIANS

(With Five Plates)

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MODERN SQUARE GROUNDS OF THE CREEK INDIANS

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(With Five Plates)

The writer has already published descriptions of many of the square grounds of the Creek Indians, the sacred areas where their busks and other annual ceremonies took place.[1] In collecting this material, however, my endeavor was to learn the most ancient arrangement of the several grounds and the arrangement of those grounds no longer in use. During the summer of 1929 I visited the Creek country again to secure information regarding the organization of the extant grounds. This work duplicates and supplements the earlier to a considerable extent, but the main purpose was somewhat different.

Besides the three Yuchi grounds, now in the vicinity of Kellyville, Bixby, and Depew, respectively, with which I did not concern myself, there are, or were in 1929, 17 square grounds, as follows: Abihka and Otciapofa near Henryetta; Nuyaka north of Okemah; Łåłogålga[2] or Fish Pond and Åsilanabi west of Okemah; two Tulsa grounds near Holdenville; Tukabahchee at Yeager; Łapłåko near Wetumka; Alabama east of Alabama Station on the Frisco Railroad; Eufaula west of Eufaula; Kasihta east of Okmulgee; and Hilibi, Kealedji, Okchai, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki about Hanna. Abihka, Otciapofa, Nuyaka, Łåłogålga, Kasihta, Hilibi, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki were visited, and new information obtained regarding all of the others except Eufaula, of which I secured very good descriptions 17 years before. The Eufaula ground, that of Åsilanabi, one of the Tulsa grounds, Tukabahchee, Alabama, and Okchai were visited in the winter of 1911-1912. Kasihta is the only square ground representing the Lower Creeks now maintained. It was not in existence during my earlier work in the Creek Nation, nor were Łapłåko or Kealedji.[3] These two last and the Yuchi grounds are the only ones that I have not seen. I was present at part of the busks at Otciapofa, Nuyaka, and Pakan Tallahassee. Not much attention was devoted

[1] 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1924-25, pp. 204-296, 1928.

[2] In the present paper, å indicates the obscure a in such a word as ability, and ł or Ł is a surd l approximating thl in English.

[3] But see p. 35 regarding the former.

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114 to the Seminole grounds, but information was obtained regarding one
344 of these, Ochesee Seminole, which had been discontinued in 1912, when I visited the Seminole squares, but was afterwards revived.

000 In order to make the material obtained in 1929 intelligible, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the Creek political, social, and ceremonial organization.

101 The name Creek is a shortened form of Ochesee Creek Indians, a name which English traders from South Carolina came to apply to that part of the Indians of the Creek Confederation who were living upon Ocmulgee River in the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. The word Ochesee signifies "people of a different speech" in the language of the Hitchiti, one of the minor constituents of the Creek Confederacy, being equivalent to the word Tciloki in the Creek or Muskogee language. It was applied to the Creeks proper or Muskogee by the Hitchiti along with many other tribes, but came in some way to be particularly associated with the Muskogee and the river upon which they were then living.

101 Anciently there seems not to have been a single term applicable
619 to all of the Muskogee, the latter name having been unknown to the Spaniards who first entered this section. It does not make its appearance until the English had settled in the Carolinas. The origin of the word is uncertain, but there are indications that it was derived from Shawnee, since a band of Shawnee lived for a time near what is now Augusta, Ga., and from a very early period occupied an intermediate position between South Carolina and Georgia on the one hand and the Creek Nation on the other. It is probable that there were originally several tribes speaking the same language but having separate names and that the necessity for a distinguishing term for all did not present itself until the number of non-Muskogee tribes in the Confederation came to be considerable. As to the names of these Muskogee tribes, we seem to have indications of the following: Abihka, Coosa, Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Hilibi, Eufaula, Kasihta and Coweta (or perhaps an original tribe of which the Kasihta and Coweta were sections). There were some other groups on the lower course of Tallapoosa River, such as the Atasi, Kealedji, and Kolomi, which cannot be definitely placed and may have been independent of these or early subdivisions of them. Of course some may represent people of wholly different connections who had become assimilated to the Muskogee and had lost their own language and customs. This is rendered probable from the fact that we have

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several actual cases of such assimilation in later times. However, so far as the tribes enumerated are concerned, this must always remain in doubt. 101 619

When the tribes of the Confederation first became known to white people, they were distributed geographically into two main sections to which the names Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks have become attached. The former were on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers and the upper course of Alabama River in the present state of Alabama, the latter on the lower and middle courses of the Chattahoochee, which now forms part of the boundary between Alabama and Georgia. It was this latter division principally which lived upon Ocmulgee River for a time and thus gave rise accidentally to the popular English name for the entire people. A minor division also existed between those Creeks living on the middle course of Coosa River and those centering about the lower Tallapoosa, the two being sometimes designated as Upper and Middle Creeks, respectively. In the distribution of the original Muskogee tribes, the Abihka and Coosa constituted the greater part of the Upper Creeks, while the Kasihta and Coweta were the dominating element among the Lower Creeks. The Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, Liwahali, Lapłàko, Kolòni, and a number of towns descended from the Coosa, including Otciapofa, the Tulsa towns, and the Okfuskee towns, besides several minor groups, formed the bulk of the Middle Creeks. The Eufaula had the distinction of being connected with all three. Their oldest seat seems to have been in the Upper Creek country; later they established themselves among the Middle Creeks and about the period of first white contact they formed a colony well down Chattahoochee River, among the Lower Creeks. To complete the story of their migrant habits, we may add that they seem to have furnished the first true Muskogee contingent to the Florida Seminole in the Red House or Tcuko Tcati Indians north of Tampa Bay.

Tradition seems to be borne out by circumstantial evidence in pointing to the Lower Creek country as that region in which the tribes in question began their federation. According to the story this had to do on the one hand with the division of the Muskogee into the Kasihta and Coweta and on the other with the relations between them and the non-Muskogee elements, particularly the Apalachicola. The relations of the Kasihta and Coweta to each other are somewhat uncertain, for while it is at times implied that they resulted from the fission of a single body of people, the most popular traditions speak of them as having come from the west 101 619 642

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as two distinct tribes and it is possible that the one-tribe idea may be the result of later rationalizing. The story goes that, having defeated all of their enemies, the Kasihta and Coweta instituted periodical ball games as a kind of "moral equivalent for war," and afterwards, when either of them established relations of friendship with other Indians, whether Muskogee or not, these Indians entered on the same side as their friends so that this dual system soon became general.

One of these sides, that of Kasihta, came to be known as the White or Peace side, though it did not receive that specific name; while the side of Coweta was the Red or War side.

At the same early period the Muskogee entered into intimate relations with the Apalachicola Indians, who spoke a dialect related to Hitchiti. This was the outgrowth of a treaty of peace following upon hostilities, or to avert threatened hostilities. The Apalachicola were then taken into the Confederation on the same side as Kasihta. In some particulars, however, they are held to have been more representative of the White towns than Kasihta and for that reason their settlement came to be called Tâlwa Łâko, "Big Town." Indeed, the migration legend related to Oglethorpe by Tchikilli implies that Kasihta was at least partly Red, their hearts being "red on one side and white on the other." However, in all later times Kasihta assumes the leadership of the White towns among the Lower Creeks, as does Coweta the leadership of the Red towns. Four having been the sacred number—the sacred formulae being gone through four times, four arbors or beds constituting the ceremonial buildings in the square ground and four sticks the number employed in the ceremonial fires—it is not surprising that the Creeks should select two towns from the Upper Creeks, taken collectively, to add to these two leading Lower Creek towns. The White towns of the Upper Creeks were represented by Abihka, the Red towns by Tukabahchee, the second being from that group I have called Middle Creeks, the other from the northernmost bounds of the Nation. These four towns were the "back sticks" of the Confederation, and each had a special ceremonial name, viz., Kasihta Łâko ("Big Kasihta"), Coweta Mahmayi ("Tall Coweta"), Tukabahchee Ispokogi, and Abihka Nâgi. Ispokogi was the name of the culture heroes of the Tukabahchee and it may be a Shawnee term. It bears a suspicious resemblance to that of the Kispokotha band of Shawnee. I do not know the meaning of Nâgi. The Abihka were also called specifically "the door-shutters," because they protected the northern frontier of the Confederation.

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In course of time the non-Muskogee element represented by the Apalachicola Indians was increased, first by other groups related to the last mentioned—such as the Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, and Tamali—who spoke closely related languages and called themselves Atcik-hata, a term said to have some reference to the ashes of the ceremonial fire in the square grounds. These Indians formed the greater part of the first Creek invaders of Florida who presently constituted the Seminole nation. The leading town in this southward movement was Oconee, almost certainly affiliated with the Atcik-hata, and the titular leadership among the Seminole remained with them until after the Seminole War. However, the complexion of the Seminole as a whole was changed from Atcik-hata or Hitchiti, to Muskogee by the multitudes of refugees which fled to Florida after the Creek War of 1813-14. The later removal to Oklahoma seems to have reversed the situation since more than two-thirds of the Indians now in Florida speak a language of the Hitchiti group. 101 619 642

There is strong evidence that the Chiaha Indians originally spoke Hitchiti and that the Mikasuki of Florida branched off from them, but some early event in their history separated them from the other Atcik-hata and made them allies of the Coweta. This friendship they shared with the Osotci who seem originally to have belonged to the Timucua linguistic group of Florida. To the Upper Creeks were added the distinct but dialectically related Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, while bands of Yamasi and Apalachee were temporarily connected with both Upper and Lower Creeks. The Alabama town of Tawasa seems to have had an origin similar to that of the Osotci. At a very late date the wholly alien Yuchi population was admitted into the Confederation, most of them making their home among the Lower Creeks though there was a small body also among the Upper Creeks. And more divergent still were the Shawnee, from among whom two towns made their homes in Creek territory for several decades during the eighteenth century. One of these probably continued on into the early years of the nineteenth century.

It may be added that towns are known to have changed from one side to the other. Alabama was once a White town closely associated with the Okchai, but later they were affiliated with the Tukabahchee and came to be reckoned as Red. Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Wiwohka are also said to have shifted from one side to the other. In the case of the two last this may be partially explained by the fact that, if we may trust native tradition, they were built up of refugees from other settlements.

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619 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns
621 of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogâlga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłako, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were
615 usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tâmi with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

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Łidjámi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, and Muskrat[1] were usually placed with the Raccoon.

Some phratral associations, however, were confined to one or a few towns and did not extend throughout the nation. Thus the Potato was commonly placed in one phratry with the Raccoon but in Tukabahchee it was separated. The Beaver was usually placed with the Bird, but in Alabama it was quite distinct. On the other hand it was sometimes classed with the Alligator. Occasionally the Aktayatci formed one phratry with the Raccoon, and much more rarely the Deer and Panther were found together. Differences of this kind were due in some measure to the council system. Every important clan in a given town, or every group of related clans, held meetings during the annual ceremony known as the busk and each listened to an address by its oldest capable male member or "uncle." If an individual came to live in a town in which his own clan or his phratral group was not represented, he would elect to affiliate with one of those already in existence. It was usual for all of the children of each group of this kind to consider themselves brothers and sisters between whom marriage was ordinarily prohibited. However, the information I received shows plainly that sexual intimacy between individuals of linked clans was not considered as serious as between members of the same clan. It is specifically stated regarding some of these clans that "they were kin" up to noon, or up to midnight, and separate the rest of the time, *i. e.*, a limited taboo was maintained against them. It is also said that a man would sometimes pretend that a woman whom he wished to marry was of a certain clan, for which he would manufacture a name, although she was in fact of his own, and that, if he were a man of influence, he often "put over" this new creation of his. On the other hand, I have been told that, even though children of certain of the primary clans were brought up together, they would never be regarded as brothers and sisters. It is quite plain that all sorts of variations had grown up in response to unpredictable situations.

When one eliminates the obscure and the constantly linked clans, about nine are left of something like major importance. These are the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther. We should perhaps add the Potato. The Beaver, however, has importance mainly in one group of towns, and the Aktayatci appear to have been rather closely associated with the Hitchiti and the Seminole, but also with Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula.

[1] In the 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (p. 116) I erroneously called this the Mink.

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614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagálgi, "White People," and Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tcíloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tcíloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tcíloki. The Alligator is most often Tcíloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tcíloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tcíloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohīl Yáhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

621 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups
624 in each town which had official functions. Some of these were

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determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała làbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or hołibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called istatcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

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344 rationalization, there can be no doubt that the earlier ceremonial grounds of the constituent members were altered in many particulars in conformity with the prevailing pattern.

All the grounds known to us originally consisted of three elements, a tcokofa or community hot house used in bad weather or for secret ceremonies, a "square ground," and a "chunkey yard," or ball ground. The name "chunkey yard" is derived from an old pastime which consisted in rolling a stone disk along a level plot of land and throwing certain long poles after it, the game turning on the relative nearness of the poles to the roller after all had come to rest. There was a single pole in the middle of this yard surmounted by a cow or horse skull or by a wooden figure, and about this men and women played against each other in a kind of ball game. This game was mainly confined to people of the town and was social in character while the great ball game, similar to our game of lacrosse, was played by men only and was highly ceremonial. The fact that the "chunkey yard" was a part of the ceremonial ground may indicate that the single pole game formerly had more religious significance than was the case in later times.

The tcokofa has long been out of use, though at Tukabahchee fire was until recently lighted in the middle of a circular offset of the ceremonial ground where this structure would stand if it were still in existence, and one such building was put up at Pakan Tallahassee after the Civil War.

The most important part of the ceremonial area today is the "square ground," so called because in the largest towns there were on it four long cabins or arbors, in native parlance "beds," forming four sides of a square. Partly from tribal idiosyncrasy and still more on account of failing numbers, several of these grounds now lack one cabin, and the Alabama ground lacks two. Today the cabins consist merely of two or three rows of split logs to serve as seats and an arbor of boughs to shield their occupants from the direct rays of the sun, but anciently the seats consisted of mats woven out of cane raised upon short posts and the cabins were provided with a back and roof of wattle or split shingles plastered with clay. The arbors in the largest modern towns are supported on eight posts, four in front and four behind, but some have only six, and most of the Seminole towns only four. On the other hand, a sketch of one of these cabins made by a Frenchman early in the eighteenth century shows ten posts, five in front and five at the back. Today, however, the eight post arrangement seems to be considered orthodox, and the three sections marked off by these

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posts are used for the seating of as many clans, groups of clans or related officials. 344

Considerable variation in the ancient and intended plan has been brought about by the attrition which the tribe and its several divisions have undergone, loss of the keepers of the sacred lore, and other factors, but it is plain that normally one of the four cabins was mainly devoted to the miko and his clan. Hence it was called mikâlgi (or mikâgi) intupa, the "Chiefs' bed." Another was devoted mainly to the henīhâlgi and was named from them, another to the higher class of warriors, the tâstânâgâlgi, and so received their name, and still another to the novitiate warriors or youths from whom it was called tâsikaiâlgi intupa or tcibânâgâlgi intupa. The positions of these in the square ground varies considerably. It should be stated in the first place that the cabins are placed normally toward the four points of the compass, but that for some unexplained reason in the square of Tukabahchee the entrances are toward the cardinal points. In the old Kasihta square, which seems to have set the fashion for many other towns, the mikos' cabin lay west, the henihas' south, the tâstânâgis' north, and the tâsikaias' east. In the Okfuskee towns, of which Nuyaka is an example, the mikos' cabin lay north, the henīhas' east, the tâstânâgis' west, and the tâsikaias' south. In Pakan Tallahassee the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' south, the tâstânâgis' west, and there is no east cabin. In Eufaula the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' east and the tâstânâgis' south, the west cabin being missing. In Alabama, where there are but two cabins, the mikos' cabin is east.

The other variations in the arrangement of the squares will come out in the subjoined material, but before presenting it something must be said regarding town officials.

The miko, as already stated, was chief of the town, its head [622] presiding officer and responsible executive. Like many of the other 624 officers he had a special companion or henīha taken from the Wind clan or whatever clan occupied the position of henīhâlgi. This henīha is sometimes called miko apokta, "second chief," but the latter name is also given to still another functionary who shares the burdens of state with his superior. The chief had one or more yatikas or interpreters who also bore the name asimbonaia, "speakers." Unless wanted to make an announcement or to send upon an errand, they sat with their clan or other group to which they normally belonged. The tâstânâgi lâko and holibonaia have been mentioned. The position of holibonaia, "war speaker" was the most exalted military position, and it is possible that there was only one such official at a time in

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624 the entire Creek Nation. It was the position occupied by Hobohīl Yàhola, famous leader of the Creeks during their removal west and all of their subsequent troubled history until the Civil War. He was not a miko even of one town, but his influence was actually greater than that of any miko, or any number of them. There were two ta'pala, whose chief function was to act as messengers before and during the women's dance, and there were two singers for the women (inyahaikàlgi, "singers for them"), who sat at the end of one of the cabins just in front of the spot where the women began dancing. They were usually selected for their knowledge of songs rather than on account of their clan affiliations. The hilis haya was the head priestly functionary. He supervised the preparation of the medicines and gave them their final potency and he ordered everything in any way touching upon the supernatural. He was assisted by one or more men called hilis tcàlaba or "medicine mixers," whose functions are defined by the name, and by two or more young men called hilis hoboia, "medicine gatherers," who collected the red root, pasa, and other plants that went into the sacred medicine. Some towns seem to have had a separate official called tutka dīdja, "fire builder," to start the fire, but in others the hilis haya did that, and there was instead a tutka oktidīdja, "gatherer of wood" for the fire. A number of boys known as oidjawàlgi brought water for the medicines. In one town we learn of ahaga haiyàlgi, "law makers," who are said to carry out the instructions of the tàstànàgis and may be identical with the imałas elsewhere mentioned. There were also officers called simiabaia, or "leaders." The hoktàgi immiko, "chief of the women," and his henīha, may have been identical with the ta'palas. Anciently the tàstànàgis and their assistants acted as town police, but nowadays three or four light horsemen are selected at random to police the square ground during ceremonies, and there are boys called "dog whippers" with long whips stationed at each opening into the square during the women's dance to drive away dogs. Many of these officers were chosen for four years only. If one died before the expiration of his term, a substitute was selected from the same clan, which seems to indicate that the position was something of a clan prerogative.

796 Of the ceremonies which took place on these grounds, only two have survived. One, called by the popular local name of "stomp dance," was confined to the people of the town and was simple in character, the miko hoyanīdja (red willow) being ordinarily the only medicine used during it. There were no dances other than the common and relatively secular ones, no ceremonial lighting of the fires, no

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ceremonial complications of any sort. It seems to have been usual to hold three of these dances in the spring and early summer, a month apart, the series paving the way for, and leading up to, the second ceremonial, the "busk," which was the great annual ritual. This last is usually considered as lasting four days, though in that four are included the days of assembling and departure. The principal event on the second day is the women's dance. On the third day the men fast, take medicine four times, and near its close march down to the creek and bathe. After they return, they are dismissed to their camps and break their fast. Later they are summoned to the square again where they dance four times, and then the dance becomes "common," visitors from friendly towns being admitted to it. A fire is kept up all night in the center of the square and dancing continues about it until it is nearly day. In former times many, perhaps all, of the towns extended their busks over eight days, but from what can be learned of these longer ceremonials they seem to have been in the main a simple doubling of the shorter ceremony, except for a few features like the kindling of the new fire which took place but once annually. 796

Let us now turn to the new material regarding the square grounds and the ceremonies conducted there. Under each heading I give the notes obtained from native informants belonging to the square or town in question.

ABIHKA

Figure 1 gives the general arrangement of the square of Abihka, or Talladega, and Plate 1, Figure 1, gives a view of the ground itself near Henryetta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912. The exposure was made from the southwest. 344 621 796

The medicines were taken first by those in the Bears' bed, then in succession by those in the beds of the Raccoon on the west side, the Raccoon on the east side, the Deer, and those in the south bed. The asimbonaia in the northern section of the east cabin acted more particularly as the chief's messenger; the one in the western compartment of the south cabin called first the women and then the children to come to take their medicine from the vessel at the north end of the east cabin. The ta'palas were changed every four years. The women gathered preparatory to their dance at a tree on the edge of the tadjo (the ridge of sweepings that makes the edge of the ceremonial ground) and entered the section about the fire at its northwestern corner. Five pots of medicine were prepared at the north end of the west cabin (fig. 1, 11). Afterward one pot

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was placed a little farther north and west for the boys (12) and another was carried around to the north end of the east cabin for the women and children (13). The ingredients of this medicine

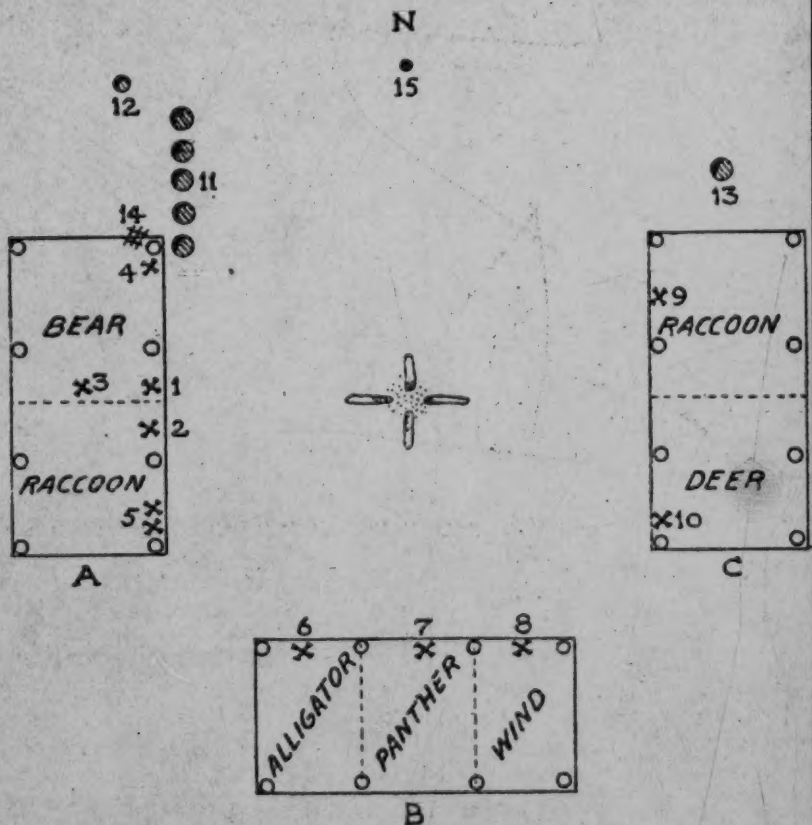

FIG. 1.—General arrangement of the square of Abihka.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikâlgi or mikâgi intupa); 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Raccoon); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon); 4, hilis tcâlaba; 5, yâhaikas (any clan).

B. Henihas' Bed (henihâlgi intupa): 6, asimbonaia (Alligator); 7, ta'pala (Panther); 8, ta'pala (Wind).

C. Warriors' Bed (tàstànàgâlgi intupa): 9, asimbonaia (Raccoon); 10, tutka dīdja (Deer).

11, medicine pots (1st position); 12, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 13, medicine pot for women (2d position); 14, place where medicines were piled immediately after they were brought in; 15, ball post (pokâbi).

It is to be noted that, in all of these diagrams, the ball post was actually much farther from the center of the square than is indicated.

were miko hoyanīdja ("red root"), pasa ("buttonsnake-root"), wīlana ("wormseed"), and hobâga ("maypop"); tcato hâtki ("white stones") were added. After the ceremony was about over and the fasters were ready to go down to bathe in the creek, what was left

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of the medicine was poured on the fire. It is said that one gallon of spring water was brought for all five pots. This must mean a gallon for each. Following are the busk names of the present officers: 344 621 796

miko	Tcûktcât Heniha
heniha	Itcha Hadjo
hilis tcâlaba	Konip Yâhola
ta'pala	Katca Tâstânâgi
"	Kona Yâhola
tutka dîdja	Tâstânâkutci
asimbonaia	Wotko Fiksiko
"	Kapitca Hadjo

The Hathagâlgi of this town are Wind and Bear; the Tcilokogâlgi are Panther, Raccoon, Deer, Beaver, Alligator, and Bird.

My information regarding this ground was obtained mainly from Jim Star who described the Talladega ground to me in 1912, the plan of which is in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 205. The different aspect of the east cabin is mainly due to the fact that the earlier account gives a more ancient arrangement, when the warriors were graded into tâstânâgis, and big and little imałas. The position assigned to the hilis haya in the earlier plan is probably erroneous. The other differences are due mainly to the more extensive information obtained on my last trip. My new information disagrees with the older, however, in assigning the Bird, Beaver, and Alligator clans to the Tciloki side as was said to be the case at Abihka-in-the-West instead of to the White side as was given me for Talladega and the old Abihka town near Eufaula. It is probable that the new information is correct since the last mentioned square was given up when the man from whom I obtained data regarding it was a boy. However, it must be remembered that these allocations are not invariable and probably changed at times even within the same town.

OTCIAPOFA, OR HICKORY GROUND

Figure 2 shows the square ground of Otciapofa, popularly known as Hickory Ground.

The hilis tcâlaba was changed every four years and was not taken invariably from the same clan.

At the southernmost front post of the east cabin were fastened two poles with black feathers tied to the ends and at every other front post were three similar poles but with white feathers. These were carried by the men in the "feather dance."

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In the women's dance there is but one leader who carries a notched stick called atâsa, the old name of the war club, from the middle of which depends an eagle feather.

Besides the invariable miko hoyanīdja or "red root," the busk medicine contained tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), wīlana ("wormseed"), tutka-tcok-hissi (a place on the ground where wood has been burned and moss has sprung up), and hobâga ("maypop").

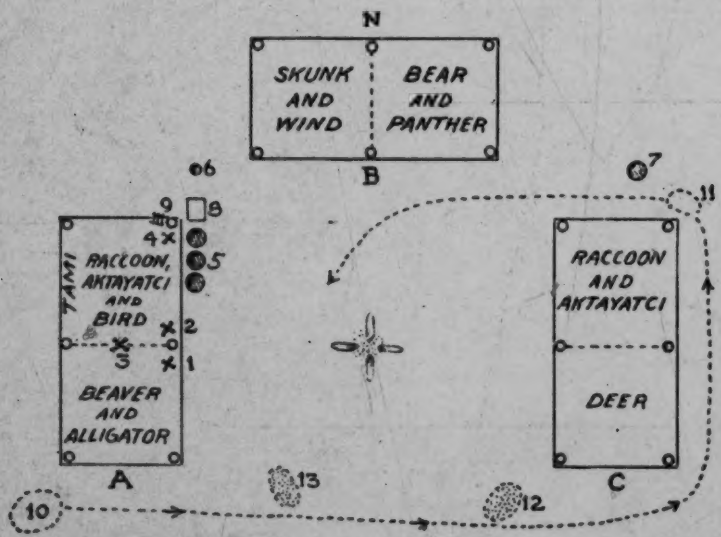

FIG. 2.—The square ground of Otciapofa, or Hickory Ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Beaver); 2, miko apokta (Beaver); 3, hilis haya (any clan; at present Wind); 4, hilis tcâlaba (changed every 4 years; now Beaver).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed.

5, medicine pots (1st position); 6, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 7, medicine pot for woman (2d position); 8, log on which medicines were laid and macerated with a small wooden pounder; 9, place where medicines were kept; 10, point where women gathered preparatory to their dance; 11, point where women made a final stop before entering to dance; 12, where the ashes from the central fire were deposited every year; 13, sweepings from the square ground (tâdjo); 14, ball post.

As usual, the doctor perfected this medicine by blowing into it through a hollow reed. Two men took medicine at the same time, using gourd dippers. After all were through a dipperful was poured on the fire.

For a drum they use a stout jar and there are two coconut-shell rattles.

There is a line of tâdjo (sweepings) around the four cabins but it does not include the ball post. In playing the single pole game a

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hit on the skull at the top counts five and a hit on the pole above a certain mark counts two when it is struck twice in succession.

The Hathagas consisted of the Beaver, Alligator, Bird, Bear, Skunk, Wind, and Rabbit; the Tcilokis of the Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and Aktayatci. The Rabbit, Wind, and Skunk formed one phratry.

The information regarding this ground which I obtained in 1912 was particularly incomplete. It is therefore gratifying to find that there are no serious discrepancies between the plan based on that (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 211) and the present information. Some clans are given in one and omitted from the other, but where the same ones appear in both they have practically the same positions except for the Bear, which, according to the earlier description, sat in the west cabin and according to the later at the east end of the north cabin; and the Tâmi, which the former places at the west end of the north cabin and the latter at the back of the northern section of the west cabin. The location of the miko, miko apokta or henīha, and hilis haya is probably more exact in the later plan which also adds many more details. The informants differed somewhat regarding the Hathagas and Tcilokis, the earlier authority placing the Beaver among the Tciloki and the Panther among the Whites, allocations exactly reversed by my later informant.

LITTLE TULSA

Next we come to one of the two divisions into which the Tulsa have recently split, this being known as Little Tulsa (fig. 3). Plate 1, Figure 2, shows the old Tulsa ground in 1911 from the southeast, before the fission had occurred.

It is said that all of the offices are filled from particular clans. The following is a list of the present officers; exclusive of the miko and his henīha:

tâstânâgi łako	Ispani Tâstânâgi
tâstânâgi	Kapitca Tâstânâgi
"	Lata Miko (controls the two above)
ahaga haiyâlgi ("law makers") (messengers for the tâstânâgis)	Kapitca Tâstânâgi (Aktayatci), and Tâmi Tâstânâgi (Tâmi)
simiabaia	Kântcati Miko (busk name) or Nokos Hadjo (common name)
hilis haya	Miko Tcâpko (Beaver)
hilis tcâlaba	Tâmi Yâhola (Tâmi)
tutka oktidjdja	Tâmâłâkutci (Tâmi)

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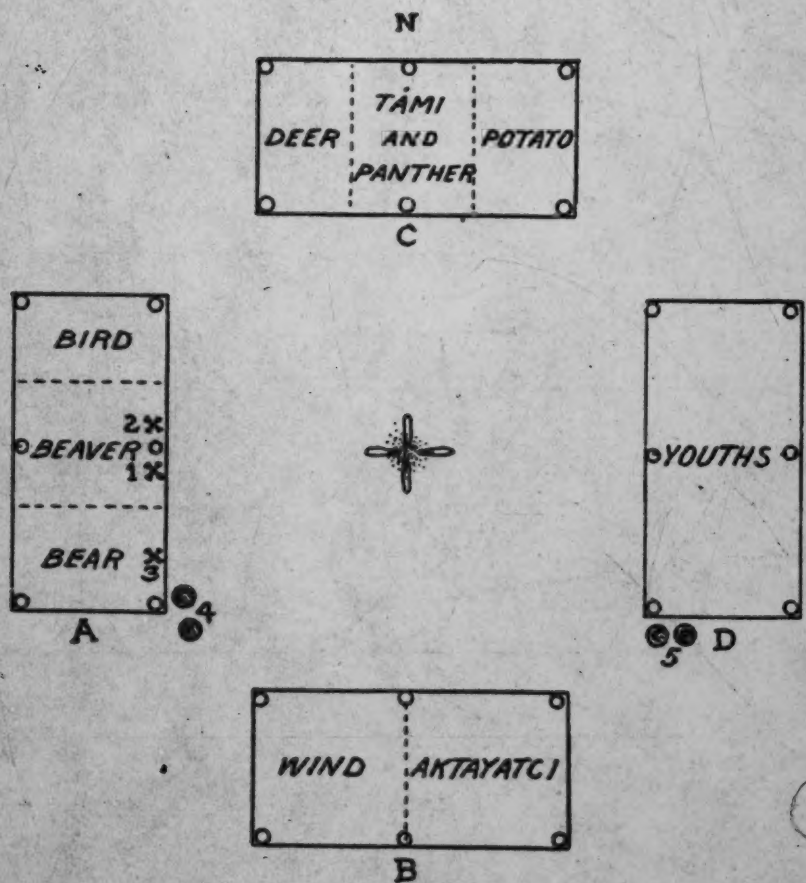

FIG. 3.—Little Tulsa square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko; 2, heniha; 3, simiabafia.
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

4, old location of medicine pots; 5, modern location of medicine pots.

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ta'pala	Nokos Fiksiko (Bear)
"	Tâmi Hâtkutci (Tâmi)
yâhaikas	Kapitca Fiksiko (Aktayatci), and Pin Hadjo (Tâmi)
Captain of the Light Horsemen	Yâhola Tcâpko (Tâmi)
Light Horsemen	Oktcân Hadjo (Bear) Fûs Yâholutc (Beaver) Kapitcutci (Aktayatci)

The ta'palas functioned at the women's dance, the yâhaikas sang at the women's dance and at the feather dance.

My original Tulsa data, published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (p. 213), was obtained from an old man and was intended to reflect the most ancient arrangement he could remember. Since that time the Tulsa Indians who used to meet at the Little River ground have divided and maintain two distinct squares. The general agreement between the older and the later plan is therefore surprisingly close. The principal difference seems to be in the position given the Aktayatci who appear in the north bed in the earlier plan and in the south bed in the later one. The earlier plan may also be in error in the position given the medicine pots but this was subject to change from town to town and during the ceremony itself. The Eagle clan, which appears on the older plan, died out so long ago that it can barely be remembered by any living Creeks.

NUYAKA

The plan of this ground is given in Figure 4 and a view of it as it appeared some years ago in Plate 2, Figure 1.

The positions of hilis haya, hilis tcâlaba, and tutka dîdja were held for four years when the man and clan were changed so as to teach others the duties of these offices. The tâstânâgis and imałas had become confined to one or two clans. The hoktâgi immiko and his henîha controlled the women's dance and were called istatcagas. The term hola'ta was applied to a certain class at the square ground in some towns, sometimes to the Tcilokis, but its application here is not explained. The first ta'pala acted under the women's chief. He was taken from the Bear clan, or, failing that, from the following in order of preference: Wind, Raccoon, Tâmi.

In taking the medicines they drank of the miko hoyanîdja first and pasa second.

A rock was placed under the miko's seat "to make the seat heavy." Anciently there was a tcokofa northeast of the square. Nowadays the ground is hoed off only once a year.

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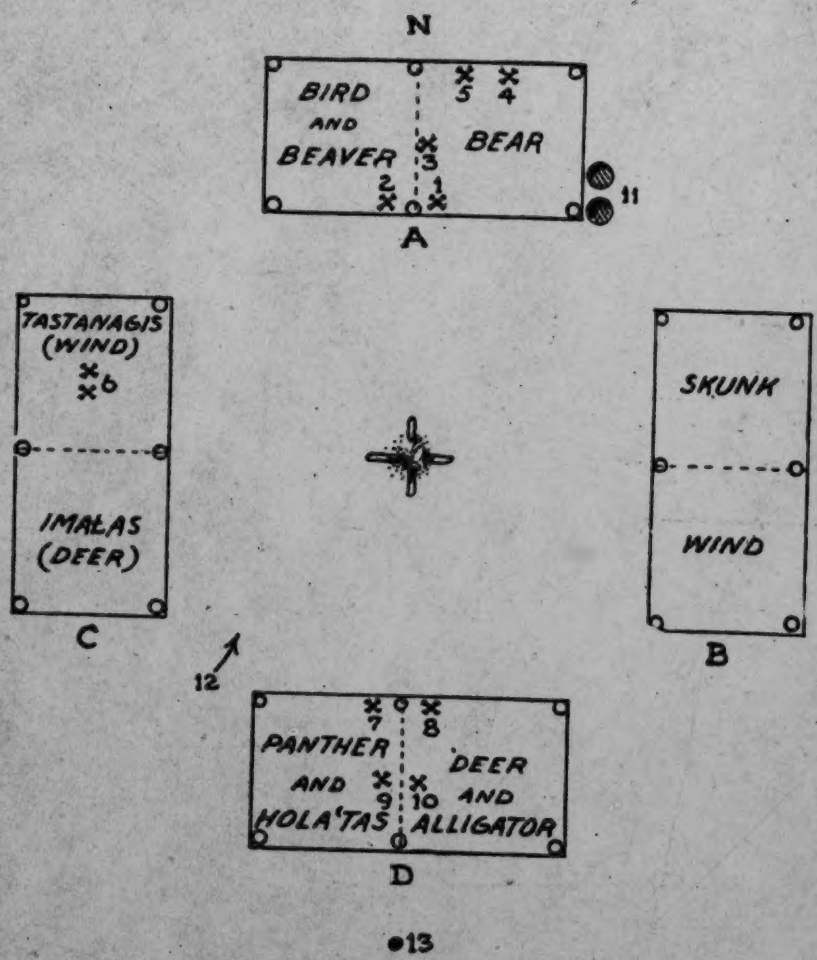

FIG. 4.—Nuyaka square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha (usually Wind; Deer in 1929); 3, hilis haya (changed every 4 years; Turkey in 1929); 4, hilis tcalaba (Alligator); 5, tutka didja (Raccoon).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed; 6, two tastanagis (or law makers).

D. Tcilokis' Bed (Tcilokogalgi intupa), or Tasikaias' Bed (Tasikaialgi intupa): 7, hoktagi immiko (Aktayatci); 8, heniha for hoktagi immiko (Alligator); 9, 1st ta'pala (Bear preferentially); 10, 2d ta'pala (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, point at which women enter; 13, ball post.

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In this town the Turkey and Alligator clans belong in one phratry and so do the Wind and Skunk.

The present officers are as follows:

miko	Nokos Miko
henīha	Miko Tcápko
hilis haya	Tàstànàkutci
tutka oktidīdja	Hotàlgi Hadjudji
hilis tcàlaba	Lōdja Yàhola
hoktàgi immiko	Wotko Yàhola

When the present Nuyaka data are compared with that which I obtained in 1912 for Nuyaka and the related towns Okfuskee, Abihkutci, Talmutcàsi, and Tcatoksofa, the agreement is found to be close except in the cases of the two last where the square grounds had long been given up and were described by individuals from memories of their early years. The main correction is in locating the miko, henīha, and hilis haya and the difference here is not great.

PAKAN TALLAHASSEE

Figure 5 gives the plan and Plate 2, Figure 2, and Plate 3, Figure 1, views of the ground, one showing the three cabins, or arbors, and the other the chunk yard and ball post.

The tutka oktidīdja, hilis tcàlaba, hilis haya, and oīdjawas, were appointed every four years from any clan. The ta'palas and hilis hoboia were appointed every four years from the same clan. The miko and asimbonaias held their positions for life.

Here we seem to meet some strange innovations. The Bears' section of the south cabin receives one name connected with war, tàsikaiàlgi intupa, and the section of the Birds, Beavers, and Alligators another, tàstànàgàlgi intupa, while, at the same time, they are White or Hathaga clans and their cabin is called hathagàlgi intupa. Yet one section of the west cabin is called tàstànàgàlgi intupa also, and the whole cabin receives the unusual name of làksàfàskàlgi intupa, "bed of the Blacks," the Blacks being evidently the clans elsewhere called tcilōkogàlgi.

The tcokofa was to the northwest and this was the last town to put up such a structure.

The Birds' section was called istatcagàgi intupa. The Deer and Pahosàlgi were formerly called the imałàgàlgi.

Three poles with white feathers attached were fastened to each of the front posts for use in the feather dance.

Back of the tàstànàgis' section of the west cabin was a little structure in which to inclose the medicine pots when they were not in use.

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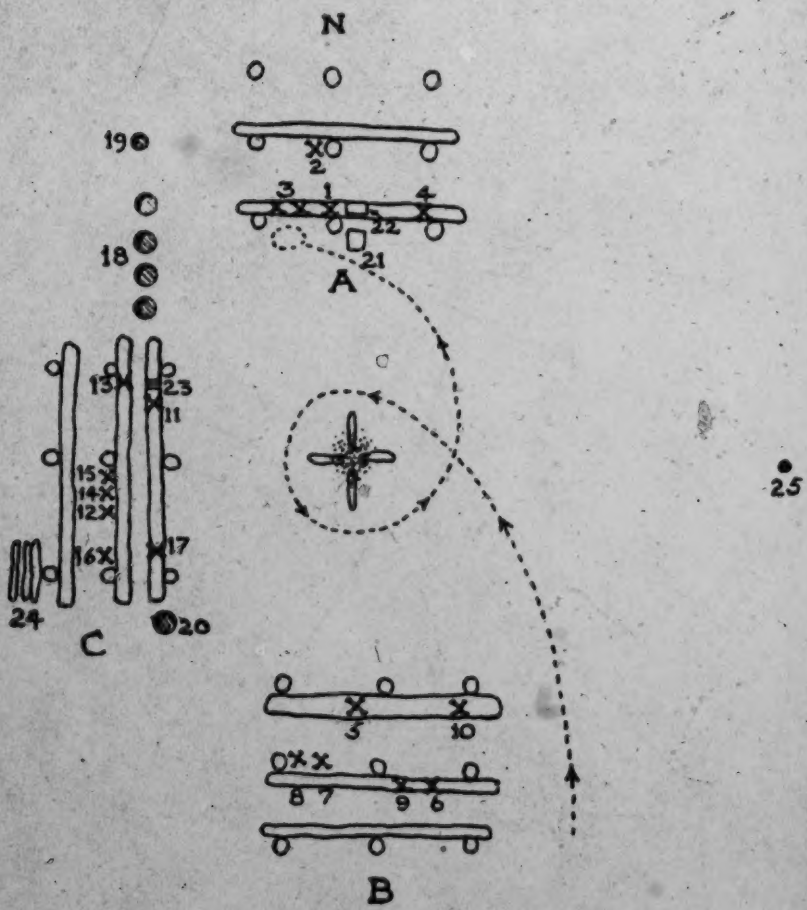

FIG. 5.—Square ground of Pakan Tallahassee.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi intupa): 1, miko (Bear); 2, hilis haya (Panther in 1929); 3, yáhaikas (singers for women); 4, dog whipper.

B. Whites' Bed (hathagálgi intupa): 5, asimbonaia (Bird); 6, ta'pala (Bear); 7, hilis hoboia (Bird); 8, oïdjawa (Bird); 9, oïdjawa (Bear); 10, dog whipper.

C. Blacks' Bed (laksáfáskálgi intupa): 11, asimbonaia (Deer); 12, ta'pala (Bird; father Raccoon); 13, hilis tcálaba (Deer in 1929); 14, tutka oktididja (Raccoon in 1929); 15, hilis hoboia (Raccoon in 1929); 16, oïdjawa (Panther in 1929); 17, dog whipper.

18, medicine pots (1st position); 19, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 20, medicine pot for women (2d position); 21, drum; 22, box for tobacco; 23, place where medicine was laid before being used; 24, woodpile; 25, ball post. The dotted line marks the course pursued by the women when they entered to dance.

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In this town* the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, Tâmi, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous. 344 621 796 526

The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai, Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

miko .....Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird)
asimbonaia .....Tâstânâk Imała (Deer)
" .....Tâstânâk Hadjo (Bird)
hilis haya .....Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther)
hilis tcâlaba .....Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer)
oïdjawâlgi .....1. Fus Yâholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)
2. Hotâlgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)
3. Halâk Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry)
hilis hoboia .....1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)
2. Tâlsi Yâhola (Bird)
ta'pala .....1. Halâk Yâhola ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon)
" .....2. Hotâlgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind)
tutka oktidîdja ...Itco-ili Imała ("Deer Foot Imała") (Raccoon, father Deer)
yâhaikas .....1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated)
" .....2. Miko Yâhola (Bear)

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atâsa held by the leading woman is red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is white and has a feather of the fus hâtki ("white bird"), a bird found down by the creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to 14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta'palas stand about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each carries a wand called si'dik-kika having a white feather fastened to the end. 344 621 796

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

*[i.e., Pakan Tallahassee. --Analyst]

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About 54 men were present at the last preceding busk and 25 women and girls participated in the dance.

At the top of the pokábi in this town was a horse skull. In scoring for this game they draw a line from the ball post to the nearest corner of the south cabin. When the skull is struck, 4 are scored; when the pole under the skull is struck, it counts 2 on the way out and 1 on the way back. They may count it as a game, however, by agreement when they reach the corner post. The women's tallies are marked on one side of the line, the men's on the other.

There is little difference except in detail between the above plan of Pakan Tallahassee and the several I recorded in 1912.

WIOGUFKI

The plan of Wiogufki is given in Figure 6 and a view of the ground from the southwest in Plate 3, Figure 2.

There is a little log house on the grounds in which the pots are stored when not in use to keep them from being broken. There never was a north cabin so far as my informant knew. On the upper end of the ball post is a cow skull.

The women walk four times around the fire; then their leaders stop opposite the singers and they begin to dance.

The hilis tcálaba holds office for four years. In this town the place of the miko's henīha is taken by a tástánągi. Indeed all of the tástánągis are considered the same as the henīhas. They are called "the people who are named" and are of the nature of lawmakers and assistants to the miko. The miko's tástánągi is also the same thing as the yatika. There are no istatcagagis (retired leaders who acted as councillors), and no Creek town now has a holibonaia. There are five water boys picked at random. At the front posts of each cabin are four poles with feathers tied to the ends for use in the "feather dance."

The two leading women in the women's dance carry atása. The principal function of the ta'palas is to call the women up for their dance which they do four times. Each has a wand with a little white feather at the end. Their official positions do not end with the women's dance but continue to the end of the busk.

No medicine is now put on the firesticks but it was formerly done. The only medicine they use at the busk is the miko hoyanīdja, to which nothing is added.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as in Hilibi. They were exogamous, and if the exogamic law was violated the ears of the culprits were cut off.

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The towns of Wakokai, Tukpafka, and Talahasutci were all one with this. In regular ball games they always played against Alabama.

Comparison between the plan given above and the two obtained in 1912 shows considerable differences, but since one of the former

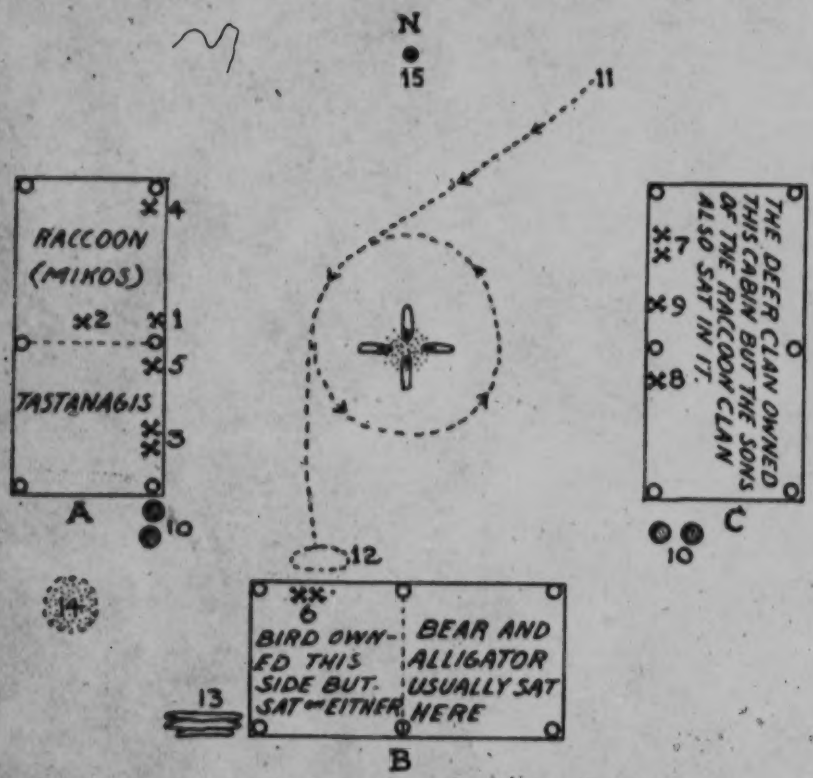

FIG. 6.—Square ground of Wiogufki.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Alligator); 2, hilis haya; 3, hilis tcálaba (Bear and Deer); 4, hilis hoboia (Panther); 5, a tástánągi (instead of heniha) (Raccoon).

B. Whites' Bed: 6, yáhaikas (Deer).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, ta'pala (Raccoon); 8, hilis hoboia (Deer); 9, tutka oktididja (Deer).

10, medicine pots (near bed A for men; near bed C for women and boys); 11, point where women enter to dance; 12, point where women begin dancing; 13, woodpile; 14, ashes of old fires; 15, ball post.

was obtained from the same man, I think the explanation lies in the smallness of the town and the weakness of many of the clans which has resulted in many changes within a comparatively short time. Nevertheless there is a general correspondence and the allocation of clans to the moieties also agrees except in the case of

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the Panther clan. This is explained by the fact that the Panther was anciently considered a White clan and later came to be regarded as Tciloki.

OKCHAI

Figure 7 shows the arrangement of this square and Plate 4, Figure 1, shows a view of it taken in winter,

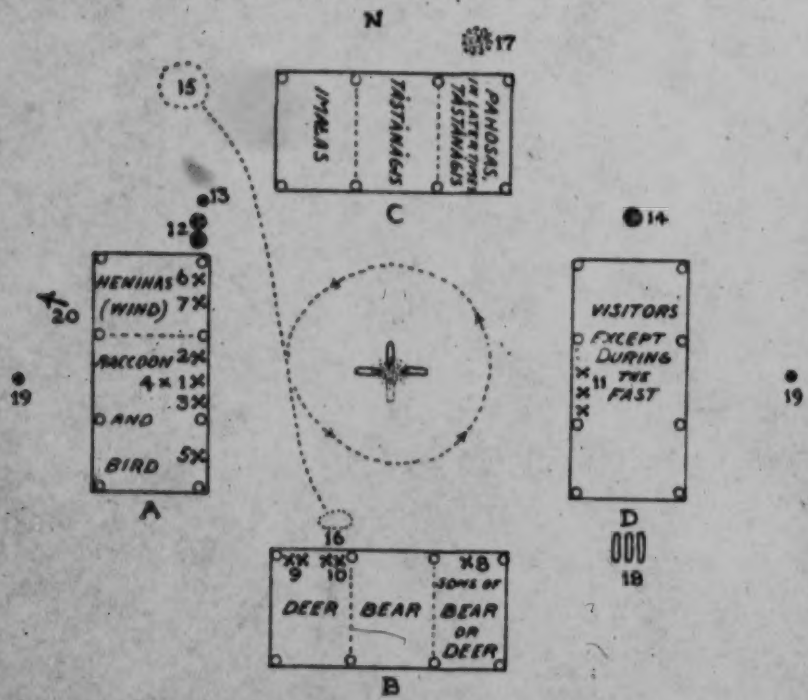

FIG. 7.—Arrangement of square ground of Okchai.

A. Chiefs' Bed 1, miko (Raccoon formerly; Bear in 1929); 2, heníha (Deer); 3, yatika (Deer formerly; Wind in 1929); 4, hilis haya; 5, ta'pala (any clan); 6, hilis tcálaba (Bird); 7, tutka oktidídja (Wind).
B. Henihas' Bed: 8, ta'pala (any clan); 9, hilis hoboia; 10, yáhaikas (any clan).
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed: 11, oídjawa (any clan).

12, medicine pots; 13, medicine pot for boys; 14, medicine pot for women; 15, point where women assemble preparatory to their dance; 16, point where women start dancing; 17, ashes of previous fires; 18, woodpile; 19, ball posts; 20, a spring lies in this direction.

The hilis tcálaba, ta'pala, and tutka oktidídja changed every four years. The hilis haya was reappointed every four years.

Wiley Buckner, an old informant of mine, was the former yatika. The tutka oktidídja in 1929 was Hotálgi Miko.

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The medicine was pounded up just in front of the pots at the north end of the chiefs' bed.

The fire was brought from Alabama in the great migration and new fire was lighted from it. They dug up the earth as deep as the arm would reach, put the fire in there, and made the new fire on top. This is the very spot at which they first placed their square in Oklahoma and it has not been moved. The squares of the kindred towns, Łáłogálga and Ásilanabi, are not so old.

There were two poles with feathers on the ends at each of the front posts of the cabins all the way round.

Atása were borne by the two women who led in the women's dance.

The tástánągis were law makers. They had charge of the rules governing the taking of medicine and if anyone broke one of these regulations they made him stay in the square ground all night without eating instead of breaking his fast that evening as was usual.

In the various beds of this square ground the "sons of the clan" can sit with their fathers.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as at Hilibi.

Their principal opponents in the ball games years ago were the Hilibi.

This arrangement agrees substantially with that obtained by me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 234), the principal difference being in the location of the Bear and Bird clans. My earlier informants placed the Bird and Aktayatci in the middle of the south cabin and the Bear at the east end of the same, while the later ones said nothing of the Aktayatci but placed the Bird clan in the southern section of the west cabin and the Bear clan in the center of the south cabin, the sons of the Bear being located next to them on the east. The arrangement of this square must be taken in connection with the plans of Łáłogálga and Ásilanabi.

ŁAŁOGÁLGA, OR FISH POND

For a plan of this ground, see Figure 8.

The tutka oktidīdja is appointed every four years but always from the Aktayatci clan. The hilis hoboia are chosen every four years and ordinarily from the Aktayatci and Bear clans but this is not necessarily the case. However, if one dies before his four years have expired he is replaced by someone of his clan. The hilis hoboia also act as the hilis tcálaba.

Ta'palas are appointed only when needed. There are no special water carriers, the hilis hoboia calling upon any boys for this purpose whenever water is required.

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The two leaders among the women carry atâsa, that held by the first being colored red, that by the second white.

One of the two medicine pots contains pasa; the other the miko hoyanīdja along with wīlana, tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), which

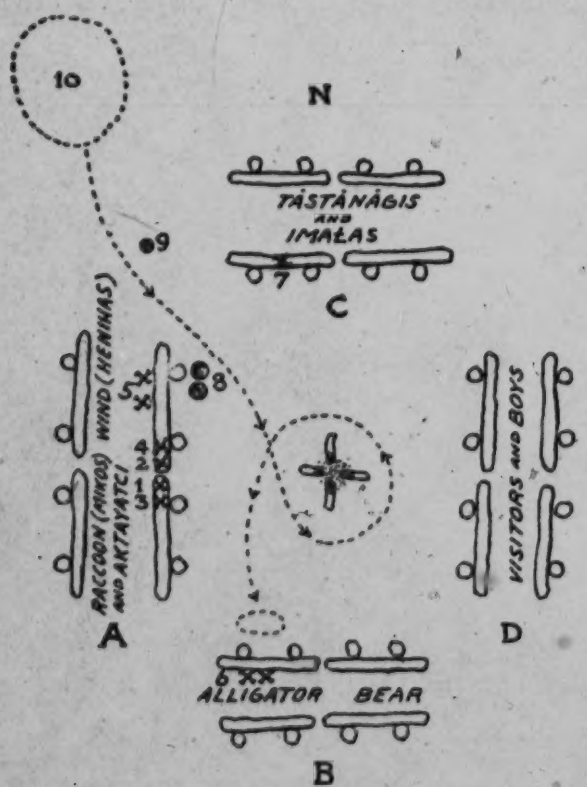

FIG. 8.—The square ground of Łałogálga, or Fish Pond.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, heníha (or 2d chief) (Wind); 3, asimbonaia or yatika (head speaker, drawn from any clan); 4, hilis haya (any clan); 5, hilis hoboia.

B. Citizens' Bed (Tásikaiálgi intúpa); 6, yáhaikas (no fixed clan).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, tutka oktidīdja (Aktayatci).

8, medicine pots; 9, boys' medicine; 10, point where women assembled preparatory to the dance.

grows in wet places in swamps and has red flowers, tcáto hátkutci (four "little white rocks"), and tutka-tcok-hissi (green moss from an old fireplace).

If one has eaten new roasting ears he is given a little pasa root to chew and then a little pasa in cold water of which he must take four drinks. Then he can take all of the medicines like the others.

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Some of the medicine is swallowed, the rest spit out. The doctor sees that the medicines are taken and fines those who neglect to do so.

There is a town policeman called istikonā'ha who carries out the orders of the miko against those who have refused to obey him, and collects fines from them. The incumbent in 1929 was Maxcy Alakotci. When I interviewed them they were using the tàstânâgi as the town miko.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Wind, Bird, and Alligator; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Potato.

The Aktayatci are said to have formed one phratry with the Raccoon.

In match games, they played against Tukabahchee, Atasi, Łapłàko, Eufaula, Hilibi, and Kealedji. Alabama was formerly of the same fire but later drew away.

This year (1929) they did not use the pasa. The Àsilanabi square ground is arranged just like this one, but the Okchai differ from these two a little in the use of their medicines. It is thought that Àsilanabi is older than Łálogálga and that the latter branched off in order to get the extra money that was paid to its six representatives in the national assembly.

Except that there is more detail, the arrangement given here differs only slightly from that which I recorded in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep.. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 236). The only noteworthy divergence is in the position assigned to the Deer clan by my earlier informants. but this may be attributed to the fact that the miko apokta was then a Deer and his clan was probably brought over to the west cabin for that reason. As we should expect, the agreement is also close with the arrangement of the Àsilanabi ground though there are minor divergencies in the allocation of clans to the south cabin. All of my authorities agreed well in assigning clans to the two moieties. but the oldest of all of them thought that the Beaver and Alligator were probably Tciloki. This may have been the ancient arrangement.

TUKABAHCHEE

The plan of Tukabahchee square appears in Figure 9 and a view of it as it looked in 1912 is given in Plate 5. Figure 1.

The number of tàstânâgis is indeterminate. The toba mawidine were officers not otherwise named who always remained in the cabins. There is one in each of the 12 beds except a part of the southeast cabin as indicated. They were selected from any clan, given names taken from the father's clan, and seated with the latter. Thus, if

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a man were a Deer and his father a Raccoon, they would give him a name from the Raccoon clan's names and seat him with them. After being so seated these officers were not obliged to do any further work connected with the busk.

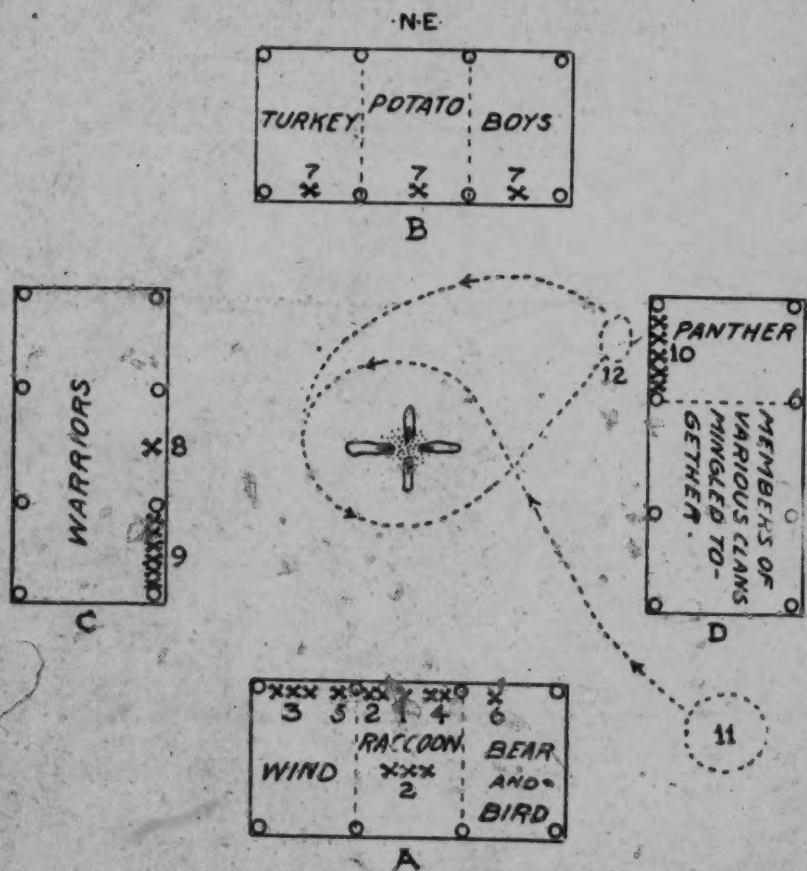

FIG. 9.—Tukabahchee square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, mikos (substitutes) (Raccoon); 3, henihas (Wind); 4, henihas and yatikas; 5, hilis haya; 6, ta'pala.
B. Potato Bed; sometimes also called Youths' Bed: 7, 7, 7, toba mawidine.
C. Warriors' Bed: 8, ta'pala; 9, tastanagi łakalgi.
D. Youths' Bed (Tcibanagalgi intupa): 10, yahaikas; 11, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 12 point where the women start dancing.

The istatcagagis, most of whom sat in the southeast bed, were like a jury, or like a committee, to settle matters of routine. They comprised both men and women. The admittance of women to this select group is something which I heard from no other informant.

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A man was picked out of the bed of the henīhas to speak for others, *i. e.*, the yatikas were selected from the henīhas. None was used in the stomp dance. As payment for his services the yatika was given a deer hide and a ribbon. When he was wanted by the miko he was summoned four times, but he did not start until he had received the fourth call. He set a basket on the ground into which all of the tàsikaias threw bits of tobacco to be taken to the singers for the women as payment for their services.

The holibonaia was a special speaker used in the ball game and in war. The term asimbonaia was about equivalent to that of yatika. He was a head man chosen from among the tàstànàgis for almost any purpose. He listened to any message which the miko wished to give out and then repeated it aloud.

There were two hilis tcàlaba who sat with their clans and were summoned whenever needed. One was a Raccoon and one a Bear.

There were two oktidīdja who sat with their clans or wherever they belonged until summoned to attend to the fire.

Four hilis hoboia, selected from any clans, were sent to gather the medicine.

All of the tàsikaias shared in getting water.

The famous Tukabahchee plates were taken out and cleaned four years in succession and then left covered for four years.

The feather dance was discontinued at Tukabahchee when my informant was a small boy.

The three leading women in the women's dance carry atàsa. The leading woman has an eagle feather on her atàsa, the second a white crane feather, and the other the feather of a third bird, perhaps a goose. They start one at a time and when the third moves all the rest follow. After they have walked round the fire four times they begin to dance and circle the fire again six times.

The Hathagas were Bird, Wind, Bear, and Beaver; the Tcilokis were Turkey, Alligator, Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and any others.

In olden times the moieties were exogamous. The Raccoon and Potato were then brothers, or rather half brothers, but intermarriage between them is now common. Even today, however, the Beaver and Bird will seldom intermarry. The Bird was the "uncle" of the Beaver and the Beaver the former's "nephew."

A man's children called his father's clan "fathers." One can say anything he wishes to, however disrespectful, about his own clan, but he must not speak against his father's clan or permit anyone else to.

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The general arrangement is the same as that obtained from the father of my informant in 1911-12 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 244), but the stations here assigned to some of the individual officers are probably more nearly correct, particularly the locations of the mikos.

KEALEDJI

Figure 10 shows the Kealedji square.

The hoktâgi immiko, "women's chief," supervised the women's dance. There are now no regular water carriers. The imałas formerly sat in the north cabin, but now there are no officers so called. The beds are called by the names of the clans which occupy them. If the asimbonaia is wanted to deliver a speech, he is called over to the miko's seat for that purpose. For tâstânâgis the best men are chosen. The ta'palas are changed every four years. In former times they had a regular four days' busk, but now it lasts for but one day and there is no feather dance.

In the match games they played against Okchai, Wiogufki, and Tulsa.

The Hathagas are Wind, Bear, Panther, and Turkey; the Tcilokis are Raccoon, Deer, and Aktayatci. In ancient times these moieties were exogamous.

The names of the present officers are as follows:

miko	Kasihta Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Henīha Imałutci (Wind)
miko apokta	Kayomulgi (Raccoon)
hoktâgi immiko	Wiwohka Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Oīkas Hadjo (Wind)
asimbonaia	Kōsa Fiksiko (Bear)
ta'pala	Tâlmutcâs Hadjo (Bear)
"	Alak Hadjutci (Turkey)
hilis tcâlaba	Kân Tcati (Wind)
" "	Itco Imała Fiksiko (Deer)
tutka oktidīdja	Ahali Imała
hilis hoboia	Tâłkōna Hadjo (Wind)
" "	Hotâlgi Fiksiko (Wind)
tâstânâgi	Tâstânâk Tcâpko
"	Tâstânâkutci
"	Inheniha (= henīha)
"	Tâłkōna Hadjo

The plan of the revived square ground of the Kealedji agrees in all essentials with the one given me in 1912 from memory by a very old man, except that in recent times the Deer clan seems to have lost its importance or died out. It is interesting to find that old

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and recent informants agree in assigning the Panther clan to the White moiety. They differ, however, regarding the position of the

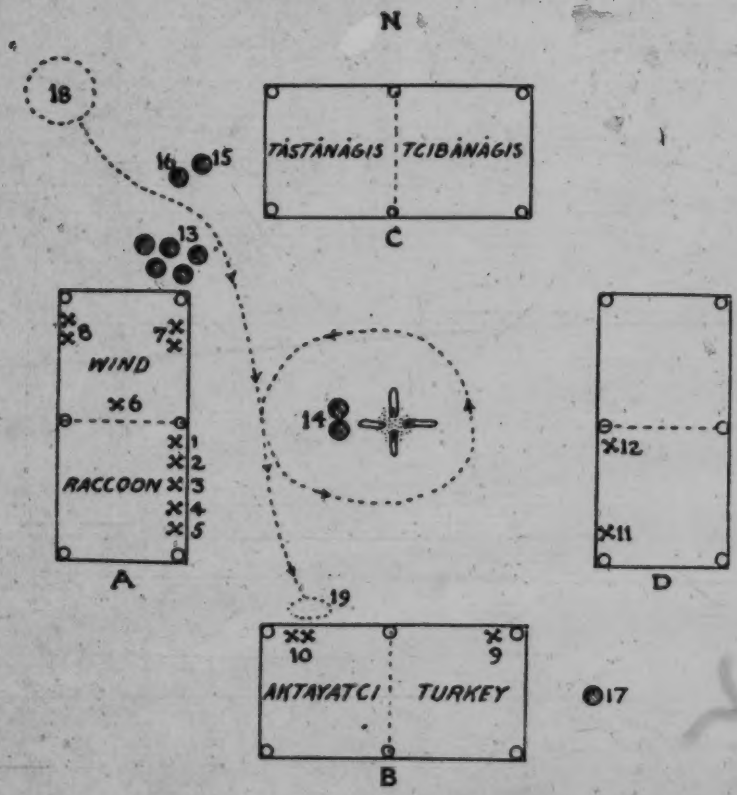

FIG. 10.—The Kealedji square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, heníha (Wind); 3, miko apokta (Raccoon); 4, hoktâgi immiko (Raccoon); 5, heníha (Wind); 6, hilis haya (usually Raccoon; Wind in 1929); 7, hilis tcâlaba (Deer and Wind); 8, hilis hoboia (Wind).

B. Youths' Bed: 9, ta'pala (Turkey); 10, yâhaikas.

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. White Bed: 11, asimbonaia (Bear); 12, ta'pala (Bear).

13, medicine pots (1st position); 14, medicine pots for those fasting (2d position); 15, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 16, medicine pot for girls (2d position); 17, medicine pot for women (2d position); 18, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 19, point where women start dancing; 20, ball post.

Turkey, which the earlier informant considered Tciloki and the later White. But this clan, together with the Alligator and Tâmi, is known to have been on one side in some towns and on the opposite in others.

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ŁAPLÀKO

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Figure 11 shows the plan of this ground.

The two pots of medicine were prepared where they are shown (nos. 4 and 5) and remained there all of the time. The Bird clan sat

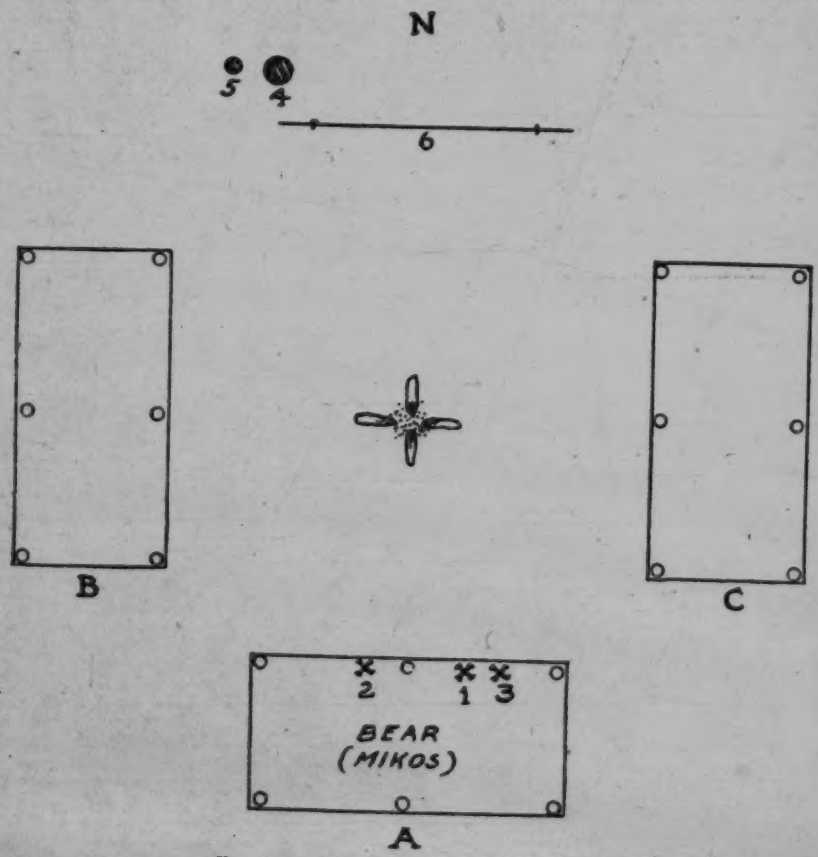

FIG. 11.—Square ground of Łaplàko.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha or miko apokta (Bird); 3, yatika (sometimes seated here).

B. Warriors' Bed. This was usually occupied by middle aged men of various clans.

C. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa). Occupied by various classes, including persons not properly citizens of the town but taking medicine there, men married in the town or adopted into it, and men whose fathers belonged to it.

4. a large pot of medicine for the fasters; 5, a small pot of medicine for the women and children; 6, rack for ball sticks.

anywhere. The yatika belonged to no regular clan, and at the present time there is no such officer. There are two hilis tcàlaba who occupy no special seats, and one hilis haya who is taken from any clan of a friendly town. Towns belonging to the other town moiety do not

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take medicine with them and in fact are not invited except in the case of individuals married into the town. 344 621 796

The Hathàgas are the Bear (the most important of them), Bird, Beaver, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Deer, Potato, Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator, etc. Here the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver can intermarry; in Eufaula they could not. But probably this means that the Beaver could intermarry with the other two, as the Alligator and Turkey were seldom allowed to marry under any circumstances. The Bird and Beaver were classed together in Łapłàko, but this group does not include the Bear or Wind. The Hathaga clans had the reputation of being progressive while the Tcilokis were full-bloods and reactionaries. This characterization probably followed the coming of the white people.

The towns of the opposite group were called Tàlipoła, which means "foreign but not unfriendly."

The word Łapłàko indicates a place where there are many marshes filled with canes. This town square, which had been discontinued, was revived in the year 1903 in this way. They had to prepare a ground in order to take medicine before a game with the Nuyaka Indians next year. Later this was improved with regular cabins, but it must have been inconspicuous or have been considered unimportant, as I heard nothing about it in 1912.

Łapłàko and Atasi are now nearly fused on account of the number of marriages between individuals belonging to them. Before the Civil War the Łapłàko had an Atasi Indian named Hotàlgi Hadjo married among them as their hilis haya. One of the great men of Łapłàko in former times was Jim Boy (Tàstànàgi Imała) whom my informant remembers to have seen. He thinks he died just before the Civil War broke out. McKenney and Hall (History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. 2, pp. 71-74) give a portrait of this chief and a considerable account of his life. He was born in what is now Alabama in 1793 and accompanied the warriors of his town during the Creek War of 1813-14, but was too young for active participation. In the war with the Seminole he was one of the leaders of the Creek contingent which aided the Americans. The exact date of his death seems to be unknown.

The arrangement of the modern ground differs more from those described to me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 254 and 255) than any of the others. The first of the latter was obtained from a very old man who should have known the ancient arrangement well, but of course my interpreter and I may have misunderstood him. The cabins are at different points of the compass

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and more confusion is shown in the later organization, but they agree in stating that the miko belonged to the Bear clan and in placing that clan in the south cabin. My older informant allocated this clan with the Tciloki. This was probably an error on his part but he seemed to insist upon it.

They have had no busk since the Civil War and no women's dance, and the pasa is no longer used, only the miko hoyanīdja. The dances in the square are three stomp dances. Seven days before one of these the "broken days" are sent out and on the day when the sixth stick is thrown away they are all to be at the ground, while on the seventh they are supposed to be taking medicine. Seven days before the dance they also meet and pick out four clean young men, called hilis hoboia, men whose wives are not pregnant, who are not given to intoxicants, and who have not attended to the digging of a grave during the preceding month. These men gather four bundles of medicine (miko hoyanīdja) which they lay down with their tip ends toward the west. First they spread out a bed of leaves called lodja issi, "turtle leaves," which should be taken from hickory trees. The medicine is laid on top of these and more leaves are spread over it. On the morning of the fast day all of those who are to take medicine are supposed to present themselves at the square ground. The fire is built up so that it will not go out all day. Early in the morning the two hilis tcâlaba prepare the medicine, first the medicine for the women and children and then that for the adult men. This is taken four times during the day, the fourth time between one and two o'clock. Before they take the medicine the yatika announces, on behalf of the chief, that each of those intending to take it is to get a stick and throw it into a blanket. These sticks are counted and the yatika announces the number. Four times (or sometimes twice) during the day the men who are to take medicine with the exception of the officials (the mikâlgi, yatika, hilis haya, and the two-ta'pala) go out to get firewood so as to be ready for the dance that night. Four men are selected to keep watch of the fasters during the night, to see that no one sleeps or breaks his fast, or drinks or goes with a woman. That is why the numbers are taken. These four men are called istikonā'ha, "men taking away," because they take away the hat of anyone found sleeping (and treat similarly anyone who breaks the taboos in other ways). The hat they carry to the miko and, when the owner comes to get it, he is fined.

After they have taken medicine for the fourth time, they go to the creek for a bath and then return to the square. The yatika

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talks to them telling them to take care of themselves all of that night, and then they scatter to the camps to eat. Before sundown, however, they are supposed to be back on the ground. The yatika calls to them four times and by the fourth time they are to be in their seats. When all are in their places, the two ta'pala are selected. The yatika makes a speech on behalf of the miko, calling upon his hearers not to act in an unfriendly way toward the outside friends who are about to be admitted to the dance, not to take liquor, to behave themselves all through the night, not to fight, and so on. This speech is addressed to the town people and outsiders alike. After it the fasters dance four times and then the visitors are admitted. That "kills the fast." All through the day the square is to be kept clean with the idea that the fasters will in consequence be clean. They go up to take the medicine two by two, and those who are ceremonially unclean take the medicine last. They dance until about daybreak. Then all belonging to the town go down to the branch and bathe, after which they return and sit in their respective beds. Then a collection may be taken to defray their expenses and they settle other matters. The night before, the chief of a friendly town may have announced a dance, and, if so, the announcement is now made and advice given as to how they are to help their friends. This advice is uttered by the yatika, speaking for the miko, and he then gives a general talk, advising his people not to use liquor, not to break the laws, and to be good citizens in every sense of the word. Then they disband for the year.

HILIBI

A plan of Hilibi square is shown in Figure 12 and a general view of the ground as it appeared in the winter of 1911-12 in Plate 5 Figure 2.

Two poles with white feathers attached were at each front post. These were used in the "feather dance" and were called "the path," because the path was to be white.

When there are visitors the owners of the east cabin move elsewhere in order to make room for them. When the south cabin is overcrowded, some of its occupants move into the east cabin. In this town the clans were always considerably mixed up in the beds. The ta'palas can sit anywhere. The tutka oktidīdja does not have a particular seat on account of his official position. He is appointed every four years. The tutka dīdja, who starts the fire, is identical with the hilis haya.

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If a man whose father is of the Aktayatci, the miko's clan, is given a busk name, he is brought to the mikos' bed and given a seat there.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Turkey, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Panther, Potato, Deer, Aktayatci, and evidently the Raccoon. The Alligator and Bird are considered as practically one clan.

The two leaders in the women's dance carry atâsa.

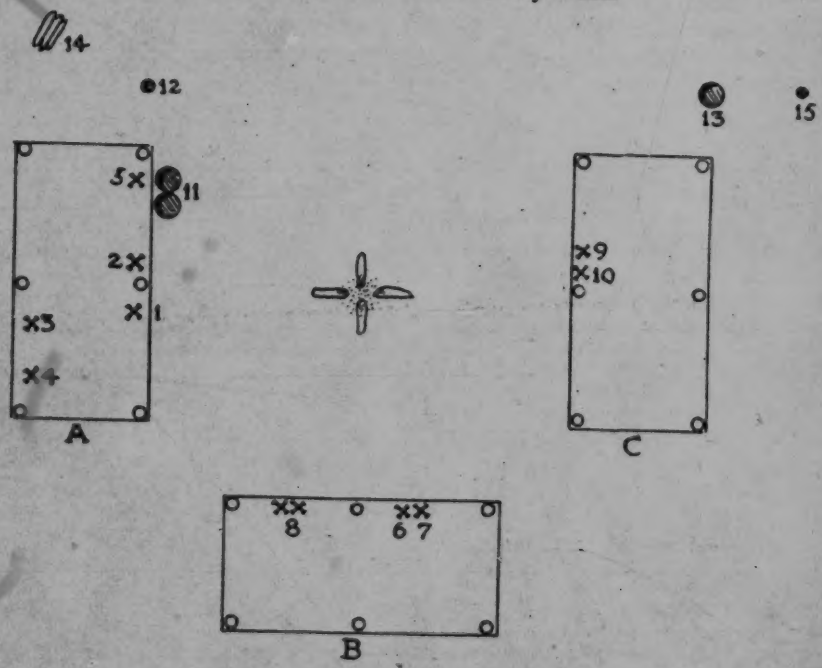

FIG. 12.—Square ground of Hilibi.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1 miko (Aktayatci); 2, heniha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon in 1929); 4, ta'pala (Bear); 5, hilis tcâlaba (Bear in 1929).
B. Raccoons' Bed: 6, hilis hoboia; 7, tutka oktididja (Raccoon in 1929); 8, yâhaikas (any clan).
C. Cabin used by visitors:—9, ta'pala (Alligator); 10, hilis hoboia (Alligator).
11, medicine pots; 12, medicine pot for boys; 13, medicine pot for women; 14, woodpile; 15, ball post.

The history of this town is as follows. It was founded by a man of the Aktayatci clan who went off to live by himself and then put up a ball post. Many women belonged to his family and he had numerous visitors, some of whom married these women so that it soon grew into a large band of which he was probably the first miko. Anyhow that is the way the Aktayatci came to have the town. After stomp dances had been held there for some time, more visitors came

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to join them and it grew still larger. Because it was built up very rapidly, its founder called it Hilibi, which means "hurry" (hila'pkis, "I make haste"). Since it was an "illegal" band, a tâlwa fâtcasīgo ("town deviating from correctness"), all the clans do not have regular places, having been drawn from so many other bands.

The following notes on some personal names contained in the town roster give an interesting insight into the manner in which totemic names were bestowed:

Fos Hâtki Imała ("White Bird Imała"), so named because he belonged to a White clan, the Wind.

Halak Hopaie. He belonged to the Bear clan, but his father belonged to the Raccoon, hence the name Halak or Ahalak ("Potato"), since both these clans are Tciloki.

Pahos Fiksiko. He belonged to the Wind clan, but his father was a Deer and the Pahosa is of the same phratry as the Deer.

As shown by the native story above given this town was not supposed to be ancient or to have a firmly fixed town organization, and, while it was older than the Hilibi people themselves believed, it seems to have preserved the irregularities which might naturally be associated with a new town. Not improbably the tradition of irregularity preserved the fact. At the same time there is a general agreement between the plan here given and that which I obtained in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 258). The mikos' cabin is to the west, and the mikâlki and henihâlgi were of the same clans, Aktayatci and Alligator respectively. The Alligator and Turkey were classed as Whites from association with the Bird by my later informants, but the earlier ones gave them as Tciloki.

ALABAMA

This was a very simple square of exceptional arrangement as shown in Figure 13.

The Alabama were one of the incorporated tribes with a language distinct from Creek. The clan names in Alabama are: Mahaleha (Wind), Sawaha (Raccoon), Aktayatciha (Aktayatci), Hâtcuntcobaha (Alligator), Konoha (Skunk), Nitaha (Bear), Koīha (Panther), Fociha (Bird), Fitōha (Turkey), Ofâtaha (Beaver).

All of the officers were brought over to the chiefs' bed. Men of the Alligator, Bear, and Aktayatci have been mikos and a man of the Skunk clan was once the henīha. There is no regular rule for either position.

The Hathagas were the Wind, Bear, Panther, Skunk, and Raccoon; the Tcilokis were the Bird, Beaver, Turkey, Alligator, and Aktayatci. The Wildcat was the same as the Panther.

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One of the greatest Alabama Indians now remembered was Kántcati Yáhola (Alabama name Tcīsōki), who was the hilis haya. He was born in Alabama and came west with his tribe. He lived until about 1866.

The above plan and the three others I obtained in 1912 and the years immediately following (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 263-264) show considerable minor variations but all agree in locating the chiefs' bed in the east and the warriors' bed in the west. Most of them also place the Bear and Panther clans in the latter and the Wind, Aktayatci, and Deer in the former, where they are noted at all. In allocating the clans the above informant agrees with

FIG. 13.—Alabama square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Wind); 2, heniha (Raccoon).
B. Warriors' Bed.

the older ones except regarding the Panther which the men first consulted asserted was Tciloki while it is here given as a White clan, but this is a clan which has been placed on both sides.

KASIHTA

For the plan of Kashita square ground, see Figure 14.

There should be two hilis tcálaba, drawn from the Alligator clan, but they are not employed now. Four hilis hoboia for the pasa, four for the miko hoyanīdja, and one tutka oktidīdja are chosen by the miko without reference to clan. There is no definite body of water carriers. Two ta'palas are selected from any clan to serve just for the night. They carry sticks called reels, and their function is to invite the dance leaders to lead dances and see that all take part. There is only one singer for the women's dance. He sits behind the miko.

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In 1901 the old square ground was given up and the new one was established in June, 1920. Because the new generation was weak one cabin was cut out. The Coweta square is said to have been the same as that of Kasihta.

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Every time anything is brought in or anything repaired they dance all night because thus the two things are joined together, just as

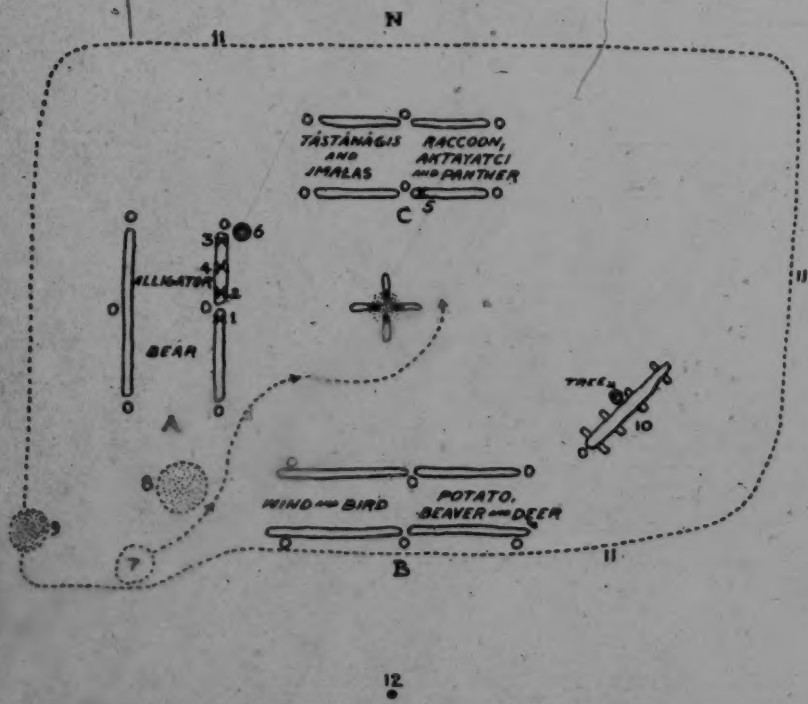

FIG. 14.—Kasihta square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (seat when on duty); 4, asimbonaia.
B. Whites' Bed (Henihâlgi intupa), or "Cabin of the Greater Kings."
C. Warriors' Bed: 5, asimbonaia (Aktayatci).

6, medicine pot; 7, point where women assemble before dancing; 8, trash heap; 9, where ashes of old fires were placed; 10, split log where are seated those young men who have broken the rules and are in consequence placed here as a punishment before being allowed to mix with the rest of the people; 11, line of sweepings (tâdjo) marking limit of square ground; 12, ball post.

two days are united by the night on which they dance. Formerly dances were held every Saturday night, but hard times have put an end to them. The dance which was being held when I paid my visit was because they were then putting up a ball post.

The Hathagas are the Wind, Beaver, Bird, and Deer; the Tcilokis are the remaining clans, yet it is said that the Bear, Alligator, and

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344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
621 marry outside of third cousins.

The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game,
796 the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,

> The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

He added:

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> We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek
Seminole NN16

OCHESEE SEMINOLE

This is the only Seminole ground from which I obtained information during my recent trip. The plan of it is shown in Figure 15. 344 621

There are two pots of medicine for the miko hoyanidja and pasa respectively, but the latter is introduced only at the busk. The women, 796

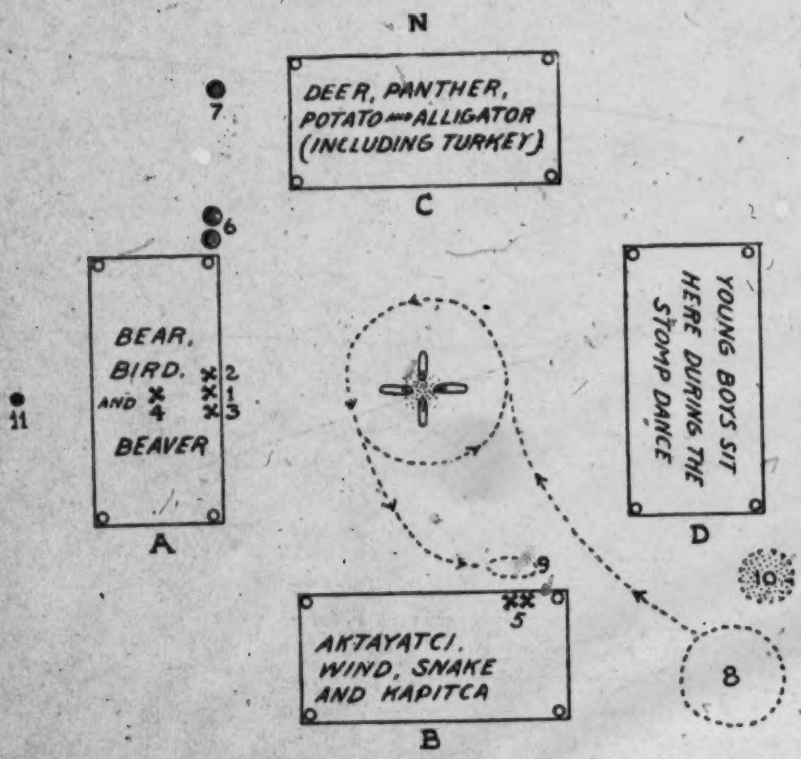

FIG. 15.—Ochesee Seminole square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha (Bird); 3, yatika (Deer in 1929); 4, hilis haya (Wind in 1929).
B. Warriors' Bed: 5, yahaikas.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

6, medicine pots; 7, medicine pot for boys (containing red root); 8, point where women gather before dancing; 9, point where women start to dance; 10, ashes of old fires; 11, ball post.

however, use wormseed ("wilana"). After they are through with the medicines, whatever is left is poured out at the place where they have been taken.

The miko is chosen if possible from the Bear clan, but if they do not find a suitable man of that clan, they select someone from the Beaver clan.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek
Seminole NN10

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The yatika and hilis haya may be selected from any clan, the forme. being chosen for his oratorical gifts.

There is now no henīha. The last they had went to live with the Creeks and did not come back.

Two ta'palas are used in the women's dance and hold their position for four years. Other ta'palas are chosen temporarily for the other dances. In the stomp dances they change these ta'palas several times during the night.

There are four hilis hoboia taken from the west, north and south cabins but from any clan. They keep their positions as long as they choose to serve.

There is one tutka dīdja who can be of any clan.

Five or six boys bring water to the ground.

The two leaders among the women carry atása which are painted with white clay annually just before the dance. Women do not take the wīlana internally; they merely wet their faces and other parts of their bodies with it. The boys use only the miko hoyanīdja.

The ashes of the old fire are removed from the square and the new fire lighted on the morning of the fast day.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Beaver, Wind, Otter and Skunk; the rest are Tcilokis. The Bird and Beaver belonged in one phratry, and so did the Wind, Otter and Skunk; the Alligator and Turkey; and the Áktayatci, Kapitca, and Snake.

The name of the present miko is Nokos Miko, and his father belonged to the Deer clan. The last henīha was named Henīha Miko, and his father was of the Bear clan. The busk name of the yatika (my informant) is Pahosa Tástánągi; his father belonged to the Áktayatci, and his father's father to the Bear.

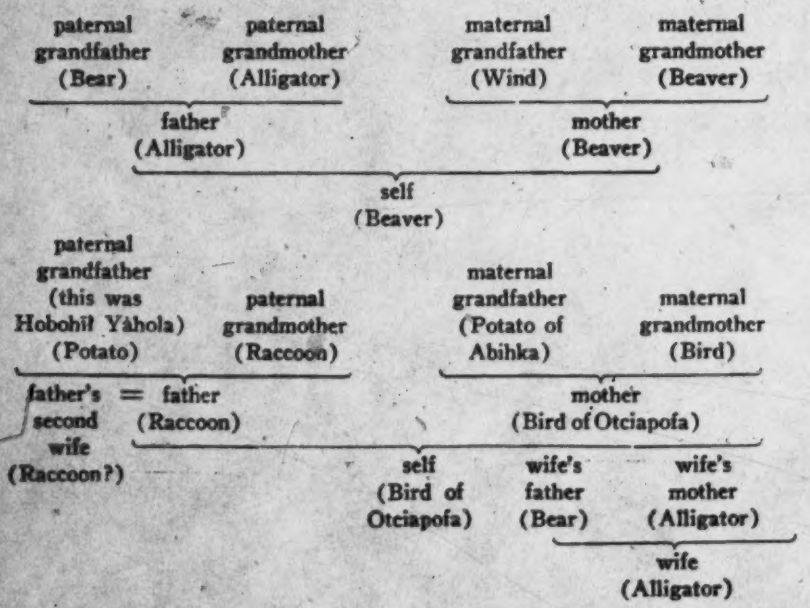
They have a ball post surmounted by a wooden fish. A hit on this fish counts 4, and on the post above a certain mark 2. There have been no regular match games between towns in the lifetime of my informant, but about two years ago the old men and the young men played against each other.

The above plan of the Ochesee ground agrees closely, naturally enough, with that which I obtained from the man whose advice was particularly resorted to in reestablishing it some years ago (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 283), for in 1912 it had been given up. The main differences are in the seating of the Potato and Alligator clans. In the matter of the moieties the only change is in the case of the Raccoon clan, which I previously set down as White. This is so exceptional, however, that I have always believed that I must have misunderstood my informant.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11

GENEALOGIES

The two brief genealogies which follow will illustrate in some measure the influence of the clan system on marriage. The first is the genealogy of Jeff Canard of Łapłáko; the second that of Earnest Gouge of Hanna, the latter of especial interest because it includes the famous orator Hobohił Yáhola. 614



CONCLUSION

The busk undoubtedly represents a long period of development, and as the stages through which it passed and the elements entering into it have been lost, we can never understand it fully. Its main purpose, however, was evident. It was to restore the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rupture. Hence the new fire, extracted from its abiding place in the wood and not as yet sullied by contact with humanity. Hence the rigorous fast accompanied by administration of medicines divinely revealed to the ancestors, the general pardon of offenders, the sabbath calm prescribed for that period of regeneration, the use of white paint, and the employment of the term white—"the white day," "the white smoke," "the white drink"—in various parts of the ritual. The one discordant note seems to have been provided by the women's dance, since the leaders 182 771 796

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11

182 of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is
771 every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some
796 of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe. Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

771 The universe with which the Creeks sought reconciliation was not,
776 however, a material one. What they had in mind was rather the mind or minds believed to be operant there. While we know of some supernatural beings connected primarily with the busk and numerous spirits associated with natural objects were anciently believed in, it seems fairly certain that the peculiar patron of the ceremony was a solar, or rather celestial, being generally called Hisagita-immisi, "the breath controller," and also Ibofânga, "the one above," and that the busk fire was in some way an earthly representation of the
[177] great solar fire overhead. While it is probable that Hisagita-immisi was not in ancient times the monotheistic deity he has now become, there is every reason to think he was already, before White contact, the supreme being of the Creeks.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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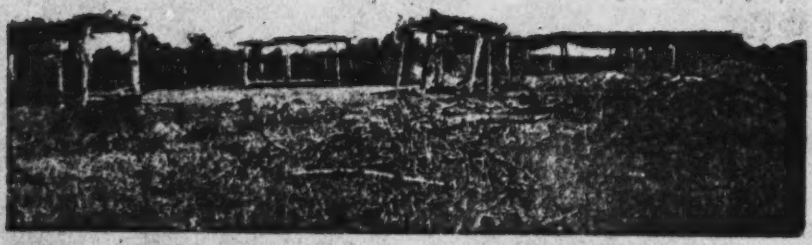
1. Abihka or Talladega square ground.



2. Tulsa square ground from the southeast.

[End plate 1]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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1. Nuyaka square ground.

2. The three beds of Pakan Tallahassee, from the southwest.

[End plate 2]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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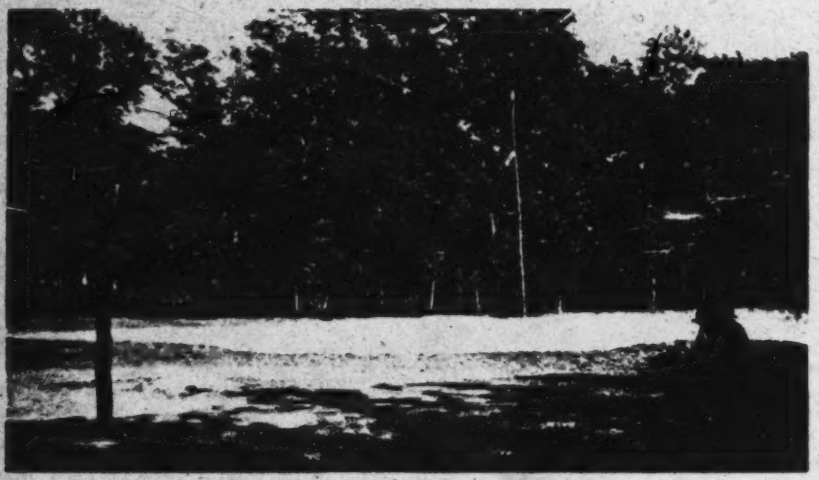

1. Pakan Tallahassee square ground looking between west and south beds, showing chunkey yard and ball post.

2. Wiogufki square ground from the southwest.

[End plate 3]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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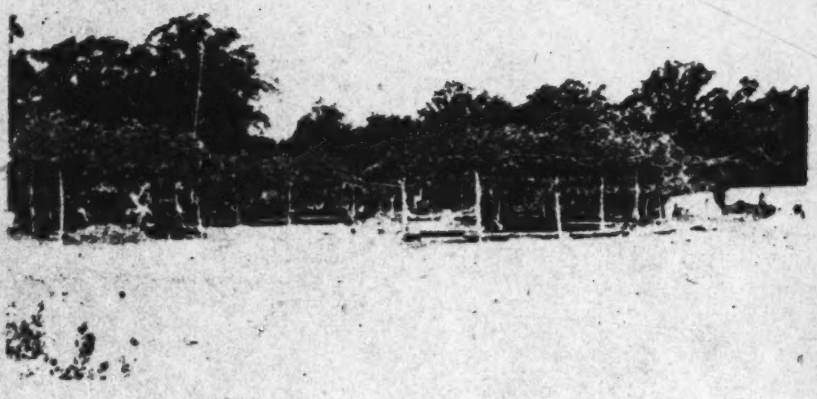
1. Okchai square ground in winter from the southwest.



2. Fish Pond square ground.

[End plate 4]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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1. Pakabahchee square ground.

2. Hilibi square ground in winter from the southwest.

[End plate 5]

[For seating arrangements of clans in square grounds and for general information on the role of clans in community organization, see category 621]

[For descriptions of ritual seating arrangements in square grounds, see category 621]

554, 571 Creek NN11

[For descriptions of seating arrangements in Creek town square grounds of the several social groups in the community (clans, age and sex groups, warriors, village officials and religious functionaries) see category 621]

624, 793 Creek NN11

[For seating arrangements of village officials and religious functionaries in square grounds, see category 621]

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Creek NN11

[For the seating of warriors in square grounds, see category 621]

[For ceremonial seating arrangements in square grounds, see category 621]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL USAGES OF THE INDIANS OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

By John R. Swanton

INTRODUCTION

114 In Bulletin 73,[1] I reviewed the history of the Indian tribes which
•[121] constituted temporary or permanent parts of the Creek Confederacy, and extended consideration to some of the peoples beyond with which they had intimate dealings, the tribes of Florida, and the Chickasaw, even including a brief mention of the Choctaw. This work was mainly an objective study, based upon Spanish, French, and English documents—the story of these tribes as related by the Europeans who came in contact with them.

A similar history of the same peoples from internal sources is, of course, impossible, the nearest approach to it being in the so-called origin or migration legends which contain but few facts of real historical value and must be assumed to apply only to a relatively recent period. A substitute for them must be sought in the archeological record left by the tribes as interpreted through an intensive study of the ethnology of their living representatives.

I have incorporated all of the Creek origin myths which I have been able to collect into the present paper. The rest of the space is devoted mainly to a discussion of the social and political organizations of the Creeks and their general social customs and usages.

The greater part of the present material was collected within the limits of the former Creek Nation, Okla., between September, 1911, and May, 1912, and on several shorter trips during the years imme-
115 diately following. In this connection I wish to render a most grateful tribute to George Washington Grayson, the most prominent and intelligent of all Creek Indians of his time, their representative in every important conference and at every crisis in their affairs, and at the time of his death chief of the nation. He was deeply interested in the history and ethnology of his people and did everything in his power to facilitate the work of all students of them. He rendered most valuable service to the late Albert S. Gatschet, and afterwards did everything in his power to assist the investigations of the writer, as well as to render his visits personally comfortable and intellectually delightful. For much of the included material Mr. Grayson is responsible, directly or indirectly, and the author wishes that it be con-

[1] [See bibliography, p. 472, category 116. -- Analyst]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11

MODERN SQUARE GROUNDS OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By JOHN R. SWANTON,
ETHNOLOGIST, BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

(With Five Plates)

The writer has already published descriptions of many of the square grounds of the Creek Indians, the sacred areas where their busks and other annual ceremonies took place.[1] In collecting this material, however, my endeavor was to learn the most ancient arrangement of the several grounds and the arrangement of those grounds no longer in use. During the summer of 1929 I visited the Creek country again to secure information regarding the organization of the extant grounds. This work duplicates and supplements the earlier to a considerable extent, but the main purpose was somewhat different.

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Besides the three Yuchi grounds, now in the vicinity of Kellyville, Bixby, and Depew, respectively, with which I did not concern myself, there are, or were in 1929, 17 square grounds, as follows: Abihka and Otciapofa near Henryetta; Nuyaka north of Okemah; Łáłogálga[2] or Fish Pond and Ásilanabi west of Okemah; two Tulsa grounds near Holdenville; Tukabahchee at Yeager; Łapłáko near Wetumka; Alabama east of Alabama Station on the Frisco Railroad; Eufaula west of Eufaula; Kasihta east of Okmulgee; and Hilibi, Kealedji, Okchai, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki about Hanna. Abihka, Otciapofa, Nuyaka, Łáłogálga, Kasihta, Hilibi, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki were visited, and new information obtained regarding all of the others except Eufaula, of which I secured very good descriptions 17 years before. The Eufaula ground, that of Ásilanabi, one of the Tulsa grounds, Tukabahchee, Alabama, and Okchai were visited in the winter of 1911-1912. Kasihta is the only square ground representing the Lower Creeks now maintained. It was not in existence during my earlier work in the Creek Nation, nor were Łapłáko or Kealedji.[3] These two last and the Yuchi grounds are the only ones that I have not seen. I was present at part of the busks at Otciapofa, Nuyaka, and Pakan Tallahassee. Not much attention was devoted

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[1] 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1924-25, pp. 204-296, 1928.

[2] In the present paper, á indicates the obscure a in such a word as ability, and ł or Ł is a surd l approximating thl in English.

[3] But see p. 35 regarding the former.

I: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNII Creek NNII

115 sidered in some degree a monument to him. Mr. Grayson had begun to compile a history of his life which would have been of the greatest interest to both the ethnologist and the historian, but unfortunately death intervened before it was well under way. By the courtesy of [127] his family I have been able to incorporate a few items from that manuscript in the present work. I also wish to mention my indebted- [124] ness to Zachariah Cook, of Wetumka, Okla., also deceased, who acted as my interpreter during the greater part of my travels away from Eufaula, Mr. Grayson's home. Being interested in all of the matters under investigation, himself a former chief of Tukabahchee and hence presiding officer at the annual ceremonies, he proved of the greatest utility in many ways and was able to contribute largely from his own experience. Another leading informant was Jackson Lewis, a Hitchiti doctor who stood high in the estimation of both Indians and whites. Valuable material was obtained from Rev. William McCombs, a native Baptist missionary, who has ministered to Creek congregations for a great many years; from Legus Perryman of the old Okmulgee town, at one time head chief of the nation; from Judge James R. Gregory, also of Okmulgee; and from Ellis Childers, chief of Chiaha and formerly prominent in Creek national affairs. Many other Creeks and Seminoles contributed to the work directly or indirectly, among whom may be mentioned the following: Jim Star, Siah Gray, Jackson Knight, Alex Tecumseh, Barney McGillivray, John Goat, George Hill, Fulotkee, Billy Yahola, Koakotci, Yatihka Hadjo, George Hicks, Hannah Jones, Sanger Beaver, Wotkotci, Caley Proctor, Sawanok Hadjo, Nokosili, Pahoshobaiotci, Tal-mutcas Hadjo, Sam Laslie, Pin Hadjo, Sarty Deacon, Tob Hill, Dave Harry, Silas Jefferson, Dave Cummings, Tom Culler, George Holaby, William Sullivan, Washington Riley, Sarty Cowee, Kasihta Yahola, Goliah Jones, Big Jack, Woksi Hadjo, John Baker, William Fish, Caesar Buckle, Jim Sapulpa, Will Sapulpa, Joe Wotko, Winey Tiger, Sam Haynes, John Spott, John Buck, Billy Tiger, William Berryhill, John Davis, Philip Marshall, Tob Tiger, Yonasi, Katca Holahta, Tciban Hadjo, Billy Koker, George Colbert, Imała, Okusky Miller, Caesar Jones, and Naktcagotci. My data from the Alabama Indians living in Texas was obtained chiefly from two old people, George Henry and his wife Celissy Henry, and from my interpreter, Charlie Thompson. Some information on the Koasati Indians was secured from Jackson Langley, chief of the Koasati band in Louisiana, and from his mother, Salin Langley. The spelling of many of these names, particularly the native ones, is probably different from that which they themselves employed.

127 This material has been supplemented liberally by means of the older authorities on the tribes under discussion, particularly Adair, Bartram, Swan, Hawkins, Hitchcock, and certain anonymous French

I: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNII Creek NNII

115 sidered in some degree a monument to him. Mr. Grayson had begun to compile a history of his life which would have been of the greatest interest to both the ethnologist and the historian, but unfortunately death intervened before it was well under way. By the courtesy of [127] his family I have been able to incorporate a few items from that manuscript in the present work. I also wish to mention my indebted- [124] ness to Zachariah Cook, of Wetumka, Okla., also deceased, who acted as my interpreter during the greater part of my travels away from Eufaula, Mr. Grayson's home. Being interested in all of the matters under investigation, himself a former chief of Tukabahchee and hence presiding officer at the annual ceremonies, he proved of the greatest utility in many ways and was able to contribute largely from his own experience. Another leading informant was Jackson Lewis, a Hitchiti doctor who stood high in the estimation of both Indians and whites. Valuable material was obtained from Rev. William McCombs, a native Baptist missionary, who has ministered to Creek congregations for a great many years; from Legus Perryman of the old Okmulgee town, at one time head chief of the nation; from Judge James R. Gregory, also of Okmulgee; and from Ellis Childers, chief of Chiaha and formerly prominent in Creek national affairs. Many other Creeks and Seminoles contributed to the work directly or indirectly, among whom may be mentioned the following; Jim Star, Siah Gray, Jackson Knight, Alex Tecumseh, Barney McGillivray, John Goat, George Hill, Fulotkee, Billy Yahola, Koakotci, Yatihka Hadjo, George Hicks, Hannah Jones, Sanger Beaver, Wotkotci, Caley Proctor, Sawanok Hadjo, Nokosili, Pahoshobaiotci, Tal-mutcas Hadjo, Sam Laslie, Pin Hadjo, Sarty Deacon, Tob Hill, Dave Harry, Silas Jefferson, Dave Cummings, Tom Culler, George Holaby, William Sullivan, Washington Riley, Sarty Cowee, Kasihta Yahola, Goliah Jones, Big Jack, Woksi Hadjo, John Baker, William Fish, Caesar Buckle, Jim Sapulpa, Will Sapulpa, Joe Wotko, Winey Tiger, Sam Haynes, John Spott, John Buck, Billy Tiger, William Berryhill, John Davis, Philip Marshall, Tob Tiger, Yonasi, Katca Holahta, Tciban Hadjo, Billy Koker, George Colbert, Imała, Okusky Miller, Caesar Jones, and Naktcagotci. My data from the Alabama Indians living in Texas was obtained chiefly from two old people, George Henry and his wife Celissy Henry, and from my interpreter, Charlie Thompson. Some information on the Koasati Indians was secured from Jackson Langley, chief of the Koasati band in Louisiana, and from his mother, Salin Langley. The spelling of many of these names, particularly the native ones, is probably different from that which they themselves employed.

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

127 writers, and this is particularly true of that part of the work dealing with customs like war which are now obsolete or obsolescent but could be made subjects of direct observation at the time in which they wrote. I have also made liberal use of the material published in recent years by Prof. Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, particularly his paper on "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town" (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, vol. II, pt. 2). His more extensive work on the Yuchi has been mentioned only incidentally, as the Yuchi are an alien tribe incorporated into the Creek Confederacy in comparatively modern times. Their culture, however, presents numerous features resembling that found among the Creeks, and Professor Speck's paper (Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1) should be read in conjunction with the material here presented. The valuable and hitherto unpublished Hitchcock material was placed at the disposal of the Bureau of Ethnology through the kindness of Mrs. W. A. Croffut, General Hitchcock's niece.

194 The following peculiar phonetic signs are used: ł, unvoiced l; ȧ, obscure a; tc, English ch; c, English sh; ª, nasalization of the preceding vowel; x and ɣ (in Natchez), palatal and velar spirants; vowels generally have continental values.

NATIVE LEGENDS DEALING WITH CREEK HISTORY

Origin Legends

173 The origin myths of the Hitchiti and Alabama, minor components of the Creek Nation, have been given in Bulletin 73.[1] Here it is proposed to include the origin myths of the dominant tribe, that which constituted by far the largest portion numerically and from which came the crystallizing force which united them all into one political body. Who the Muskogee were and what towns they occupied has been explained in the bulletin above mentioned. The origin legend, or the origin legends, of these people differed to some extent in the several Muskogee towns, but there was a harmony between the various versions, perhaps brought on pari passu with the progressive unification of the confederacy. There are many references to this legend in very general terms, but several stories have survived, which, though usually fragmentary, shed most valuable light upon the nature of the original. The earliest of these legends is that given to Governor Oglethorpe by one Chekilli,[2] who is styled "emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks," and was probably a Kasihta. At any rate the legend seems to be from Kasihta sources. According
173 to the American Gazetteer, as quoted by Gatschet, "This speech
212 was curiously written in red and black characters, on the skin of a

[1] Swanton, Early Hist. Creek Inds., Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 172-174, 191-192.
[2] Perhaps from Tsalaki iltci, "Cherokee killer."

23: Long T-5 (1777-1781) 1904
NG6 Ojibwa NG6
Southern Saulteaux
Shawnee NN17
CREEK Muskogee NN11

a warrior; and that my heart was not easily melted. The women immediately returned, carrying with them the dead, which satisfied me they did not intend to trouble us again.

Thus, by an happy presence of mind, we were saved from almost inevitable destruction, and probably from ending our lives under the most excruciating torture.

It may not be improper to observe the necessity there is for a trader to be cool, firm, and, in case of emergency, brave, but not rash or hasty. The Indians are just observers of the human mind, and easily discover true from affected courage, by that apparent tranquillity which clearly distinguishes the former from the latter. It is well known that no people in the world put courage to so severe a trial, and watch at the executions of their enemies with such savage curiosity, the effects of the tortures they inflict; even the women exult in proportion to the agony betrayed by the unhappy sufferer; though it frequently happens thro' the same spirit operating on both parties, that the most excruciating torments cannot extort a sigh. An example or two from Mr. Adair's History of the American Indians, will shew the firmness of an Indian [72] mind, and prove beyond a doubt that such anecdotes are not exaggerated. Truth should be the standard of history, and guide the pen of every author who values his reputation.

Some years ago the Shawano Indians being obliged to remove from their habitations, in their way took a Muskohge warrior, known by the name of old *Scrany*, prisoner; they bastinadoed him severely, and condemned him to the fiery torture. He underwent a great deal without shewing any concern; his countenance and behaviour were as if he suffered not the least pain. He told his

23: Long T-5 (1777-1781) 1904
NG6 Ojibwa
Creek Mus Kogee NN11
Shawnee NN17

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persecutors with a bold voice, that he was a warrior; that he had gained most of his martial reputation at the expence of their nation, and was desirous of shewing them, in the act of dying, that he was still as much their superior, as when he headed his gallant countrymen against them: that although he had fallen into their hands, and forfeited the protection of the divine power by some impurity or other, when carrying the holy ark of war against his devoted enemies, yet he had so much remaining virtue as would enable him to punish himself more exquisitely than all their despicable ignorant crowd possibly could; and that he would do so, if they gave him liberty by untying him, and handing him one of the red hot gun-barrels out of the fire. The proposal, and his method of address, appeared so exceedingly bold and uncommon, that his request was granted. Then suddenly seizing one end of the red hot barrel, and brandishing it from side to side, he forced his way through the armed and surprised multitude, leaped down a prodigious steep and high bank into a branch of the river, dived through it, ran over a small island, and passed the other branch, amidst a shower of bullets; and though numbers of his enemies were in close pursuit of him, he got into a bramble swamp, [73] through which, though naked and in a mangled condition, he reached his own country.

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The Shawano Indians also captured a warrior of the Anantoocah nation, and put him to the stake, according to their usual cruel solemnities: having unconcernedly suffered much torture, he told them, with scorn, they did not know how to punish a noted enemy; therefore he was willing to teach them, and would confirm the truth of his assertion if they allowed him the opportunity. Accordingly he requested of them a pipe and some tobacco, which

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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others, such as the Utina, Potano, and Apalachee of Florida, and the Chiaha, Tali, Mobile, and many more farther north. It is even uncertain whether at that date any sort of confederacy existed. As time went on, however, the Florida tribes were destroyed or scattered, and the same fate overtook the Yamasee, the Indians of the Georgia coast, and the smaller tribes in the neighborhood of South Carolina. This served to increase the power of the Creeks proper, both by weakening that of their neighbors and by causing many fugitive tribes to unite with them and add to their fighting force. Leaving out of consideration the Hitchiti, Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, who were incorporated almost before the dawn of clear history, we have very exact information of the incorporation of the Yuchi, which had formerly been an independent and hostile tribe, of part of the Shawnee, and of the remnant of the Natchez. This system of adoption resulted in the strengthening of the confederacy about in proportion to the weakening of its neighbors, until finally but one tribe remained, the Choctaw, able to contend with it on anything like equal terms. This latter, it is to be noted, owed its strength not so much to incorporation of fugitive elements as to a location where it was for a long time protected against European encroachment, intensive cultivation of the soil, and an unwarlike disposition—all contributing to a steadily mounting population. The Choctaw government was very feebly centralized for the same reason until very late times when it was much strengthened as a result of constant attacks on the part of Chickasaw and Creek enemies. The Creeks, on the other hand, had adopted their federal union very early, probably in part as the result of pressure from without, and as this pressure was increased by the approach of white settlements the sense of danger tended to accelerate the centralization. It thus happened that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century conditions were ripe for the evolution of a still more closely knit state, and merely awaited the advent of the man who could bring it about. And such a man appeared.

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A critical life of Alexander McGillivray would be a distinct contribution to southern history, but it is not germane to our purpose. Doubtless much that has been written regarding him is inaccurate and I do not vouch for all the facts given in the following account by Swan, but of the revolution he accomplished in Creek government there can be no doubt. Swan says that his title was Steutsa'cco-Cho'ota' which is evidently a very bad attempt at isti àtcagàgi làko, "great honored or beloved man."[80] He goes on:

"The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks,

[80] His Indian name, however, is given by Pope as "Hippo ilk Meco, or the good Child King." In correct Creek this would be Hobol-hili miko, but there is reason to think that McGillivray did not belong to a clan which would entitle him to be called miko.

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where he was born, by the advice of his father immediately set about placing himself at the head of the nation. His kindred and family connexion in the country, and his evident abilities, soon gave him such influence among them that the British made him their commissary, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, under Colonel Brown, then superintendent.

"After the English had abandoned the nation, in 1782, this beloved man found it necessary, in order to carry on the war with success against the Georgians, to undertake a reform in the policy of the nation, which had for a long time been divided by faction.

"He effected a total revolution in one of their most ancient customs, by placing the warriors in all cases over the micos or kings, who, though not active as warriors, were always considered as important counsellors. The micos resisted this measure for some time; and the struggle became at last so serious, that the beloved chief had one Sullivan and two others, partizans of the micos, put to death in the public squares. They were all three white men who had undertaken to lead the faction against him; but he finally crushed the insurgents, and effected his purposes.

"The spirit of opposition still remained against him in the old Tallassie king, Opilth Mico, who, with his clan, pronounced M'Gillivray a boy and an usurper, taking steps that must be derogatory to his family and consequence. And under these circumstances he undertook to treat separately with the Georgians. The consequences were, his houses were burnt in his absence, and his corn and cattle destroyed. Notwithstanding, he remained refractory for a long time, as well as some of the most important of the lower towns, until, finding the Georgians aimed at them indiscriminately, and a Mr. Alexander had killed twelve of their real friends (the Cussutahs), they dropped their internal disputes, and united all their efforts, under the great chief, against the frontiers."[21]

Swan adds some interesting particulars regarding the means resorted to by McGillivray to secure his authority. He kept the several towns in obedience by threatening to remove the white traders from among them. He encouraged the presentation of complaints by all parties but put off judgment so long that the parties usually settled the matter between themselves, thereby relieving him of the necessity of delivering a verdict unfavorable to one of them and attracting personal enmity in consequence. Another device, as old as tyranny, was to collect about himself a body of retainers. Swan says:

"Some young men of his relations, and several active warriors living about Little Tallassie, whom the chief keeps continually attached to him by frequent and profuse presents, serve him as a

[21] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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kind of watch, and often in the capacity of constables—pursue, take up, and punish, such characters as he may direct; and on some occasions have acted as executioners.

"It is a maxim of his policy to give protection to outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country, who have fled in great numbers from the hands of justice, and found an asylum in the Creek nation. The whites living among the Indians (with very few exceptions), are the most abandoned wretches that can be found, perhaps, on this side of Botany Bay; there is scarcely a crime but some of them has been guilty of. Most of the traders and all their hirelings and pack-horse-men, are of the above description." [82]

McGillivray's father, Lachlan McGillivray, was a Scotchman loyal to the crown, and from him and his sojourn among the whites Alexander had gained sufficient astuteness to know how to deal with the colonists, along with a prejudice against their cause. His government, it will be seen, resembled rather a Greek tyranny than the military democracy to which Swan likens it. It must be added, however, that McGillivray's power was due rather to his shrewdness and his understanding of the Indian mind than to the exercise of autocratic authority, though, as we have seen, he could use the iron glove on occasion. McGillivray belonged to the Wind clan,[83] and although this clan held an exalted position in the tribe, none of the officials of Otciapofa, his proper town and that which he made his capital, were Wind people. This explains in part his adoption of the term "great beloved man," one which could be held by a member of any clan. The government as I have described it also explains the appellation of "grand chief" which Milfort applies to McGillivray.[84] Milfort was probably one of those outsiders whom McGillivray gathered about him. That he was made a tàstànàgi is probable, but, as has been stated above, the name did not carry the significance which Milfort attaches to it of "head war chief" of the nation.

Milfort and Pope both confirm Swan's statement regarding the internal revolution effected by McGillivray, except that where the former says "nation" we must substitute "town," or "towns." His words are:

"The Tastanégy or grand war chief formerly had no part in the internal administration, his authority lasted only as long as the war: but now, he is the first civil as well as the first military chief of the nation." [85]

Says Pope:

"M'Gillivray who is perpetual dictator, in Time of War subdelegates a Number of Chieftains for the Direction of all military

[82] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.
[83] Milfort, Mém., p. 323; Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 268.
[84] Ibid., pp. 40-41 et seq.
[85] Milfort, op. cit., p. 357.

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Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings." [86]

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It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (tàstánagi łáko) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,[87] both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

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A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

[86] Pope, Tour, p. 65.

[87] In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. II, p. 786) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.

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789 would then come there, stoop down and drink some of the water, and throw it up again into the pool. He would do this four times. Then he would divide the dam that held the water in this pool and let it all run away. After that he would go to a large creek, remove his clothing, and dive under water four times. Then he would come out and lie in the bushes almost all day (having started out early in the morning) so that no one could see him. About 3 o'clock he started home, avoiding meeting or speaking to anyone. In perhaps a week he would dress himself up as before and go to see the girl he was in love with, who would then fall in love with him. Sometimes, however, the girl's mother would make medicine against him so that he could not succeed in spite of all his efforts.

DISEASES AND REMEDIES

General Remarks

•164 To the discussion of this subject I will prefix the following general remarks from Bartram regarding the diseases of the Indians in his time. However superficial, it has the advantage of being the only statement of the kind belonging to an early period from a man competent to express anything like a scientific opinion.

"The Indians seem in general healthier than the whites, have fewer diseases, and those they have not so acute or contagious as those amongst us.

"The small-pox sometimes visits them, and is the most dreaded of all diseases.

"Dysentery, pleurisy, intermittent fevers, epilepsy and asthma, they have at times.

"The hooping-cough is fatal among their children, and worms very frequent. . . .

"They have the venereal disease amongst them in some of its stages; but by their continence, temperance, powerful remedies, skill in applying them, and care, it is a disease which may be said to be uncommon. In some towns it is scarcely known, and in none rises to that state of virulency which we call a *pox*, unless sometimes amongst the white traders who themselves say, as well as the Indians, that it might be eradicated if the traders did not carry it with them to the nations when they return with their merchandise; these contract the disorder before they set off, and it generally becomes virulent by the time they arrive, when they apply to the Indian doctors to get cured." [20]

753 We will now turn to the native conception of diseases and their remedies. This is best illustrated in the abstract by the following myth collected by Dr. Frank Speck from an old Creek medicine man known as Kabitcimala (Kapitca imala), or Laslie Cloud.

[20] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 43-44.

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the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the 687
people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them." [72]

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into 689
running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching.[72a]

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGilli- 681
vray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order.

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable." [73]

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the 685
following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.[74]

Escaped murderers and adulterers, and those who had committed 167 •
lesser offenses and had withdrawn from their people to avoid the [626]
ridicule and contempt of their fellow townsmen, formed a class from which, says Bartram, generally came the ruffians who committed [579]
depredations and murders on the frontiers.[75] The foundation of
new towns may sometimes be traced to them, as indeed is frankly 621
admitted by members of those towns themselves. It is said that the town of Wiwohka had such an origin, and it is also claimed for others like Hilibi on less satisfactory grounds. In later times many such people swelled the population of the Florida Seminole.

Adair is the only writer to say anything about oaths used in adjur- 695
ing a witness to give true evidence, and in this connection he does not mention the Creeks, only the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The Chickasaw and Choctaw oath he gives as *Chikloosha ke-e-u Chua*,[76] which he interprets "Do not you lie! Do you not, of a certain

[72] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[72a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 189; see p. 186.
[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 261-262.
[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277.
[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 512.
[76] *Lushki* is a Chickasaw word meaning "to lie"; *chikloosha* signifies "you do not lie"; *ke-e-u* (or *keyu*) is the negative. The form used here is a strengthened one.

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Natchez NO8

N. 601 171 C. 601 171

In its main outlines this is like the better known systems already described.* There are, however, two or three divergencies which would perhaps be of importance if we could be assured of the reliability of our data. One of these was the use of terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister having no etymological connection with the words for own father and own mother; another the employment by a woman of a term for elder sister distinct from the term used by a man for his elder brother. There is not a trace of the first of these anomalies in Cherokee any more than in the common Muskhogean tongues. Cherokee and ordinary Muskhogean usage do indeed diverge in applying terms to the brothers and sisters, but Natchez agrees with neither. Among the Cherokee there is one reciprocal term applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. A man has distinct terms for elder brother and younger brother, neither of which is, indeed, used by the woman, but, unlike Natchez, she has only one term for all of her sisters.

C. 601 619

When we come to the discussion of clans we shall find that terms of relationship, particularly the terms "uncle" and "nephew," were sometimes applied to clans taken as a whole (see pp. 145–149). They were also extended to towns and foreign tribes. Thus Tukabahchee has frequently been called "the mother town" (talwa Itcki), an appellation shared also by Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, and Otciapofa. Malatchi, head chief of the Creeks about the middle of the eighteenth century and probably a Kasihta Indian, speaks of the Chickasaw as his "younger brothers" and himself as their "elder brother."[62] McGillivray informed Barton that the Cherokee had been longer in the east than the Creeks and therefore called the latter their "younger brothers."[63] Like so many other tribes, the Creeks called the Delaware Indians their "grandfathers" and they were called "grandchildren" by both Delaware and Shawnee.[64] Schoolcraft, who gives this information, also adds: "Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known; but by some it is."[64] The French were formerly said to be the "fathers" of the southern Indians, and at the present day the same term is applied to the Americans.

C. 601

The examination of these systems of relationship, particularly that of the Muskogee, makes it evident that they are based upon essentially the same factors as our own—blood, marriage, sex, relative age, social contact—although the fourth item has much greater prominence. To these the influence of the artificial exogamous group must be added, but it can not be too strongly emphasized that this factor merely gives a certain twist to a system by no means de-

[62] Bossewurth's Ms. Journal, p. 89. [64] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, i, p. 268.
[63] Barton, New Views, p. xiv.

* [See pp. 79-95, category 116. -- Analyst]

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pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

Cr. 601
Cr. [611]

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

Cr. 171 551
Ch. 171 551

The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Choola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'[46] The father and mother of the former are called *Choollingge*, and *Choollishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahlishke;* for *Ingge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . ."[47]

Ch. 551

"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

Ch. 551 727

[46] The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 26.

[47] Adair, op. cit., p. 191.

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Adair tells us that an unsuccessful Chickasaw leader might be stripped of all his war titles.[29] I was told that the Creeks did not do this, but in earlier times it may very well have happened.

The following list of war names was obtained from Zachariah Cook:

As hadjo.
Abali hadjo.
Abayàli hadjo.
Abi'ka fiksiko, "Abihka fiksiko."
Abi'ka hadjo.
Abi'ka yahola.
Abi'kutci, "Little Abihka."
Abuyak fiksiko, "Putting-down fiksiko" (?)
Abuyak hadjo.
Abuyak yahola.
Adji yahola, "Corn yahola."
Adji hàtci fiksiko.
Adji hàtci hadjo.
Adji hàtci yahola (?).
Ahalak fiksiko, "Potato fiksiko."
Ahalak hadjo.
Ahalak yahola.
Ahalakutci, "Little Potato."
Ahotàligo, "Clear minded."
Akàlpoisa hadjo, "Dipping-something-in-under hadjo."
Akàlopisa yahola.
Akfàski fiksiko, "Okfuskee fiksiko."
Akfàski hadjo.
Aktayatci fiksiko, "Aktayatci-clan fiksiko."
Aktayatci hadjo.
Aktayatci yahola.
Aktayatcutci.
Atcifahàli hadjo, "Broken- (or rough-) country hadjo."
Bàskàp hadjo, (Bàskàp is perhaps the same as Paskofa, see below).
Fus fiksiko, "Bird fiksiko."
Fus hadjo.
Fus yahola.
Fus hàtci fiksiko, "Bird-creek (?) fiksiko."[30]
Fus hàtci hadjo.
Fus hàtci yahola.
Halipoea hadjo, "Victor (?) hadjo."
Halpata fiksiko, "Alligator fiksiko."
Halpata hadjo.
Heniha tàstànàgi.
Heniha teàpko, "Long heniha."
Henihutci, "Little heniha."
Hilibi fiksiko.
Hilibi hadjo.
Hilis fiksiko, "Medicine fiksiko."
Hilis hadjo.
Hobayi fiksiko (?), "Far away fiksiko."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi yahola.
Hobayutci.
Hoboihili fiksiko, "Good child fiksiko."
Hoboihili hadjo.
Hoboihili yahola.
Hobuis hadjo, (Hobuis from hobuiwa, "child," or hobili, "fog").
Hola'ta fiksiko.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta yahola.
Hola'tutci.
Hotàlgi fiksiko, "Wind fiksiko."
Hotàlgi hadjo.
Hotàlgi imala (?)
Hotàlgi yahola.
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Imedjiska hadjo, "Butt-of-tree hadjo."
Ina tàstànàgi, "An ina warrior." (As a man went into battle he repeated a formula or song called "ina" which was supposed to preserve him from harm during the action.)
Inianis hadjo.[31]
Ispani fiksiko, "Spanish fiksiko."
Ispani yahola.
Itchas fiksiko, "Beaver fiksiko."
Itchas hadjo.
Itchas yahola.
Itchasutci.
Itco fiksiko, "Deer fiksiko."
Itco hadjo.
Itco tàstànàgi.
Itco yahola.
Itco-ili hadjo, "Deer-foot hadjo."
Itco kutcûgàni, "Short deer."
Itco-yàbi hadjo, "Deer-horn hadjo."
Itcutci, "Little deer."
Kaiamûlk hadjo, "Kaiamulgi hadjo."
Kàn tcat hadjo.
Kapitca fiksiko, "Lye-drip fiksiko."
Kapitca hadjo.

[29] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 388.

[30] See p. 118.

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found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan."[a]

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Tciloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Tciloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

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This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

"The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families.— By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns."[b]

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The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

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[a] Taggie Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[b] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 22.

English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Bear	Nokusálgi	Nokusáli	Nita ayukse	Tŭ̄go owáta	Sag^V	Ara hasomi (of the Bird phratry).	
Wind	Hotálgálgi	Fabilteli	Mahale ayukse	Nábi ŏwáta	Godá		
Bird	Fuswálgi	Fosáli	Fose ayukse	Cŭ̄gol ŏwáta		Chulufichi hasomi	Fosi.
Beaver	Itchárwálgi	Posalíli	Otáta ayeksa (Noko ayukse in Koasati).	Emet ŏwáta	Cagŭ^v		
Fox	Tcolálgi	Tcolíli			Catisné	Hase nayo hasomi (White Fox clan) (Buzzard phratry).	
Raccoon	Wotkálgi	Sawáli		Enogol ŏwáta	Djä^tis^		Cawi.
Water Moccasin (?)	Aktayatcálgi	Aktayatcéli					
Potato	Ahalogálgi	Ahalakéli					
	Teowastálgi						
Alligator	Halpatálgi	Hálpatéli	Tcintcuba ayukse				Hatchŭntchŭba (Morgan).
Turkey	Pinwálgi	Faitéli	Fito ayukse		Wŭtc^ŭ		
	Tamálgi	Támili					
	Pabosálgi	Pabosili					
Wolf	Yahálgi	Obabosili	Wase ayukse		Dalá		Nacoba (Morgan).
Bison	Yanosálgi						
Medicine	Hilisálgi						
	Teokotálgi	Teokotili					
Lye drip (?)	Kapitcálgi	Kapitcili					
Deer	Itcosálgi	Itcili	Itco ayukse	Dsa ŏwáta	Wa^yA^	Honose nayo (White Deer), Great Deer (Fresh Water and Potano districts).	Isi.
Toad	Sopaktálgi	Sánáktcéli					
Mole	Takosálgi	Tákosili					
Skunk	Konipálgi	Konipili			Yŭsa^		Koni, or Hoknni.
Fish	Ládoálgi				Cŭ	Cuyu [kuyu] hasomi	Náni.
Snake	Tcitálgi	Tcintili		Ulás ŏwáta	Ca (?)		
Rabbit	Teusálgi				Cadjwané	Apichi(ara) (?) (Fish phratry).	
Hickorynut	Otcilálgi						

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English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Cane	Kohusakálgi (or Kohosálgi).	Kohusáli					
Salt	Oktcánálgi		Hape ayekna				
Daddy-longlegs	Tápohaklálgi		Tápanola ayekna				
Panther	Katcálgi	Kowáli	Koe ayekna	Iriwada owáts	Wätc'A"	Yaraba hasomi (Acheba phratry).	Kô istô.
Wildcat	Konkotcálgi		Konteuse ayekna		Cal'ané		Kô inteus.
Eagle	'Lámhálgi				Cä'na (?)		
Otter	Osánálgi	Osanäli			Cûlané		
	Łidjámálgi						
	Wokmálgi						
Mink	Oktcûtkálgi						
Corn	Atcilálgi						
Fresh Land	Kantálálgi					Uti hasomi (Earth phratry)	
Spanish moss (?)	Asunálgi						
	Nokfahálgi (or Nokfilálgi).						
Spanish (?)	Isfanálgi						Sîani (or Spani).
Turtle	Lutcálgi				Täh"ä' (Tortoise)		
Weevil (?) (or English?).	Okllisálgi						
Arrow	Łiálgi						
Pubes Hair	Inkanisálgi						
Long Dew	Sitcoicéphálgi						
	Wainkálgi						
Raven	(Kakkálgi?)						
Red Paint							
Buzzard	Sutálgi				Ya" tl'	Apohola hasomi	
Owl							
Muskrat	Muklasálgi						
Opossum					Wätsagowa"		
Squirrel					Cäya		Fäni (Morgan).
Dog						Eisca hasomi (Acheba phrat.)	

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Partridge							
Owl							
Blackbird							
						Caya [Kaya] hassni (Achaha phrsi.).	Minko (Shanff).
							Otaka or Otchaka (Mecgan).
							Halaba (Gibbs).

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To complete our survey of the clans of the southeastern area we may add those of the Cherokee. Within historic times they numbered seven, thus named according to Mooney: Ani'-Wa"ya (Wolf), Ani'-Kawĭ' (Deer), Ani'-Tsiskwa (Bird), Ani'-Wâ'dĭ (Paint), Ani'-Sahâ'nĭ (possibly an archaic name meaning "Blue People"), Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ (frequently incorrectly interpreted "Blind Savanna"), Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ (Long-haired People).[92] Mooney believed that at an earlier time there were 14 clans, each of the seven of the later period having been formed by the fusion of two. He mentions as an instance the fusion of the Turtle Dove and Raven to form the Bird. In a very early document in the Library of Congress I find the following clans listed: Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Blind Savanna, Long Hair, Thorn Bush, and Acorn. All of these are identifiable in Mooney's list except the two last, one of which may have corresponded to his Ani'-Sahânĭ.

The Wolf, Deer, and Bird were undoubtedly equated with the Wolf, Deer, and Bird clans of the Creeks, and it is quite possible that correspondences were found for the other Cherokee divisions among the remaining Creek clans. The only hint as to the manner in which this may have been worked out is contained in information which I received from a Natchez informant living among the Cherokee. He stated that the Ani'-Wâdi corresponded to the Natchez Snake clan, the Ani'-Sahânĭ to the Panther clan, the Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ to the Raccoon clan, and the Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ to the Wind clan.

There is fragmentary information regarding clans from the Siouan tribes of the east,[93a] the Biloxi,[93b] and the Chitimacha.[93c] There were, of course, clans among the Tuscarora, Quapaw, Caddo, and some others who occupied a marginal position with reference to the Gulf area, but they need not be considered.

The Opossum appears only among the Yuchi,[94] and the Squirrel only among the Yuchi and Chickasaw, with the latter on the sole authority of Morgan.[95] A "Root clan" is referred to by Eakins, whose informants probably had in mind the Potato.[96] The Muklasâlgi are recorded only by Gatschet.[97] As Muklasa was a former Alabama town among the Upper Creeks it is probable that the designation referred properly to the people living there, irrespective of clanship. North of Florida the existence of a Buzzard clan rests upon only one or two doubtful statements. Speck enters it as one of those clans among the Yuchi the existence of which was "not generally

[92] Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 212-213, 508-509.

[93a] Lederer in Alvord and Bidgood, The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674, p. 144.

[93b] J. O. Dorsey in 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 243-244.

[93c] Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 349.

[94] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

[95] Ibid.; Morgan, Ancient Society, vol. 1, p. 162.

[96] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 275.

[97] Gatschet, Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 156.

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agreed upon" by his informants.[66] So far as the Muskogee are concerned the idea that there was such a clan may have arisen from the similarity between "Sulâlgi" (Buzzard people) and "Tculâlgi" (Fox people), although in his list of Tuskegee clans Speck includes both. However, its undoubted existence and important position in Florida render a northward extension among the Creeks not impossible. Hitchcock is our sole authority for an Owl clan and the intimate association of this bird with witchcraft renders its adoption as an emblem by a social group in the highest degree improbable. Stiggins states that the Red Paint was one of the nine principal clans of the Muskogee.[66] Since he himself had Muskogee, or rather Natchez, blood and grew up in the Creek Nation his authority ought to be good, but I am inclined to believe that he had borrowed this name from that of the corresponding Cherokee clan. Possibly the Cherokee division was identified with some particular clan among the Creeks which in consequence sometimes received its name. In that case it was probably identified with a different clan from that equated with it by the Natchez.[1] Adair is our only authority for a Raven clan,[2] and Gatschet our only authority for the Walakâlgi.[3] For each of the names Sitcotcâpkâlgi, Łiâlgi, Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, Kantâlâlgi, and Hilisâlgi, I have the authority of but one informant. The Sitcotcâpkâlgi was mentioned by an old Tukabahchee Indian, the Inłanisâlgi, and Łiâlgi, by a Seminole; the Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, and Kantâlâlgi by an informant who, although a Seminole by birth, had lived most of his life with the people of Lutcapoga; and the Hilisâlgi by an old Łapłâko Indian now dead. The Lutcâlgi (Turtle, or rather, Tortoise) was remembered by one or two of my informants, besides being mentioned by Adair,[4] and, as may be seen in the table, it also occurs among the Yuchi.[5] Several informants remembered Yanasâlgi as the name of an ancient clan, and it is given by Adair and MacCauley.[6] The Fish clan is referred to by Adair,[7] was remembered by an old woman of the Texas Alabama and several Creeks of Oklahoma in 1912, and is given by Doctor Speck in his list of Yuchi clans.[8] The writer also heard of it as a Yuchi clan, and formerly it seems to have been strong among the Lower Creeks.

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[66] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

[66] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

[1] See p. 118.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 181. His remarks at this point are so general that it is uncertain who the people were among whom this clan existed. The same is true of his references to the Turtle and Bison clans. In the case of the Raven clan, he may have had in mind the former Raven clan of the Cherokee or the Blackbird clan of the Chickasaw, though the existence of this last is somewhat in doubt.

[3] Gatschet, op. cit., p. 56. In his Ms. vocabulary he suggests an origin from the term *swalita*, to share out or divide, the word which also appears in Hoiwahali.

[4] Adair, op. cit., p. 15.

[5] Speck, loc. cit.

[6] Adair, loc. cit.; 8th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 307.

[7] Adair, loc. cit.

[8] Speck, loc. cit.

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614 •171 One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tápàsánà', with that for daddy-longlegs, tápohsálà. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

615 It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogálgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcálgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogálgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

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The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanálgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanálgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 156.
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 156; vol. IX, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair. Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

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342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house [592 owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the 606] husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

•171 When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find 361 that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

342 "The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of 344 all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a 622 particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong." [66]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[66] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

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mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

171 • 361 342 344 622

"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

344 361

"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.
[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 120.
[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 89.
[70] Ibid., p. 101.
[71] Ibid., p. 23.
[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 56, 102.
[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 126.

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344 361 positions in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and the slave-posts."[74]

The use of the mound, while partly no doubt for defense and to add dignity to the structures placed upon it, was very often in order to protect the buildings from spring floods and the general dampness. Some earlier Spanish statements suggest that perhaps even in the sixteenth century not all public buildings were placed upon mounds. Yet by analogy with the Cherokee town house and the lower Mississippi temple we may consider it probable that the arrangement set forth by Bartram was actually a very ancient one. It would seem likely that the building called by Bartram the rotunda was once the most important element and that the public square was merely a summer substitute suggested by a southern climate. Such an evolution of the Creek public buildings would bring them into line with those known to have existed among the Cherokee and the tribes of the Mississippi. A later evolution changed the relative position of the elements here brought together and finally resulted in an almost complete elimination of the mounds. We will continue with Bartram's description of the later square (fig. 3) which remained essentially as he represents it almost to the present day.

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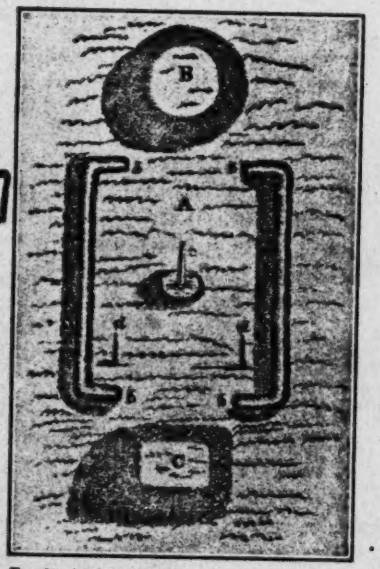

FIG. 2.—Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

"This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky-Yard Public Square, and Rotunda of the *modern* Creek towns.

"*A*, the Public Square or area.

"*B*, the Rotunda; *a*, the door opening towards the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; *c*, the great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house.

"*C*, part of the Chunky-Yard."[75]

[74] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 51-53.

[75] Ibid., p. 54.

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width, are suspended by a string six or seven inches in length round about the top of the pole, where they remain as long as they last. I have seen some that have been there so long as to lose all the hair, and the skin remaining white as parchment or paper. The pole is usually crowned with the white dry skull of an enemy. In some of these towns I have counted six or eight scalps fluttering on one pole in these yards. Thus it appears evidently enough that this area is designed for a public place of exhibition of shows and games, and formerly some of the scenes were of the most tragical and barbarous nature, as torturing the miserable captives with fire in various ways, and causing or forcing them to run the gauntlet naked, chunked and beat almost to death with burning chunks and fire-brands, and at last burnt to ashes.

"Inquired of the traders for what reason this area was called the *Chunky-Yard;* they were in general ignorant, yet they all seemed to agree in a lame story of its originating from its being the place where the Indians formerly put to death and tortured their captives—or from the Indian name for it, which bears such a signification.

"The Indians do not now torture their captives after that cruel manner as formerly; but there are some old traders who have been present at the burning of captives.

"I observed no Chunky-Yards, chunky-pole, or slave-posts in use in any of the Cherokee towns: and when I have mentioned in my journal, chunky-yards in the Cherokee country, it must be understood that I have seen the remains or vestiges of them in the ancient ruins of towns; for in the present Cherokee towns that I visited, though there were the ancient mounts and signs of the yard adjoining, yet the yard was either built upon or turned into a garden spot or the like.

[171]

"Indeed, I am convinced that the Chunky-Yards now, or lately, in use amongst the Creeks, are of very ancient date—not the formation of the present Indians. But in most towns they are cleaned out and kept in repair, being swept clean every day, and the poles kept up and decorated in the manner I have mentioned."[86]

A footnote by Squier gives the true origin of the term chunkey, viz, from the name of a game to be explained elsewhere and common throughout the Southern States in primitive times.[86a] Bartram seems to have seen a chunkey-pole compounded of four pieces, an unusually elaborate construction. Nothing of the kind is known at the present day.

After describing the Atasi square in his Travels, Bartram goes on to tell us that "in the midst of a large oblong square adjoining this town (which was surrounded with a low bank or terrace) is standing a high pillar, round like a pin or needle; it is about forty feet in

[86] Bartram, in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, pp. 34-36. [86a] See p. 488.

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344 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have
346 been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

177 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks
171 have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and sub-
344 sequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

344 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa),
554 usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The
621 names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikàlgi or mikàgi intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tàstànàgàlgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibànàgàlgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihàlgi intupa) and was known

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 302.

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factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

C. 344 621

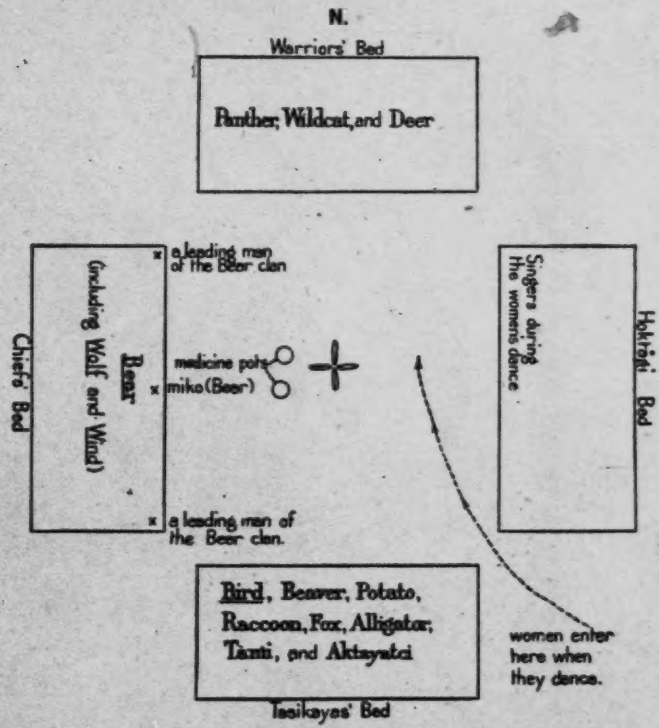

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

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It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

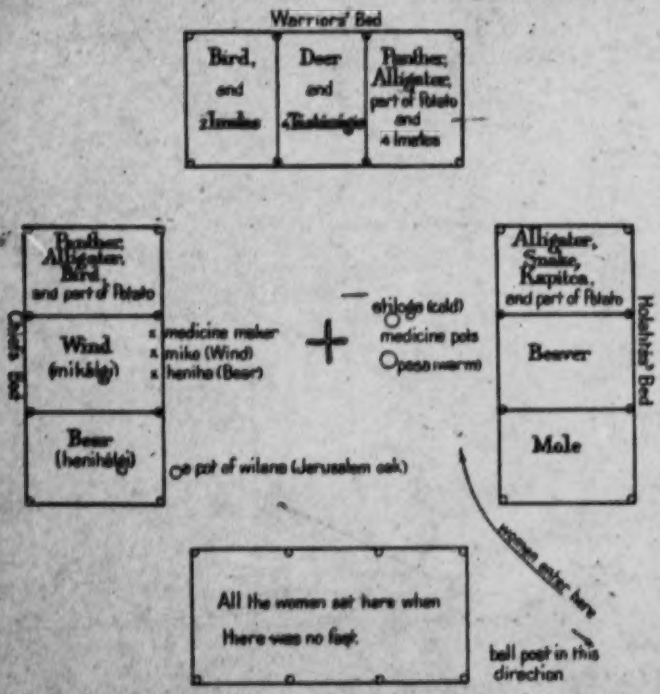

FIG. 73.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa lákni) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important

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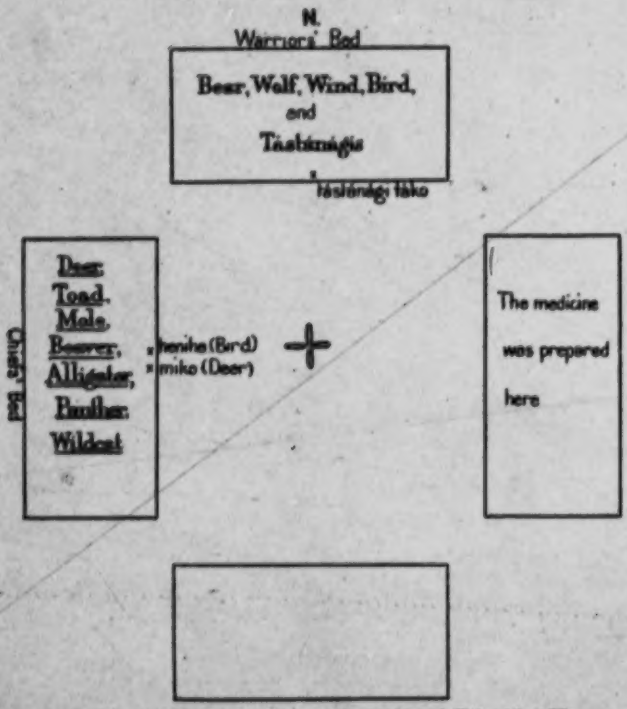

FIG. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa Iáko) (II)

part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

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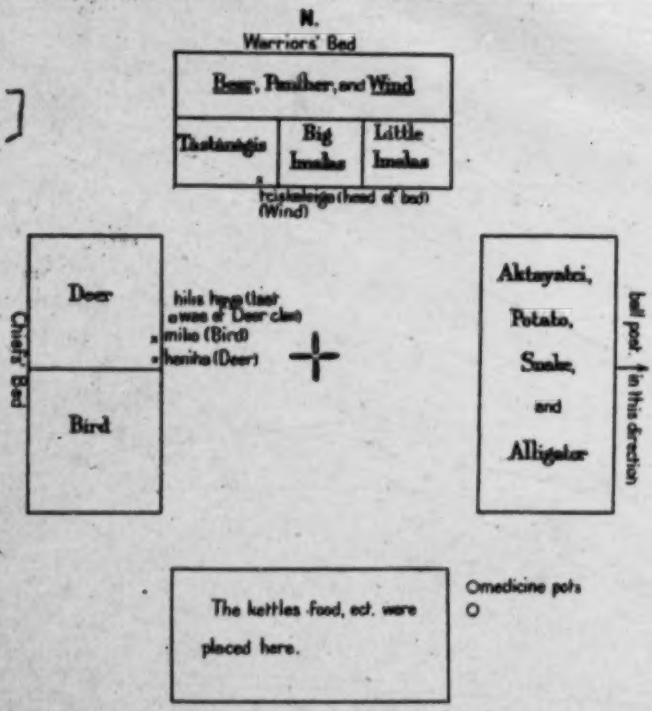

FIG. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

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use of bird feathers in peace-making ceremonies, and in corroboration of that suggestion it must be remembered that the Bird clan was reckoned a White clan among the Creeks and that it did not include the Eagle or the Turkey. It is interesting to note that in Florida the Bear and Bird clans were associated as they were among the Creeks. The Panther clan is almost as popular as the Bird and Deer, being wanting only from the Cherokee; the nature of the animal accounts sufficiently for this. Of the remaining clans the Wind, Beaver,

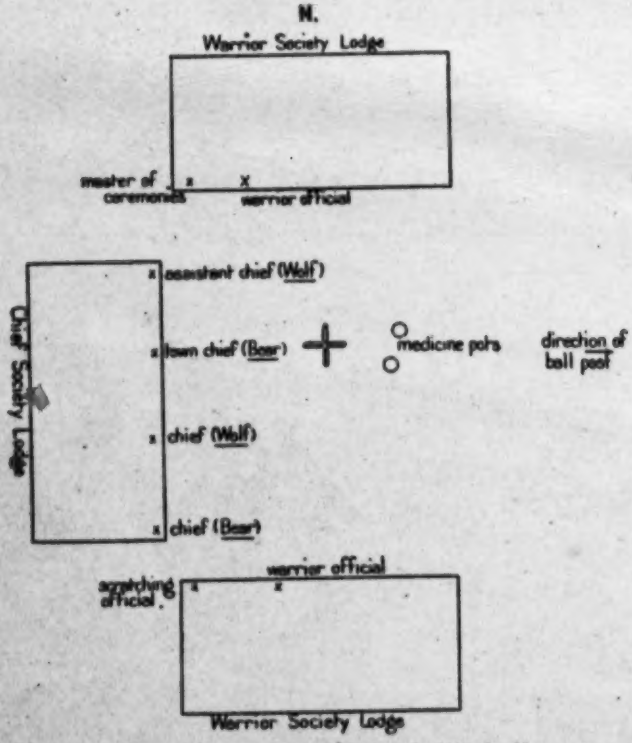

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Yuchi Square Ground. (After Speck)

Alligator, and Snake are most prominent among the Creeks and those tribes particularly influenced by them; the Wolf is most prominent among the Cherokee, and the Buzzard and Earth clans among the Timucua. It is rather remarkable that the Fish was less in evidence among the Creeks than among the Timucua on one side and the Chickasaw on the other.

Whether the clans actually originated with those tribes among which they were most prominent in historic times and spread from them to the others is a question to which no answer can be given

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on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

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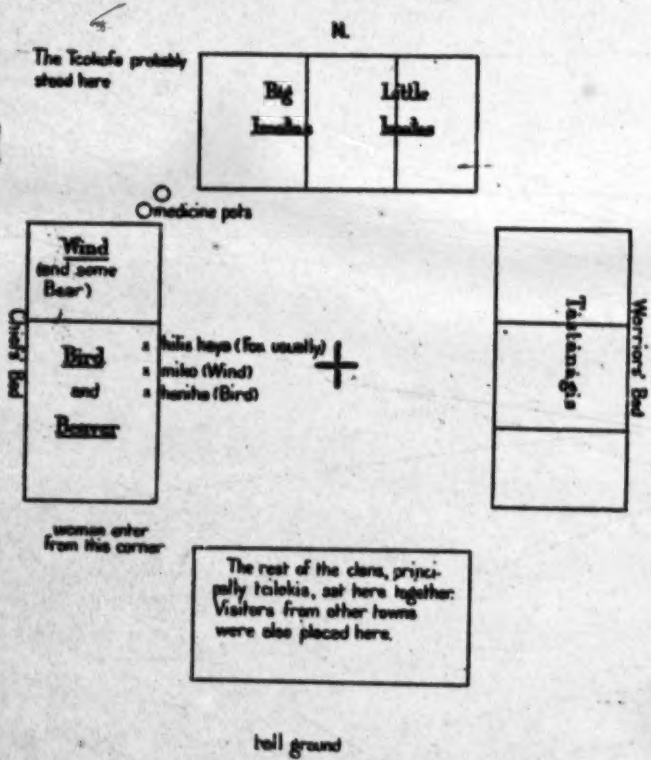

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogâlgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent

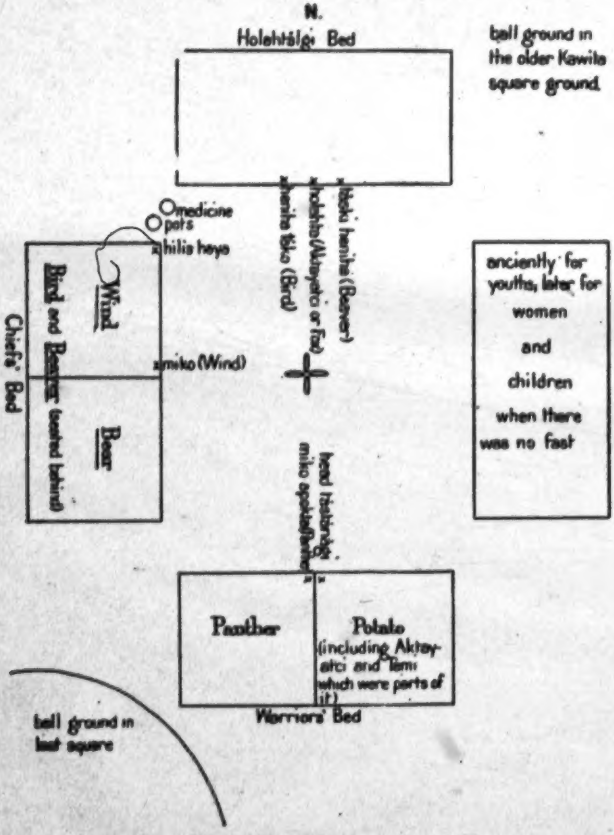

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II)

and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

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for the first Roly McIntosh, who is said to have conferred the title upon him himself, in anticipation of his future greatness.

As stated already, when the Creek chief was installed an installation speech was made to him by a man of the Bird clan of Otciapofa, who instructed him regarding his duties and in general as to what was expected of him.

The duties of sheriffs or constables were discharged by eight, or about eight, light horsemen (tcilâko ohgā'ga), four for the Upper Creeks and four for the Lower Creeks.

[171]

The government of the Seminole nation was similar to that of the Creek nation proper. They had only two light horsemen.

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The following general view of the condition of the Creeks in the middle of the nineteenth century furnishes an interesting picture of them in their western home in the middle period of their decline, a decline soon afterwards accelerated vastly by the Civil War and now brought to completion by their allotment and the practical abolishment of their national government:

"The Lower Towns, from their closer proximity and greater intercourse with the whites, exhibit a much greater advance in civilization and manner than their brethren of the Upper Towns. The old custom of settling together compactly and cultivating the town fields has been altogether abandoned, and they are no longer visible in this portion of the nation; the people are settled promiscuously throughout the country; many of their farms and residences would do credit to the States. Ornaments, silver plates, ear-rings, beads, and paint, are grown into disuse, and seldom or never seen except at their festivals or ball plays. The dress of the whites is becoming common, with the exception of the hunting shirt, which is generally of gay printed calico, and may be conceived quite picturesque. It is tenaciously adhered to, and is common to all Indians. Hats, vests, pantaloons, and shoes may almost be said to be the common habilaments of the males, and dresses of the richest materials of silks and muslins, made, too, in accordance with the latest fashions, are often to be seen upon the persons of the female classes. Gold and silver watches, rich and costly articles of jewelry, viz: chains, rings, brooches, etc., etc., are also used by the rich.

"The English language, though not generally spoken, is understood by many; and a strong desire is manifested by the community at large to throw off all their old superstitious ways and customs, and to adopt the ways of the whites. On the other hand, however, it can be said that the number of the indigent and needy is much greater here in this part of the nation. The use of whiskey, too, is more general, and its effects more visible. As before stated, there is no town, nor even a village, to be met with, yet the people are every year summoned, to their great dissatisfaction, to assist in

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

589 When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

"Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself. . . .

"The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, 'Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;' the most degrading of epithets." [301]

548 A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint [302] their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

• 171 It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the 589 slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.[302] It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive;* they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

562 Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, "In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." 592 In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

[301] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156-160. [302] Milfort, Mém., p. 203.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

796 [177] comparatively remote from white settlements of any size, gave theirs up so long ago that only the oldest people know much about it. The Alabama kept their busk some time in June. It was thought that after it was held the corn would not hurt anybody but before that it was wrong to touch it. If anyone did not take part in the ceremony the other people would not talk to him, let him come into their houses, or have anything to do with him. They said "it was wrong." At the beginning of this ceremony each family brought a quantity of ears of corn already roasted to the square ground and it was put up on a scaffolding made of canes and raised on forked posts to a height of perhaps 4 feet. Then all the people came there and danced until midnight. At about that time some of the roasting ears were shelled and a few men took a handful apiece and threw it over the house. This was done four times. What was left they ate. Then one man blew through a cane into a pot of medicine which had previously been heated and all had to drink some of this. After drinking it they went away and vomited it up. They used the pāsa (Koasati pasé), but there was another medicine in the pot with it. The taking of this medicine was thought to bring good luck and health. Early on the following morning the new fire was made in the square by twirling a stick from a bush called hāsa'lāpo against a stick of slippery elm (bākca). Previously all of the fires in the village had been extinguished, and each woman carried home some of the new fire. The new fire is said to have been made out in the woods and was brought into the square from there. Next day the people went home and roasted more corn which they brought to the same place. In the evening they danced, threw more corn over the roof, and again ate. They did this four nights in succession and then the ceremony ended.

The "old dance" was probably danced at this time, but I am not sure. As the Alabama performed it there was one drummer and he had one assistant to help him sing. There were five or six songs. The dancers went about the fire in two files, the women next to the fire, the men outside. Each dancer held his hands clasped in front and twisted his body from side to side as he proceeded. They danced around the fire once, stopping and completing the first song at the same time. Then they went around singing another song and stopped again at the end of one circuit. When the last song was taken up they went around twice before they stopped.

796 • 171 Ceremonies modeled after those of the Creek busk seem to have spread to the Cherokee within recent years, though certain changes have been introduced. When I first visited the few surviving speakers of Natchez near Braggs, Okla., the ceremonial ground of the Indians near by had the four cabins typical of Creek practice and was resorted to by Natchez, Creeks, and Cherokee,[7] but on my next

[7] See Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pl. 30.

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visit the ground had been moved and seven cabins had been substituted for the four (pl. 13, *b*). This was to conform to the sacred seven of the Cherokee and the seven clan system, each cabin being occupied by some one of the seven clans. Afterwards I visited two or three other ceremonial grounds in the Cherokee Nation, all with the same arrangment, but I know practically nothing regarding the ceremonies which take place there. My Natchez informant stated that anciently the miko used to stand in front of the fire in the ceremonial ground holding the peace pipe with the stem away from him and the other men would then come in succession, take it from his hands and puff four times toward the sky in the direction of the deity. This happened just before they began dancing. He also stated that they had about three special "stomp dances" during the year, accompanied by feasting and a ball game, from which it appears either that he is citing the Creek custom or that the Natchez usage was the same.

We will now give an abstract of the more important ceremonials which have been described:

THE CHIAHA BUSK (ELLIS CHILDERS)

First day.—Camping day, when the people go into camp about the square ground.

Second day.—Visitors' day, when visitors from towns of the same fire clan are entertained.

Third day.—Feasting day; visitors and townspeople both eat quantities of food.

Fourth day.—Visitors leave for their homes early in the morning. The men of the town fast.

Fifth day.—Fines are collected from those who failed to attend and the proceeds, being usually in the form of eatables, are consumed along with other food.

THE KASIHTA BUSK (HAWKINS)

First day.—Square cleaned. Asi or black drink is brewed. The new fire made. The turkey dance performed by women of the Turkey clan. Pasa prepared and drunk. The tadpole dance performed. They dance the heniha dance all night.

Second day.—Women dance the itcha dance (not the "gun dance" as Hawkins says). Shortly after noon the men bathe in the river. They feast on new corn.

Third day.—The men sit in the square.

Fourth day.—The women get and carry home the new fire. The first four logs are entirely consumed on this day. The fasters eat salt. They dance the long dance.

[For a tabular list of clans and a comparison and discussion of clanship in this group with that in selected tribes of the Southeast, see 1: Swanton, NN11 Creek, category 116, pp. 114-120.]

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127 writers, and this is particularly true of that part of the work dealing with customs like war which are now obsolete or obsolescent but could be made subjects of direct observation at the time in which they wrote. I have also made liberal use of the material published in recent years by Prof. Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, particularly his paper on "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town" (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, vol. II, pt. 2). His more extensive work on the Yuchi has been mentioned only incidentally, as the Yuchi are an alien tribe incorporated into the Creek Confederacy in comparatively modern times. Their culture, however, presents numerous features resembling that found among the Creeks, and Professor Speck's paper (Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1) should be read in conjunction with the material here presented. The valuable and hitherto unpublished Hitchcock material was placed at the disposal of the Bureau of Ethnology through the kindness of Mrs. W. A. Croffut, General Hitchcock's niece.

194 The following peculiar phonetic signs are used: ł, unvoiced l; ȧ, obscure a; tc, English ch; c, English sh; ⁿ, nasalization of the preceding vowel; x and ɣ (in Natchez), palatal and velar spirants; vowels generally have continental values.

NATIVE LEGENDS DEALING WITH CREEK HISTORY

Origin Legends

173 The origin myths of the Hitchiti and Alabama, minor components of the Creek Nation, have been given in Bulletin 73.[1] Here it is proposed to include the origin myths of the dominant tribe, that which constituted by far the largest portion numerically and from which came the crystallizing force which united them all into one political body. Who the Muskogee were and what towns they occupied has been explained in the bulletin above mentioned. The origin legend, or the origin legends, of these people differed to some extent in the several Muskogee towns, but there was a harmony between the various versions, perhaps brought on pari passu with the progressive unification of the confederacy. There are many references to this legend in very general terms, but several stories have survived, which, though usually fragmentary, shed most valuable light upon the nature of the original. The earliest of these legends is that given to Governor Oglethorpe by one Chekilli,[2] who is styled "emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks," and was probably a Kasihta. At any rate the legend seems to be from Kasihta sources. According
173 to the American Gazetteer, as quoted by Gatschet, "This speech
212 was curiously written in red and black characters, on the skin of a

[1] Swanton, Early Hist. Creek Inds., Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 173-174, 191-192.
[2] Perhaps from Tcalaki iltci, "Cherokee killer."

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young buffalo, and translated into English, as soon as delivered. . . . The said skin was set in a frame, and hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster."[3] Of course this means that pictures had been made on the blanket similar to those in the Delaware Walam Olum, to mark the various important events narrated by the speaker. It has unfortunately been lost, along with the accompanying English text, but a German translation of the English was preserved, and from this Doctor Gatschet had the legend rendered again into English and also into Creek for his "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians." This version, including one or two corrections made by Doctor Gatschet in one of his personal copies of the work, is as follows:

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"WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO 1735, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS:

"[Speech, which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by][4] Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks; Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head-chief of the Cussitaws, Tomechaw, War King; Wali, War-captain of the Palachucolas, Poepiche, King; Tomehuichi, Dog-king of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War-chief of the Okonees, Tuwechiche, King; Whoyauni, Head War-chief of the Chehaws and of the Hokmulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Osoches; Opithli, King of the Jawocolos [Sawokli]; Ewenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War-captain of the Eufantees [misprint for Eufaulees?]; and thirty other Warriors.[5]

"At a certain time the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The Earth opened and the Cussitaws came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the Earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so. Their children, nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

"They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river—came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years;

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[3] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 226.

[4] This bracketing is copied from Gatschet.

[5] The following transliterations and translations of a part of these names were furnished by the late G. W. Grayson and A. S. Gatschet: Anstitei, to wound; Ilitei, to kill, or putting something down; Osta, four (?); Tometea, (a number of creatures) flying; Wali, from wahali, south (though Gatschet suggests the name of the coast province of Georgia, Guale, see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80 et seq.); Poepitea, to cause to win; Hoyahini, to pass by; Stimalakostei, somebody having caused something to come; Hopili, fog.

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but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain was a sound as of singing. They sent to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountains. It thunders to this day; and men are very much afraid of it.

"They here met a people of three different Nations. They had taken and saved some of the fire from the mountain; and, at this place, they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and of other things.

"From the East, a white fire came to them; which, however, they would not use. From Wahalle [the South] came a fire which was blue; neither did they use it. From the West, came a fire which was black; nor would they use it. At last, came a fire from the North, which was red and yellow. This they mingled with the fire they had taken from the mountain; and this is the fire they use to-day; and this, too, sometimes sings. On the mountain was a pole which was very restless and made a noise, nor could any one say how it could be quieted. At length they took a motherless child, and struck it against the pole; and thus killed the child. They then took the pole, and carry it with them when they go to war. It was like a wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and of the same wood.

"Here they also found four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed their virtues: First, *Pasaw* [pasa], the rattlesnake root; second, *Micowsanochaw* [miko hoyanidja], red-root; third, *Sowatchko* [sowatcko], which grows like wild fennel; and fourth, *Eschalapootchke* [hitci laputcki], little tobacco. These herbs, especially the first and third, they use as the best medicine to purify themselves at their Busk. At this Busk, which is held yearly, they fast, and make offerings of the first fruits. Since they have learned the virtues of these herbs, their women, at certain times, have a separate fire, and remain apart from the men five, six, and seven days, for the sake of purification. If they neglected this, the power of the herbs would depart; and the women would not be healthy.

"About this time a dispute arose, as to which was the oldest, and which should rule; and they agreed, as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay which is yellow at first, but becomes red by burning. They would then go to war; and whichever Nation should first cover its pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of their enemies, should be the oldest.

"They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered their pole first, and so thickly that it was hidden from sight. Therefore, they were looked upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest. The Chickasaws covered

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their pole next; then the Atilamas [Alabamas]; but the Obikaws [Abihkas] did not cover their pole higher than to the knee.

"At that time there was a bird of large size, blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter than an eagle, which came every day and killed and ate their people. They made an image in the shape of a woman, and placed it in the way of this bird. The bird carried it off, and kept it a long time, and then brought it back. They left it alone, hoping it would bring something forth. After a long time, a red rat came forth from it, and they believed the bird was the father of the rat. They took council with the rat how to destroy its father. Now the bird had a bow and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bowstring, so that the bird could not defend itself, and the people killed it. They called this bird the King of Birds. They think the eagle is also a great King; and they carry its feathers when they go to War or make Peace; the red mean War; the white, Peace. If an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him.

"After this they left that place, and came to a white footpath. The grass and everything around were white; and they plainly perceived that people had been there. They crossed the path, and slept near there. Afterward they turned back to see what sort of path that was, and who the people were who had been there, in the belief that it might be better for them to follow that path. They went along it to a creek called *Coloose-hutche*, that is, Coloose-creek, because it was rocky there and smoked.

"They crossed it, going toward the sunrise, and came to a people and a town named Coosaw. Here they remained four years. The Coosaws complained that they were preyed upon by a wild beast, which they called man-eater or lion, which lived in a rock.

"The Cussitaws said they would try to kill the beast. They digged a pit and stretched over it a net made of hickory-bark. They then laid a number of branches, crosswise, so that the lion could not follow them, and, going to the place where he lay, they threw a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth in great anger, and pursued them through the branches. Then they thought it better that one should die rather than all; so they took a motherless child, and threw it before the lion as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw the net, and killed him with blazing pine-wood. His bones, however, they keep to this day; on one side, they are red, on the other, blue.

"The lion used to come every seventh day to kill the people; therefore, they remained there seven days after they had killed him. In remembrance of him, when they prepare for War, they fast six days and start on the seventh. If they take his bones with them, they have good fortune.[6]

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[6] This war medicine is also mentioned by Hawkins. See p. 420.

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"After four years they left the Coosaws, and came to a river which they called *Nowphawpe*,[7] now *Callasi-hutche*.[8] There they tarried two years; and, as they had no corn, they lived on roots and fishes, and made bows, pointing the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-stones, and for knives they used split canes.

"They left this place, and came to a creek, called *Wattoola-hawka-hutche*,[9] Whooping-creek, so called from the whooping of cranes, a great many being there; they slept there one night. They next came to a river, in which there was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatunka-river*.[10] The next day they reached another river, which they called the *Aphoosa pheeskaw*.[11]

"The following day they crossed it, and came to a high mountain, where were people who, they believed, were the same who made the white path. They, therefore, made white arrows and shot at them, to see if they were good people. But the people took their white arrows, painted them red, and shot them back. When they showed these to their chief, he said that it was not a good sign; if the arrows returned had been white, they could have gone there and brought food for their children, but as they were red they must not go. Nevertheless, some of them went to see what sort of people they were; and found their houses deserted. They also saw a trail which led into the river; and, as they could not see the trail on the opposite bank, they believed that the people had gone into the river, and would not again come forth.

"At that place is a mountain, called *Moterell*, which makes a noise like beating on a drum; and they think this people live there. They hear this noise on all sides when they go to war.

"They went along the river, till they came to a waterfall, where they saw great rocks, and on the rocks were bows lying; and they believed the people who made the white path had been there.

"They always have, on their journeys, two scouts who go before the main body. These scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a town. They shot white arrows into the town; but the people of the town shot back red arrows. Then the Cussitaws became angry, and determined to attack the town, and each one have a house when it was captured.

"They threw stones into the river until they could cross it, and took the town (the people had flattened heads), and killed all but two persons. In pursuing these they found a white dog, which they slew. They followed the two who escaped, until they came again to the white path, and saw the smoke of a town, and thought that this

[7] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 345.
[8] A misprint for Tallasi-hutche.
[9] *Wetula*, sandhill crane; *hobi*, sound, noise; *hatchee*, creek, river.
[10] Owatámka River.
[11] Cf. *ofkawa*, thread; *fohaná*, to sprinkle, scatter out.

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173 539 must be the people they had so long been seeking. This is the place where now the tribe of Palachucolas live, from whom Tomochichi is descended.[13]

"The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded; but the Palachucolas gave them black drink, as a sign of friendship, and said to them: 'Our hearts are white, and yours must be white, and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk, and show your bodies as a proof that they shall be white.' Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk; but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion, and buried it under their beds. The Palachucolas likewise gave them white feathers, and asked to have a chief in common. Since then they have always lived together.

"Some settled on one side of the river, some on the other. Those on one side are called Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; yet they are one people, and the principal towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Nevertheless, as the Cussetaws first saw the red smoke and the red fire, and make bloody towns, they cannot yet leave their red hearts, which are, however, white on one side and red on the other. They now know that the white path was the best for them: for, although Tomochichi was a stranger, they see he has done them good; because he went to see the great King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and hear his talk, and had related it to them, and they had listened to it, and believed it."[13]

173 Doctor Gatschet has already discussed the Kasihta line of migration as unfolded by Chekilli in the above narrative.[14] I will merely review it briefly. The muddy river spoken of early in the narrative might well have been the Mississippi, for "Muddy River" was a name given to it by the Creeks. If this is so, however, the red river which they afterwards reached could not have been the Red River of Louisiana. In later versions of the legend the origin of the Creeks is traced to the historical Red River, and perhaps this may be the result of an attempt to localize the red river of the Chekilli legend. The first place to which a name is given is "Coloose-hutche," but the interpretation contained in the text, "because it was rocky there and smoked," is not traceable to any known Muskhogean tongue. "Hutche" is of course the Creek hàtci, "river," but the balance of the word has a striking resemblance to a common abbreviation of the Choctaw Oka lusa, "Black Water." For this reason Brinton has suggested that the name referred to the Black Warrior River of western Alabama, though the Black Creek of Walker and Winston Counties, a tributary of the Black Warrior, would correspond more

[13] Tomochichi was chief of the Yamacraw tribe, settled where Savannah now stands when Oglethorpe established his colony. See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 108-109.

[14] Gatschet in Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 41-51. An earlier translation had appeared in Brinton's Lib. Aborig. Lit., vol. iv, pp. 244-251.

[13] Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 98-103.

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closely provided the former name has an Indian origin. With this name should probably be correlated that of the "Caluça" tribe mentioned by Ranjel. Biedma and Elvas speak of a Caluç or Caluça province, but this was west of the Mississippi and evidently had nothing to do with the one to which Ranjel refers, though the chroniclers themselves may have confused the two. The latter was in the neighborhood of the Chickasaw, and the Chickasaw chief gave the Spaniards guides to take them thither. It was said to be "a place of much repute among the Indians,"[15] and was described as "a province of more than 90 villages not subject to any one, with a savage population, very warlike and much dreaded, and the soil is fertile in that section." Unfortunately we have no intimation as to the direction in which it lay with reference to the Chickasaw. I believe that the tribe mentioned in these terms was identical with a comparatively insignificant body of Indians of the same name found by the French Louisiana colonists of 1699 and after, westward of the lower Mississippi and described by Du Pratz.[15] They were associated with the Houma Indians, who were a branch of the Chakchiuma, Ranjel's Sacchuma.[16] Both were in the same general region in De Soto's time.

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The next point reached by the Kasihta was "Coosaw," evidently the old Coosa town on the river which still bears its name, between Talladega and Tallahassee Hatchee creeks. Afterwards they came to a river called "Nawphawpe, now called Callasi-hutchee." Gatschet rightly identifies this with a creek known as Naufawpi which runs into Uphapee Creek, an eastern affluent of the Tallapoosa, but he fails to notice that "Callasi-hutchee" is evidently a misreading of "Tallasi-hutchee" ("Tulsa Creek"), this region having been occupied by the Tulsa Indians. "Wattoola-hawka-hutche," "Whooping Creek," is a small northern affluent of Big Uchee; a larger one farther east is still called Wetumpka; and "Aphoosa pheeskaw" must have been a small creek between Wetumpka Creek and the Chattahoochee. The next river encountered, although unnamed, was evidently the Chattahoochee itself, and the Creeks followed this down to the falls at Columbus. Near the latter place they are supposed to have crossed and destroyed a town occupied by people who flattened their heads. Afterwards they went on down to the place below the falls where the Apalachicola were living in the year in which this speech was delivered, 1735, and they made peace and formed an alliance with the Apalachicola tribe.

The astonishing thing about this entire narrative is the closeness with which the movement can be followed. As we know positively that the Kasihta had then been in the country over 200 years we must either suppose that the line of migration had been relocalized by later

[15] See Swanton, Ind. Tribes of Lower Miss. Valley, Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 302 and 303.
[16] Ranjel in Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, p. 122.

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173 story tellers or that the Creeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation, but we know from several [211] sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 [101] or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta represented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.[17] This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground," [18] and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

173 Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. 539 Milfort,[19] who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégy ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crëck."[20] We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own tàstânàgis and its head tàstânàgi. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otciapofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for

[17] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 218-254.

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 268.

[19] Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes différens voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëck. Paris, 1802.

[20] On the title page of Milfort's work.

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what availed a bow and arrows against the artillery of an army, feeble in numbers indeed but warlike, intrepid, and led on by an insatiable thirst for gold, which this too trusting people had been unfortunate enough to display to their eyes.

"Montezuma reigned then in Mexico; seeing that it was impossible to arrest the progress of the Spaniards, he called to his assistance the peoples which were neighbors to his states. The nation of the Moskoquis, known now under the name of Creeks, who formed a separate republic in the northwestern part of Mexico, and who had numerous warriors, offerpd him assistance, formidable for any enemy other than a disciplined army, such as that of the Spaniards commanded by Fernan-Cortéz.

"The courage of this warlike people resulted, then, only in its more prompt destruction, and was not able to save Montezuma, who lost his life and his empire, which was almost entirely depopulated. After the death of Montezuma and many other chiefs, the Moskoquis, considerably weakened by this terrible war, which they were no longer in a condition to maintain, determined to abandon a country which offered them in exchange for their past happiness only the most terrible slavery, to search for one which would secure to them the abundance and peace of which the Spaniards had just deprived them.

"They directed their march toward the north, and ascended in fifteen days as far as the source of Red River, that is to say a distance of about a hundred leagues. This river throws its waters into the northern part of America, across immense prairies, a fact which fixed their determination to follow its course. They traveled therefore eight days in this direction through a plain brilliant with the most beautiful flowers, and covered with wild animals, which offered them all the resources necessary for their existence. This country would have attracted them to settle in it for all time on account of its richness in every respect; but, fearing still for their safety, in a country which did not offer them any natural defense, they continued their journey. In the different excursions which they made along this river, they did not discover any other, not even a stream joining it; but they often found lakes and ponds, many of which had salt water; these were generally covered with aquatic birds of all kinds, notably such as are met along the shore of the ocean. The prairies were alive with partridges, hares, rabbits, turkeys, and other animals. There are such great quantities of this sort of game in these countries, that, when it is pursued from different points at the same time, and is forced to flee, the air is obscured and the land covered with it.

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"After having traveled thus for many days they found some groves where they made a halt. The young warriors were sent in different directions by the old men to examine the face of the country. At the end of a month they returned announcing that they had discovered a forest, on the edges of which, and at the same time along Red River, were fine subterranean dwellings. The entire nation set out; and, when they arrived near these caves, they discovered that they had been dug by bison, or wild oxen, and other animals who inhabited them because the earth there was a little salty.

"The Moskoquis found in this country the peace and quiet which they needed in order to repair the considerable losses which they had suffered in the Mexican wars. The colony having brought along a little corn which was left to it, it was planted immediately in order to assure them a means of subsistence. As they lacked the necessary utensils with which to make a settlement they made use of sharp stones, instead of axes, to cut and sharpen sticks of wood which they afterward hardened in the fire and used in cultivating the ground.

"When the Moskoquis had thus performed the first labors connected with their new settlement, they marked out a field, as large as was necessary for the common needs of the colony, and they surrounded it with old pieces of wood and stakes planted in the earth, in order to guard against the incursions of bison and other wild animals, which are very fond of corn. They then allotted to the families the ground contained in this enclosure, and sowed it for their sustenance. The young people of both sexes worked the ground together while the old men smoked their pipes. In this manner they lived for many years, enjoying perfect tranquillity, living by hunting and fishing, and on the products of their land, and regretting little their separation from the country where they had suffered so much. They would no doubt have remained there permanently if the unhappy fortune which seemed to pursue them had not compelled them to undertake a second emigration.

"They were discovered by the Albamos or Alibamons, who killed many of their people. Then the old men, the natural chiefs of the nation, called together the young warriors, and sent them on the trail of the murderers, but without success, because there was no unity in their operations, and they lacked a common chief; they then felt the necessity of selecting one. The old men of the nation assembled and chose the one among them who had rendered the greatest services to the fatherland, and they named him their Tastanégy or grand war chief. . . .

"The Moskoquis are very warlike and are not cast down by defeat; the day after an unsuccessful battle, they march to meet the enemy as courageously as before. It was after this arrangement that they resolved to continue their course toward the northwest. After

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having marched in this direction for some time, and crossed immense plains, they stopped in a little forest on the banks of the Missouri. There they encountered the Alibamons, whom they had pursued for a long time. They made preparations for the combat. The Tastanégy, or great war chief, arranged the march in the following order: The family of the Wind, from which he had been chosen, crossed the river in the first line; it was followed by the family of the Bear, and then by that of the Tiger [Panther], and so on. When this river was crossed, as the entire nation was on the march, it was necessary to take measures to avoid a surprise on the part of the enemy; and, in case of an encounter with the enemy, to protect all those who were unable to fight. For this purpose, the young people, with their war chiefs, formed the van; the old men the rear guard; those of an age less advanced were on the flanks; the women and the children in the center. They marched in this order until the moment when they encountered the enemy. Then the young men advanced alone with their Tastanégy at their head, and left the main body of the nation in a place of safety, and under the protection of the old men. By a stealthy and well planned march they surprised their enemy, and reached the caves which the Alibamons inhabited, before the latter were warned; and, not allowing them time to rally, they made a great slaughter. The fright into which such a surprise threw the foe caused them to abandon their dwellings; they fled along the Missouri, and rallied on the banks of this river, while the Moskoquis were gone to rejoin their countrymen, in order to march again on the trail of the enemy. The Alibamons, fearing a new surprise, had made their old men, women, and children march in advance, the young warriors forming the rear-guard; then they continued for some time to descend this river on its right bank. The Moskoquis, following their trail, caught up with them, and defeated them many times. The Alibamons, seeing they were thus pursued, had made the body of their nation pass over to the left bank of the Missouri, and had given them time to get some distance in advance, by delaying the march of the enemy by various skirmishes. But, fearing that they would be unable to resist their attacks, they took advantage of the darkness one night to rejoin their fathers, the Moskoquis not observing them. The latter not finding any enemy when day came and suspecting the course they had taken, crossed the river in order to pursue them again. After a march of some days they again encountered them, and forced them to accept a general battle in which the Alibamons were defeated and fled to the banks of the Mississippi. The Moskoquis, pursuing them with fury, forced them to throw themselves into the river, where a very great number perished. The young Moskoqui warriors, having thus weakened their enemy considerably, ceased to pursue them until they had been rejoined by the body of the nation,

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which followed by short stages. They remained eight days on the bank of this river in order to rest.

"During all this time the Alibamons had marched rapidly and gotten far in advance. The Moskoquis, trying to catch them, buried themselves in an immense forest which is on the left bank of the Mississippi; they camped, but, as there appeared to be no advantage in establishing themselves there, the old men decided to continue the march, and, for this purpose, to send the young warriors in pursuit of the enemy. They marched many days without meeting them; but at length, having discovered their tracks, they returned to report to the council of old men who decided that they would go in pursuit. They advanced again; and, after a march of some days, they came to the river Ohio, which the French call Belle-Rivière. They went up along the banks near the Wabash; and, perceiving that the Alibamons had crossed the Ohio, they also crossed it. When they were on the other side, finding a region with a very beautiful climate, and very rich in all kinds of game, they determined to establish themselves there, and fixed their dwelling in what is known as the Yazau country. As the season was much advanced, they ceased their pursuit, and contented themselves with sending some young warriors to try to discover the route which the Alibamons had taken. The Moskoquis, profiting by some caves which they found and some which they made, took possession of the Yazau lands, where they passed many years, and where the caves which they excavated exist to this day.

"The Alibamons had advanced as far as the banks of the river Coussa; not seeing themselves pursued, and finding themselves in a fertile country, they stopped there; but as they were always in fear of some surprise they sent youths to find out what had become of the Moskoquis and whether they were still pursuing them. Although the war which the Moskoquis waged at this time on the Alibamons had originated in an aggression on the part of the latter, who had killed Moskoqui warriors, the youths who had been sent to discover the Moskoqui had the imprudence to kill the first whom they met. The old men, having been informed of this new aggression, had them march against the Alibamons. The Moskoqui warriors, having learned that the country which their enemy inhabited was toward the rising sun, in a region where the rigors of winter are little felt, and where a great quantity of game of all kinds is to be found, resolved to pursue them a third time, and to populate that country, which is between the two Floridas. With this object in view they crossed the river Cumberland and the Tennessee,[20*] and followed from the north the river Coussa, on the banks of which the remains of the Alibamons had established themselves. The latter, having learned of the march

[20*] It is, of course, nonsense to speak of crossing the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in going from the Yazoo country to the Coosa.

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of the Moskoquis, did not think it well to await them; they abandoned their position and scattered. Some went to seek an asylum among the Tchactas, and the rest repaired to Mobile, under the protection of the French, who had then just taken possession.

"The Moskoquis, no longer finding enemies to fight, took peaceful possession of the country which they had just conquered. They established themselves on the rivers *Coosa*, *Tallapoosa*, *Chattahoochee*, *Flint*, *Ocmulgee*, little and great *Oconee* and *Ogechee*, and pushed their settlements as far as the river Savannah in Georgia, where the city of Augusta is now built.

"After having taken possession of this immense territory in this manner and having established their settlements, the youths were sent as far as Mobile in pursuit of the Alibamons; but, as they had placed themselves under the protection of the French, the French commandant endeavored to obtain peace for the Alibamons from the chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors. The chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors, not wishing to take it upon themselves to make a treaty without the consent of their nation, referred the matter to the decision of the council of old men; and, while awaiting this decision, they consented to a suspension of hostilities, promising not to kill any Alibamon before they had received the reply of their council, to which they even promised to recommend their enemies, on the express condition that the Alibamons, on their side, would equally respect the Moskoquis, and would avoid as much as possible frequenting the hunting grounds where they must pass the winter, marking out for both separate territories. This truce lasted six months, at the end of which time the old Moskoqui men went down to Mobile with their warriors; and, not only was peace made between the two nations, in presence of the French commandant, but the Moskoquis also agreed to unite the Alibamons with themselves; and, to induce them to do this, they gave them a piece of land on the river of Mobile, which is still called river of the Alibamons. The latter accepted the proposition, under the condition that they might preserve their customs and their usages. Then all of the separated portions were reunited and came to establish themselves on the river which has received their name, and form one little town which bears the name *Coussehaté;*[20b] and, since this time, they have formed an integral part of the Moskoqui nation, which took at this period the name of Creek nation. This name signifies source river, and is derived from the situation of the country which they inhabit, which, as has been shown above, is surrounded or cut by a great number of good sized rivers.[21]

[20b] The Coussehaté (Koasati) really constitute an independent tribe, though related, it is true, to the Alibamu.

[21] For the real origin of this term see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 215.

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"About the same time an Indian tribe which had been almost destroyed by the Iroquois and the Hurons came to ask for the protection of the Moskoquis, whom I will now call Creeks. The latter received them among themselves and assigned to them a territory in the center of the nation. They built a town which is now very considerable, which is named Tuket-Batchet from the name of the Indian tribe. The great assemblies of the Creek nation, of which it is an integral part, are sometimes held within its walls. The warlike reputation of the Creeks, and knowledge of the good reception which they had given the Alibamons and the Indian tribe of which I have just spoken, rapidly spread among the other savage people of North America; and those among them who were too weak to resist the attacks of an enemy, came at once to beg for their help. The Tasquiguy and the Oxiailles [Okchai], who had experienced from their neighbors the same fate as the Tuket-Batchet, having learned of the good treatment which the latter had experienced from the Creeks, came to ask of them an asylum and protection. They were both received into the nation; lands were given them to cultivate, and they [the Tasquiguy] established themselves at the junction of the rivers *Coosa* and Tallapoosa, where they made a village which still bears the name Tasquiguy. The Oxiailles went ten leagues to the north and established their dwelling in a beautiful plain on the banks of a little river; they formed a town there to which they also gave their name.

"A short time afterward the remains of the little Udgi [Yuchi] nation, which had been partially destroyed by the English, also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who assigned them lands on the banks of the river Chattahoochee. A part of the Chickasaw nation also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Yazau, at the head of the river of the Wolves [the Neshoba]. They built their settlements there, extending them as far as the mountains of the Cherokee, behind which runs the Tennessee River, which takes its rise in these mountains, near Tougoulou, back of South Carolina, at a short distance from the source of the Savannah in Georgia.

"The immense extent of territory of which the Moskoquis, now Creeks, had taken possession after the flight of the Alibamons, provided them with means of receiving in this manner all of the peoples who asked the favor of them, and giving them lands to clear. They thus augmented their reputation and their means of sustaining it.

"Although the nations received by the Creeks became integral parts of them encounters took place in which they alone were concerned; but, in case of defeat, they were allowed to claim the protection of the Creeks who aided them either by their arms, or their mediations . . ."

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[Here follows an account of the Natchez and their incorporation into the Creek confederacy; it contains little new information. Milfort also speaks of the admission into the confederacy of the Seminole, whom he treats as having been originally Florida Indians and Apalachee.]

"A short time after the American revolution, a part of the Savanhaugay nation, which inhabits the upper part of the river Savanha, which has taken the name of this nation, retired to the north to the banks of the Ohio, near Quintockey [Kentucky]; the other part retired among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Tallapoosa, near the Alibamons. This nation established itself there and has built a little town, and follows its own peculiar usages and habits, which differ much from those of the Creeks, a fact which does not prevent perfect agreement between them. Their interests are common; they go hunting together, and on the same territory; in case of war their warriors march together, and obey the same grand chief. However, when a Savanhaugay marries a Creek woman, he is obliged to follow the laws, customs, and usages of the Creek nation; which does not happen when a Creek marries a Savanhaugay woman.

"The Creek nation, being thus augmented by a great number of emigrations from neighboring nations, has acquired a unity which makes it now very powerful and capable of putting on foot a very strong and very warlike army. Finding itself the most powerful on the continent, it is that fact which regulates every year, in the grand council of the old men, the conduct which shall be pursued during the year, not only by the different nations of which I have spoken which compose it, but also that of the savage nations of almost all North America." [22]

The narrative given by Swan is very much disordered and is worth little, the origin of the Seminole, for instance, being set down as antedating that of the Creeks. Perhaps this part of the story contains a reminiscence of an original occupancy of southern Georgia by the Creeks and their subsequent retirement to the Chattahoochee and even to the Tallapoosa. His account runs thus:

"Men of the best information and longest acquaintance with these Indians give the following account of the rise and progress of the nation.

"Tradition, handed down from one generation to another, has established a general belief among them (which may be true), that a long time ago some strange, wandering clans of Indians from the northwest found their way down to the present country of the Seminoles; there meeting with plenty of game, they settled themselves in the vicinity of the then powerful tribes of the Florida and Appa-

[22] Milfort, Voy., pp. 229-234. The true circumstances involved in the incorporation in the Creek Confederacy of the several tribes mentioned, so far as these are known, have been given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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lachian Indians: that for some time they remained on a friendly footing with each other. The new-comers were styled Seminolies (signifying wanderers, or lost men).[23a]

"These wanderers from the north increased, and at length became so powerful a body as to excite the jealousy of their Appalachian neighbors. Wars ensued, and finally the Seminolies became masters of the country. 'The remnants of the Appalachians were totally destroyed by the Creeks in 1719.'[23]

"In the process of time, the game of the country was found insufficient to support their increasing numbers. Some clans and families emigrated northward, and took possession of the present district of the Cowetas; having established themselves there, other emigrations followed, and in time spread themselves eastward as far as the Oakmulgee river, and other waters of Georgia and South Carolina, and westward as far as the Tallapoosee and Coosa rivers, which are the main branches of the Alabama. Here they were encountered by the Alabama nation, whom they afterwards conquered; and by restoring to them their lands and river, gained their attachment, and they were incorporated with the Creek nation. The Creeks became famous for their abilities and warlike powers; and being possessed of a well watered country, were distinguished from their ancestors (the Seminolies of the low barren country) by the name of Creeks or Muscogies.

"The kind soil, pure water, and air of their country being favorable to their constitutions as warriors, has perhaps contributed to give them a character superior to most of the nations that surround them.

"Their numbers have increased faster by the acquisition of foreign subjects than by the increase of the original stock. It appears long to have been a maxim of their policy, to give equal liberty and protection to tribes conquered by themselves, as well as to those vanquished by others—although many individuals, taken in war, are slaves among them; and their children are called, of the slave race, and can not arrive to much honorary distinction in the country on that account.[24]

"The Alabamas and Coosades are said to be the first who adopted the ceremonies and customs of the Creeks, and became part of the nation. The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out of Louisiana, and added considerably to their confederate body. And now the Shawanese, called by them Sawanes, are joining them in large numbers every year, having already four towns on the Tallapoosee river, that contain near 300 war men, and more are soon expected."[25]

[23a] Properly people who camp at a distance from the large settled towns.

[23] Probably Swan's informants had in mind the dispersion of the Apalachee by Moore in 1704. By referring to Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 109-130, it will be seen that the destruction was by no means complete.

[24] There appears to have been little truth in this statement.

[25] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 259-260.

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In his paper in volume 3 of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society William Bartram states that the Creek nation in his time consisted of about 60 towns, "thirty of which speak the *Muscogulge tongue*, and are the progeny or descendants of a powerful band of a nation bearing that name, who, many years since (on their nation becoming very numerous, and filling their native country with inhabitants, by which the game and other necessary produce of their country became scarce and difficult to procure) were induced to separate themselves from, and go in search of, new and plentiful regions. They directed their migrations eastward, leaving with great regret and difficulty their native land, containing their relations and friends, which was on the banks of a large and beautiful river, called the Red River, from great quantities of red stone, of which they formed their tobacco-pipes.[25 a] Their migrations continued a long time, and under great hardships and embarrassments, they being continually attacked by hostile Indian nations, till at length they arrived at the banks of the *Great River*, i. e., that which they crossed, when they began to think of establishing a permanent residence; but, being yet assaulted and disturbed by surrounding nations, they pushed eastward as far as the *Ockamulge*."[26] In the narrative of his travels Bartram covers the same ground in fewer words, and adds that "they were obliged to make a stand, and fortify themselves in this place [Ocmulgee], as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes. Having formed for themselves this retreat, and driven off the inhabitants by degrees, they recovered their spirits, and again faced their enemies, when they came off victorious in a memorable and decisive battle. They afterward gradually subdued their surrounding enemies, strengthening themselves by taking into the confederacy the vanquished tribes."[27]

Nearer to the original is Hawkins's narrative obtained from Tussekiah Mic-co, evidently of the town of Kasihta:

"There are in the forks of Red river, (We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fuskee,)[28] west of Mississippi, (We-ō-coof-ke, muddy water,) two

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[25a] The Red Pipestone Quarry was in Minnesota and of course had nothing to do with the Red River of Louisiana.

[26] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 12.

[27] Bartram, Travels, p. 52.

[28] The Muskogee words used by Hawkins in this story and requiring explanation are the following: We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fus-kee (Wi teati hátci akfáski, "water red river forks"). We-o-coof-ke (Wi ogufki, "water muddy"). Hi-yun-yul-gee (Hayuya + ílgi, see footnote 30). Tote-kit-eau (totka itka "fire place," "where the fire burns," the bank fire). E-au-ge-tuh E-mis-see (Isagita immisi "breath its holder or keeper"). Mic-co-ho-yon-ulgee (miko heyánkija "chief purgative"). Auche-nau (atcina "cedar"). Too-loh (tóla "sweet bay"). E-mau-li-ge-tuh (immalsigita "clan"). Noo-cusse-ul-gee (Nokosi + ílgi "Bears" or "Bear people"—i. e., "Bear clan"). Mic-ul-gee (Miko + ílgi "Chiefs"). Is-tau-nul-gee (Istani + ílgi "Istani (Spanish?) clan"). E-ne-hau-thloc-ul-gee (Hesiha + láko + ílgi "Big Hesihas"). Thlot-lo-ul-gee (Ełáło + ílgi "Fishes," "Fish clan"). Au-tus-eau (Atúsá "war-club"). Te-po-hus-o (tipohúsa). E-eau-halpe (Ika halpi "head skin"). Itlo chate (Ito teati "red stick," "red wood," "red tree"). Che-che-see (teatcusi "my younger brother or brothers"). Chat-le-hau (tcaláhá "my elder brother or brothers"). Um-mau-mau-yuh (probably ámá' mayi "my tall, high, or grown people"; the ceremonial name of Coweta was Coweta ma' mayi, "tall Coweta"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 289). Tool-eau-but-chee (Tukabe'tci). Au-lic-chul-gee (alikica + ílgi "doctors"). O-chesse-hat-che (Otcki hátci "Otcki River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 215). Chic-ke-tal-lo-au-hat-che (Tcíska łáłóła hátci "Chiska-town River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 285). Sau-va-no-gee (Sawánki). Tote-kit-eau hungeee (łótka + íika + hánkusi "square-ground fire one only").

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mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh, and Chickasaws found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the Hi-you-yul-gee,[20] four men who came from the four corners of the world. One of these people asked the Indians, where they would have their fire, (tote-kit-cau). They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down around it. The Hi-you-yul-gee directed, that they should pay particular attention to the fire, that it would preserve them and let E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, (master of breath,) know their wants. One of these visitors took them and showed them the Pas-sau; another showed them Mic-co-ho-yon-ejau, then the Auche-nau, (cedar,) and Too-loh, (sweet bay.) (There are one or two other plants, not recollected. Each of these seven plants was to belong to a particular tribe (E-mau-li-ge-tuh).) After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came.

"The three towns then appointed their rulers. The Cussetuhs chose the Noo-coose-ul-gee, (bear tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (mic-cos,) and the Is-tau-nul-gee, to be the E-ne-hau-thluc ul-gee, (people second in command.) The Cowetuhs chose the Thlot-lo-ul-gee, (fish tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (miccos.)

"After these arrangements, some other Indians came from the west, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club, (Autus-sau.) They fell out, fought and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the Au-be-cuh at Coosau river. Here they agreed to go to war for four years, against their first enemy; they made shields (te-po-lux-o) of Buffalo hides, and it was agreed that the warriors of each town, should dry and bring forward the scalps (E-cau halpe) of the enemy and pile them; the Aubecuh had a small pile, the Chickasaws were above them, the Cowetuhs above them, and the Cussetuhs above all. The two last towns raised the scalp pole, (Itlo chate, red wood,) and do not suffer any other town to raise it. Cussetuh is first in rank.

"After this, they settled the rank of the four towns among themselves. Cussetuh, called Au-be-cuh and Chickasaw cha-chu-see (younger brothers). The Chickasaw and Aubecuhs, called Cussetuh and Cowetuh, chat-la-hau (oldest brothers). Au-be-cuh, called the Chickasaw Um-mau-mau-yuh (elders, or people ahead of them). Chickasaws sometime use the same expression to Aubecuh.

"This being done, they commenced their settlements on Coo-sau and Tal-la-poo-sau, and crossing the falls of Tallapoosa above Tool-cau-bat-che, they visited the Chat-to-hoche, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the Cussetuh

[20] I have been told that Yahola and Hayuya were "very pure spirits" who presided over the annual ceremony or busk. Hi-you-yul-gee would be the plural of Hayuya. See p. 485.

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fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic makers (Au-lic-chul-gee) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats.[20] They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this they spread out eastwardly to O-cheese-hat-che (Ocmulgee), Oconee, O-ge-chee (How-ge-chuh), Chie-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che (Savannah), called sometimes Sau-va-no-gee, the name for Shaw-a-nee. They met the white people on the seacoast, who drove them back to their present situation.

"Cussetuh and Chickasaw consider themselves as people of one fire (tote-kit-cau humgoce) from the earliest account of their origin. Cussetuh appointed the first Micco for them [the Chicaksaw], directed him to sit down in the big Savanna, where they are now, and govern them. Some of the Chickasaws straggled off and settled near Augusta, from whence they returned and sat down near Cussetuh, and thence back to their nation. Cussetuh and Chickasaw have remained friends ever since their first acquaintance.

"During the late war between the Creeks and Chickasaws, Cussetuh refused her aid, and retained her long established friendship for the Chickasaws; and when the Creeks offered to make peace, their offers were rejected, till Cussetuh interposed their good offices. These had the desired effect, and produced peace."[21]

We now know that those versions of the legend which represent the Muskogee as having come as far east as the Georgia coast from which they were pressed back by the whites have better foundation in fact than was formerly supposed.[22] Bolton[22a] has shown that the location of the great body of Creeks on Ocmulgee River prior to 1715 was ephemeral, but there can be no doubt that some Creek tribes were elements in the population of Guale on the Georgia coast.[22b] As we have seen, Swan brings the Creeks into Florida and Gallatin had obtained a similar legend, perhaps through Swan himself.

"Their traditions say that they emigrated from the Northwest until they reached Florida, when they fell back to the country between the headwaters of the Alabama and Savannah Rivers . . . Those

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[20] Most Muskogee traditions recognize that the country into which they came was already occupied. Besides references in several of the myths here given, a contributor to Schoolcraft's first volume states that the "Creeks believed the land they occupied was held before their coming by another people of whom they had no definite knowledge, but not by other people than Indians and not by a more civilised people." They conquered these earlier occupants and the latter "wended their way south." This authority differs from many others in affirming that "the circular breastworks in their country they believed were built by themselves for protection." (Schoolcraft, Am. Inds., I, pp. 266-267.) Pope mentions a war waged by the Creeks with "a numerous Tribe of Seminoles, whom the Creeks after a long and bloody contest of 20 years exterminated, and re-peopled the deserted villages by slow emigrations from their own victorious tribes." He modestly places this event 10,000 years before his own time (Pope, Tour, p. 32).

[21] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pt. I, pp. 51-52.

[22] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 80-100.

[22a] H. E. Bolton, Spain's Title to Georgia, Univ. of Calif. Press, Berkeley, 1923, pp. 53-56.

[22b] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., loc. cit.

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173 539 remaining in Florida were called the Seminoles, or Isti-semole (wild men). The nation became a confederacy of tribes, speaking other languages, modifying somewhat the original Muskogee, but who, nevertheless, numbered seven-eighths of their whole number."[33]

A few references to this legend appear in the American State Papers and in other publications, but, with one exception, they add little or nothing to it, their value being purely confirmatory. The one exception is the statement attributed by Gallatin, to "the chiefs of the delegation, who attended at Washington in the year 1826," and who "agreed that the prevailing traditon amongst them was, that the nation had issued out of a cave near Alabama River."[34] Unless this was in reality the Alabama story[35] instead of that of the true Muskogee, it stands entirely by itself.

173 Practically all of the older Creeks retain some belief in a western origin.[36] The place from which they came they call "the navel of the world," and it is now supposed to have been at Ikánà ła'foni, "the backbone of the earth," a name they give to the Rocky Mountains. There is always mention of their having crossed waters, and of the course of their migration having been supernaturally guided by means of a stick which they set up in the ground and which bent of itself in the direction they were to take. This stick is said to have been a ball stick, and it is often spoken of as red.[37] One informant explained the color by saying that the pole was made of cedar. Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, told a somewhat different story. According to him, when the Muskogee came out of the navel of the earth near the Rocky Mountains they had a red arrow which they shot a long distance in advance, marching in the direction of its flight until they had reached it. They repeated this action every day until they found the arrow lying pointing backward. At that spot they halted and established their nation.

173 539 Legus Perryman, formerly interpreter for the Creek chief Pleasant Porter, and at one time chief of the Creeks himself, gave me the following versions of the migration legend, as told by the Tulsa and Coweta Indians, respectively:

"The people who were afterward known as Coosa or Tulsa Indians traveled eastward toward the rising sun until they came to a big water too wide to cross. They went back from this to a certain place and lived there a long time. By and by they came to the same water again but here it was narrow. The other shore was well wooded

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[33] Gallatin, quoted in Ann. Rept. Smithson. Inst., 1885, part II, p. 211.

[34] Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., II, p. 95.

[35] For the Alabama origin myths see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 191-192.

[36] Early in the nineteenth century, according to the American State Papers (Ind. Aff., II, p. 371), four Creek chiefs denied that their people had come from the West and obtained their lands by conquest, but a misunderstanding is quite possible, and, besides, this testimony concerned their title to the lands of the old Creek Nation in Alabama and Georgia, a fact which they very well knew.

[37] In the oldest legend, as we have seen, it is represented as a war club (see p. 25).

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and pleased them, and they wanted to get over to it. Their leader, however, said: 'We ought to cross, but I am going to try an arrow.' If it landed on the other side he knew they could get over. He shot, therefore, and his arrow went into the woods. The people remained there until they had gotten together some boats and rafts on which they crossed in safety. Then they established themselves where they found quantities of game. After a while they began moving east again, and they did this at intervals, always in the same direction. At last they settled permanently, became very numerous, and established square grounds.

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"One night, a long time afterward, a dance was held at which all persons were present except a newly married couple who were in some manner delayed. When these arrived at the square, late at night, they found nothing there but a lake. They remained on the shores of the lake watching and noticed that the birds which tried to fly across fell in and were drowned. One big crane, however, flew all the way over. It said 'koos, koos, koos,' and they thought that that was its name. As time went on this couple had children and their descendants formed another big town; and because the bird did fly over the submerged village in safety they named the town after it, saying 'We shall be called Coosas.' And in the town orations to-day their descendants, the people of Tulsa, begin by saying 'We are the Coosa people.'

"The Coweta say that they came out from under the earth and found the surface soft and muddy, difficult to travel upon. By and by it became dry and hard. They were on the top of a mountain from which they could see the setting and the rising of the sun. Then they debated whether to go toward the sunset or the sunrise but finally they agreed to go toward the sunrise. So they traveled eastward slowly, stopping a long time where the hunting was good and then going on again, until they came at last to a river. This river was very muddy and so wide that they stayed on its banks longer than anywhere else, and there they inaugurated the ball play. At last they made boats and crossed. Then they traveled on again eastward until they came to the ocean ('big water'). They found that the water of the ocean would come up and go out again, enabling them to collect oysters and other things good to eat, and they stopped there and lived on those products, being unable to pass beyond. They claim that they traveled side by side with the Kasihta, and some add the Abihka, which some deny. The place from which they started they call Ilafoni, 'the backbone,' and they identify this with the Rocky Mountains."

The following version of the migration legend was told by Ispahihtca, of the Kasihta town, a former chief of the Creek Nation,[37a]

[37a] See p. 321.

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to James R. Gregory, by whom it was repeated to the writer in May, 1912:

"Some people anciently lived together in the west. In course of time they became so evil that they could find nothing pure in the world except the sun, and they determined to travel eastward to find the place from whence it came. On the way they became separated into three bodies. The first of these were called Chickasaw because on the morning when they were to set out they were the first to see the sun rise and said Tcika ha'sà [hitcika hasà], 'See the sun!' The second body said to the first Kohasita,[37b] 'Where is the sun?' from which circumstance they received the name Kasihta. The Chickasaw moved first, the Kasihta following them, but the third body of people had some difficulty in passing around a brier thicket and were left a long distance behind, so that the parties in advance began to call them Ko-aoita, 'Those that are following us,' whence the name Coweta.

"During their travels these tribes came to a great river which they crossed, and presently the Chickasaw entered upon a beautiful country where were small prairies abundantly supplied with strawberries and other wild fruits and having deep pools of water. Then the Chickasaw did not want to go any farther and said that they did not care where the sun came from. So they settled in that country, while the remaining bands held on their course. By and by the Kasihta, who were still in advance, crossed a river smaller than the first. On the other side they raised a mound, leaving a great chamber in the center in which to fast and purify their bodies. They left their women, children, and other noncombatants there and went on toward the east. Afterward, the Coweta arrived on the opposite side of the river and sent word over that they intended to cross and kill everyone in the place because the Kasihta warriors had not waited to have them join in the expedition. But among the Kasihta women was one who had a magic white stone or pebble, the mate to which was in the keeping of her husband among the warriors. By means of this stone she informed him of the serious state of affairs, and the Kasihta warriors immediately retraced their steps, cut switches, and, passing over to the Coweta warriors, whipped them severely. But they did not strike them with a weapon of war. They then told the Coweta to take charge of the mound, and, gathering together their own noncombatants, they went eastward once more.

"After the Kasihta had left, the Coweta made medicine and went inside of the great mound in order to purify themselves, but while they were there a Cherokee war party attacked the camp. Great was their surprise, however, when the Coweta warriors poured up

[37b] Kō is not the usual word meaning "where?" but is probably an exclamatory particle.

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from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws. 173 539

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white." [526 631 829]

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breathholder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

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earth being created, the second thing is water, the third the trees and grass, and the fourth the things having life.' Even down to the smallest things they were created.

"And, continuing, he said: 'A last day will come.' That is what he said to him. Continuing, he said: 'Fire will destroy this world, and when it comes the dead people will arise out of the earth and fearful things that were existing within it will arise out of it. Everything will gather together in the interior of the earth. At that time there will be no more death.

"'When that occurs I too will come.' he said. 'I shall come to seek those who have not killed anyone, and those who have not told a lie, people who are really humble, those who love people much, and persons who are unselfish, and persons who abase themselves. And when I take them up, "Take me up, too," the others will say, holding their hands up. Then those left on that day which is bright and hanging will be lost together.'[38]

"And when he departed they stood still looking about, and when they saw the rising sun, they wanted to see the place from which it came, and they started thither. And while they were on the way, they considered, supposing the sun to be hot, how they should light a fire with it. Then they took a stick of wood dried in the sun's heat and bored into it with another dry stick until it caught fire. Then they named the wood with which they had made the fire 'the slimy wood' (afo's'lipa'kfa—the slippery elm).

"Afterward they remained there four years, fasting for eight days [each year]. When the four years were completed, providing themselves with the fire, they again set out toward [the sun]. And while they were still traveling east the Chickasaw stopped saying, 'My moccasins are worn out, and I will stop to mend them; even if you go on I will catch you.' 'All right,' he [Kasihta] said. He made a spring for him, by sticking his elbow down into the ground and turning it around four times. Having made a big spring for him, he said 'Stay here drinking this until you can go.' Then [the Kasihta] went away. But [the Chickasaw] settled there for good.

"When they came to the end of the dark grass they continued to obtain things for themselves.

"Whenever they stopped they remained there for four years; they marched with an advance guard moving about in front. When they saw the ocean and found that they could not go farther they stopped there. They rested by a large river. Then they learned that some people were living on the other side. They wanted to know what sort of people were living there and went near, when a fog covered them so that they were moving about in it and so stopped

[38] The material in the latter half of the first paragraph and in paragraphs 2 and 3 is, of course, from Christian sources.

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not able to see anything. They discovered that the strangers had something which smelt very good and they wanted it, and they considered how they could get it.

"While they were considering over it they made a long mound and another round mound. They said that this action would give them help. When they were ready they caused a wind to blow on the people covered with fog living there, and the fog was cleared away. Then they killed [part of the stranger people] and took many captive and exterminated that town.[26] They built a town there of their own. While doing this they were in the habit of sending out guards. They made the guards go out for one year, and when those returned [who had been away during the war] and found that [stranger] people had been killed, they said 'You did not save any for us,' and they wept in anger at having been deprived of the opportunity to kill. The two men were projected across the river, hanging to the ends of arrows, and going along the stream they trailed [their enemies]. Presently they found two persons lying asleep who had been throwing up the earth into mounds. They killed them there and by so doing wiped away their tears. Then the locality was named 'Shoveling place.' After four years [the Kasihta] left their women and children together in that place and set out to get scalps. Not anticipating any danger the men all started out. The women continued to live there alone. Afterwards the Coweta people, following their trail, came to the big river and camped on the nearer side. Then they sent out scouts who reported that people were staying near by. Then they said 'We had better kill them,' and they said 'Watch them closely.' Watching them closely they discovered that only women were in that place. Then they went near and spoke to them. And they said to them 'What has become of the males?' They answered 'They went away to war a long time ago. It is now nearly four years since they left.' And [the new comers] answered 'They can not be alive.' But an old woman said 'The men are still alive.' Then they (the Coweta) said: 'Being an old woman she tells lies.' When it got dark that old woman put a stone into the fire, and when it was red all over she took it out and laid it down pointing in the direction in which the Kasihta had gone, and she stood upon it; and after she had stood there for a while she came back and said 'The men are alive.' Although she said so they did not believe her. And when they said 'She is lying' some of the women thought 'It is probably so,' and finally some married these men. The little old woman tried to dissuade them, and many obeyed her. After a time she said 'Now the warriors are near,' but they did not believe her. 'Now they are close by,' she said, 'Fix your-

[26] From a note these people would appear to have been considered Yuchi.

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selves. Comb yourselves.' She kept on encouraging the whole town. When the warriors had gotten near to the town she went out to their camp and said 'Things have been thus and so while we have been settled here,' and she informed them about all that had happened. But when people had been to war it was their custom not to enter the town on their return too hurriedly. Therefore they waited some time to attend to [i. e., purify] themselves and then passed into the town. Then they held a council and said 'What shall we do with these men? If we kill them it will be of no benefit and they may be of use to us.' And while they were sitting in council they gathered the male Coweta together. Then they built a large fire and made them dance, pushing them down into the fire so that they jumped over it to escape. They did this for some time. They also took sticks and beat them on the front parts of their calves, and they cut off theirs ears, and they made a law of this.[20a]

"Then they continued to play tricks on the Coweta by putting strings of dog excrement around their necks. They said 'It shall be our law that if a man cohabits with a married woman his ears shall be cut off and also his nose. And if a person is whipped inordinately and he dies the leader of the whipping party shall be killed. And if a man cohabits with a married woman in the middle of the summer at the time of the big harvest when the busk is over, and the aggrieved party finds it out, if the man runs away and lives by himself for a whole year, in midsummer after the busks of all the towns are over, the man and the woman can not receive the penalty of the law.' Then they continued 'We have constructed a long mound and a round mound in order to protect ourselves. You must sit down and watch them.' So the tall Coweta were told. They also made a chief for [the Coweta]. And they used for this purpose the Fish clan. 'If you lose him by death you must consider for yourselves [how to replace him],' they were told. And there they made a tribe of the Coweta. Then they were told to live inside of the two mounds. And on top of these hollow mounds they drank âsi every morning. And when the âsi was cooked a great pan of it was set out before them at daybreak every morning. Every morning when it was taken they set it away for them. They established themselves there permanently as a tribe. They told each other what they had been doing. Then the Kasihta put a question to the Coweta, and they answered: 'We came along the trail on which others had gone. We came because we wanted to see what they were doing.' And the people said 'since it came (awit) afterward the tribe shall be named Awita,' and it was so named.

[20a] Having reference to the Creek laws against adultery; see pp. 349-354.

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"And, continuing the Kasihta said 'We came out of the center of the earth.' The Coweta answered 'We came out at the same place but, the root of a tree extending in front of us, we emerged only after a delay.' Then they learned that they had been created one people. And they said 'We shall have to return again the way we came, and when we reach the place of our creation we shall be annihilated.' The names of the two rivers near that town were Big River (Hàtci Łàko) and Confluent River (Hàtc Afa'ski). 173 539

"There was a place for killing fish at that point; it was found out that it was a place to which fish would come. The Kasihta having found it broke off a pine limb and laid it upon a rock. And the Coweta found it afterward and broke off a black weed called ata'k ła-lasti[39b] and laid it down in the same place. Then the Coweta said 'I have found a fish-killing place.' The Kasihta said 'I found it first. I broke off a pine limb to mark it and laid it upon a rock.' And the Coweta said 'I, too, broke off a black weed and laid it there.' They wrangled with each other about it. Then they said to each other 'Let us examine the place.' And when they went to see the marks they found two lying there. When they had examined the matter they found two fish-killing places close together and one was abandoned to the Coweta. Near by was their own fish-killing place where they lived catching and eating fish. They continued there, beginning and carrying on things for their amusement. There they built their big house.[39c] They erected four structures which they called houses (tcuko). They placed one to the west, another across from this,[40] another toward the south, another toward the east,[40] and another toward the north. They made the length [of each?] eighty times the length of a person's foot and the breadth thirty times. And they made the measure of the arena between them eighty foot-measures each way. The round big-house stood toward the west.[40a] They constructed it with a pointed roof, and they covered it with pine bark stripped from the trees. They made only one door, looking toward the east. And they built a fire exactly in the middle so that when it was raining or snowing they could dance there. And in the one of the four houses which stood toward the west the miko of the tribe sat with his vice-chief (apokta). It was called the house of the mikos (mi'kàlgi i'ntchuka). And those who sat in the house to the south were known as 'the owners of the white (hà'tki ipu'tcasi).' If the miko and vice-miko both died they appointed new ones. The one lying across toward the east was called the house of the women (hu'ktagi i'ntcuka). And that on the north side was called 'the house of the warriors' (tàstànàgàlgi i'ntcuka). They 173 539 361

[39b] This has yellow flowers which appear at the time of the fall hunt.
[40] The ceremonial square.
[40a] Probably by inadvertence the eastern structure is mentioned twice
[39c] The itokoh or town "hot house."

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173 539 [361] were their war talkers (inhulupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tâdjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[40b]

173 539 796 "And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obânga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[40c] (its obânga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obâ'nga tcâ'pko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obânga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[40d]

173 539 796 526 "[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

[40b] See pp. 174–190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.
[40c] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 609.
[40d] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 546–614.

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time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. The distance between them in either direction was two hundred yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.[40a]

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"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,[41] was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved.

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"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.[42] The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

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[40a] See pp. 486–488 for a description of the ball game.

[41] "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

[42] The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee glossed is the word meaning "gentle."

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top of the bluff scolding at a dog in his own language. He became interested and went out. Presently he saw a Muskogee family sitting [by their dwelling] talking. When he got to the place he saw a great camp extending to the creek. The person to whom he went said 'Sit down' and he sat down. Then the Cherokee surrounded him and he sat still unable to do anything. They said to him 'What do you want?' and he answered 'I am here because I was directed to go and see the Cherokee chief. They said to me "When you reach Ikan tápiksi (Level land), anywhere in that country you can obtain an interpreter." ' Then the Cherokee said 'The chief is living at a distance, but he will arrive four days after having been sent for.' Then he remained there as a prisoner.

"It was a custom of the Cherokee to send out scouts and as soon as they had come home ask each of them what he had learned concerning their enemies. They did so at this time, and he sat listening to them. And when the returning scouts had all gotten through they thought that nothing was the matter. While he was sitting there the returning scouts were all examined as to whether they had seen anything that might give concern to the town, and they finished. Then they examined them again saying 'Did you hear a shot fired?' and one said 'I heard one.' And each of the Cherokee said in turn 'I have not fired a gun.' Then they said to Good-child Chief who was sitting near 'Did you shoot?'

"He answered 'I did.' 'At what did you shoot?' they asked him. 'I shot at a deer' said he. 'Did you shoot near by?' they asked. 'I shot at him very near' he said, 'and I thought I hit him but I came here instead of going to see.' Then they said 'Let us go and see where you did this,' and they took him along. Presently he said 'I shot it here and it went on and died without going very far away.' Then they tried to find it and did so, and they brought it back. 'He has spoken the truth' they thought, and they watched him closely during the four days. At intervals the young men of the Cherokee came in whooping saying that the chief of the Cherokee was coming. On the fourth day he came and they prepared very large round sticks of wood. When all were in the house Good-child Chief and his interpreter were called in. Then his interpreter said to him 'Where the Cherokee are assembled to observe their customs sit still without paying any attention to them.' Then they said 'It (the council) is ready.' So the two went up and sat down. What the interpreter had said about the way they exercised their law was going to be carried out. One man danced the whooping dance holding the ax with which people were killed. He struck the ax into the ground between [the prisoner's] feet. After he had done this for a considerable time he twisted his breechclout to one side and pushed his buttocks toward the stranger's face. Although

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Good-child Chief did not like this he could not resent it and remained seated. After the man had danced around for a while he stopped and sat down.

"Then they gave Good-child Chief permission to speak. 'Let him make known what he wants' they said. Then he said: 'Brothers, we have caused each other suffering for a long time. I was told to come and see the Cherokee chief.' [My people] said 'While our mother is the same and our father is the same we punish each other, and it has come to such a pass that even our children are inspired with terror. Hereafter it shall not be so. The white path shall extend from our doors,' my people said. 'Even if red is on that path we shall not think it is human blood,' they said, 'and even if we find blood near streams we shall not think it is human blood. We shall think thus. We shall think it is the blood of the many things that are to be found in the water,' they said. 'And afterward, if we find on the white paths that converge to our doors the blood of anything sticking, we shall suppose it is the blood of the many four-footed game animals that have it,' they said. 'And after this, if he (a former enemy) shakes hands with me he must smoke of my tobacco. If I shall see a cloud arising and hanging in the air, we will think, 'He is shaking hands with me,' they said. Then he handed to them white beads strung together which he had with him and said 'They said "This is the image of the earth island."'

"When this speech was ended the Cherokee chief agreed. And the Cherokee chief said to his men 'Take him to the place from which he came and leave him there.' And they conducted him thither and left him. Then he returned to his tribe. And he said: 'I have spoken to the Cherokee chief,' and he informed them what he had done. Then peace making spread and became general."

The old chief from whom the last two stories came informed Mr. Gregory that such traditions must be repeated in a certain manner word for word, for a mistake would cost blood. Yet, such a mistake has been committed either by the chief himself or by one of his interpreters, since we find some striking differences in detail. For instance, the item regarding the attack by Cherokee on the Cowetas when they were living inside of the mound does not appear in Gatschet's version.

A curious modern note is introduced by one of my own informants who said that the Muskogee came from the west, out of "the navel of the earth," and moved eastward after the sun until they reached the ocean. Then it was said: "As long as you can't go all of the way around the earth you can not see the sun."

It is noticeable that all stories emanating from the Lower Creeks speak of their ancestors as having come up out of the ground at "the navel of the earth," the connection of the navel with birth

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173 evidently having been responsible for this designation.[43] An old woman told one of my informants of the Okchai town that for a long time after mankind had come out of the ground great caves remained there. Once some Indians bearing torches entered these in search of bee martins. They found trails of human beings and could make out the marks of moccasins, but the cave people threw stones at them, they were afraid that their torches would be put out, and so they turned back. Another informant remembered a belief that men had come out of the water, but still others quoted "the old people" to the effect that mankind had come from above, and when we examine the matter we seem able to trace this type of origin myth to Tukabahchee. Alindja, an old and well-informed Tukabahchee Indian, told me the following legend:

173 "The Indians were sent down from the world above to some place
539 in the west. They had with them the two principal busk medicines, the pasa and miko hoyanīdja, and among them were seven mikos. They also had fire. Originally there were two camps of them, but after a while one camp decided that they would return. They kept their intentions to themselves, however, until toward night. Then they said 'We are ready. We are going,' and up they went into the sky. By that time it was so late that the people in the other camp, among whom were the seven mikos, said 'We will go tomorrow.' But before morning one of their number died, and, as they could not leave the body in this world or take it with them, thay had to remain.

"After they had stayed in that place for a while they said 'Let us travel,' and they got up and started off. First they went toward the north, but after they had proceeded some distance they set a walking stick up in the ground. Forthwith it leaned toward the south and they said 'That must be the way we should go.' They set off toward the south, and presently they set up the walking stick again. This time it leaned toward the east, so they went east. They went on eastward for a time and set the stick up again. It remained exactly perpendicular and they said 'Here is the place,' and they settled there, having traveled across the whole world to reach it. The word is that our companions, our blood relatives, are in the world above. The chiefs who remained were to be the kings of this continent and they were the seven mikos of Tukabahchee town."[44]

173 This story was paralleled in its main outlines by another informant. As I have stated elsewhere,[45] the origin of Tukabahchee seems to have been distinct from that of the Muskogee proper. According to

[43] In his communication to Schoolcraft regarding the Chickasaw Indians the agent of that tribe says that they did not know the origin of the artificial mounds in their old country and called them "navels." "They thought that the Mississippi was the center of the earth, and these mounds were as the navel of a man in the center of his body." (Indian Tribes, I, p. 311.)

[44] See p. 282.

[45] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 278. As also indicated in that work, the Tukabahchee had several special names. One of these was Isti ispokogi isti fikosifko toyayai, "Spokogi who deviate from the stylist order or way of doing things." I have mentioned this in the place above indicated but unfortunately omitted the negative after fikos. Another name applied to them, according to Mr. Grayson's notes, was Sokofiki Tastanagi, Isti ispokoki toyayai.

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a migration story collected by Tuggle and given in Bulletin 73 they marched south instead of east and claim to have been in Georgia when the white people entered the country. The latter part of this tradition is confirmed by Nuttall,[46] and if it is correct, as seems to be indicated in the case of some constituent elements of the nation, it would account for a tradition remembered by Zachariah Cook to the effect that they had migrated from the east and had crossed a ditch on a footlog which they placed across it with the greatest difficulty. After they were once over they could not get back. 173

Following is the Tuckabahchee origin myth as related to me by Cook who had it from a Creek Indian, now dead, known as Judge Nokosi. Judge Nokosi told him that it was fragmentary, and that the last person to know it in its completeness was an old man named Napoleon Yahola, who died before the Civil War. 173 539

"In the beginning the Indians came pouring out of the earth like ants. Those who got out first looked back, saw in what crowds the others were coming on, and said 'It will not be good. It must be stopped.' And it stopped. In those days they laid down the towaka (logs) about the stomp ground. After they had arranged these and were seated upon them—they were then in the country where later they built their towns—up came the tall Coweta and found them. The Coweta said 'Who are you?' 'I am the little Tukabahchee.' 'What have you?' 'I have only the miko hoyanĭdja and my whoop.' The Tukabahchee miko held the miko hoyanĭdja in his right hand. 'Let us hear you whoop,' said the Coweta. 'No.' 'Yes, let us hear you whoop.' The Tukabahchee behaved very humbly and refused to whoop for some time but finally they agreed in order to please the strangers. Then their leader arose, stamped upon the ground, and whooped, and the earth quivered as if there were an earthquake. After the second whoop the Coweta leader said, 'My friend, that will do,' but, having started, the Tukabahchee was obliged to complete the four cries. When he was through the Coweta chief said 'We will be friends. Here is my medicine; let us combine the two.' So they united the pasa (button-snakeroot) of the Coweta with the miko hoyanĭdja of the Tukabahchee, and the combined medicine is the sawatcka.[47] Thereafter each used both.

"About this time two Ispokogis came down from above, approached the ball ground and saw that there were people there and that it was

[46] "The Creeks entertain a tradition of coming from the west side of the Mississippi, and that, too, at so recent a date, as to have heard of the landing of white people on the Atlantic coast soon after their arrival."—Nuttall in Early Western Travels, vol. XIII, p. 368.

[47] Alladja, one of the best informed Tukabahchee, also stated that the pasa and the miko hoyanĭdja were the two standard medicines, although he said that the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska or spicewood. See below. Nevertheless, by others the sawatcka is given as a third medicine, and this is the statement of Hawkins. (Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 79.)

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good, so they remained with the people. One of these Ispokogis made a dugout canoe, and, when it was completed, he got in and began floating up into the air. But, when it was some distance off, he looked back and saw all of the people standing still gazing after him. Then he said 'I can not leave them.' So he came back and, when he landed, the other Ispokogi lay down and died. The surviving Ispokogi remained with the people after that, and with reference to this event the word was 'There shall be a link of brothers, life without ending.' This meant that when one Ispokogi died there should always be another to take his place. Old Tukabahchee miko, who is known to have visited Washington, and who died on Red River about the year 1864, was the last Muskogee to preserve a knowledge of the identity of the Ispokogi. Theoretically there always is such a chief, but since the death of Tukabahchee miko the knowledge of him has become lost. This knowledge was anciently preserved by means of a certain council formed about the sacred fire in the busk ground."

Benjamin Hawkins had heard of this chief, for he says "They have, in this town, a Mic-co of another family, the Is-po-co-gee Mic-co, the ancient name of the town."

It is interesting to be able to add that we have some notes regarding the Ispokogi from that Tukabahchee miko above mentioned, recorded February 1, 1842, by Gen. E. A. Hitchcock. According to the story, as obtained from this source, seven persons of both sexes were sent down from heaven in very old times; later they attempted to return, but one of them, thought to have been a man, died, whereupon the others came back. They then sat down in a square and performed some ceremony which the Indians wished to learn. At first they were unsuccessful, but at last they discovered something about it, and the strangers then taught them how to make a fire and how to worship the Great Spirit. They also brought certain plates from heaven which they gave to the Creek chiefs. Colonel Hawkins, their former agent, said that these had come from the King of England, or at least from the British, but the Indians believed that they were from heaven and were to be worshipped.[47a] The new comers told them to make a new fire once a year by friction, after having extinguished the existing fire, and to thank the Great Spirit for his blessing; at that season they were to exhibit the plates. When this happened the Indians were using bows and arrows and lived entirely by hunting, but after a time they found some white people and from them obtained knives and other useful articles. At a similar early period the Tukabahchee met the Coweta. They smoked the pipe of peace together and agreed to an eternal friendship which they have ever since maintained, and all of the other Indians are obliged to look up to them.

[47a] Elsewhere Hitchcock says that some Indians had a tradition that they had been presented by a Spanish King, and this was probably not far from the truth.

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This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanīdja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanīdja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [47b] [622]

Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[47b] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

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173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atâsâ). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

[609] "'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilâlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 619 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[48]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[48] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

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story is not, however, ancient, since it is a well-known historical fact that on the outbreak of the Creek-American war the Tukabahchee were hard pressed by other Upper Creek towns until the Coweta came to their assistance.

Undoubtedly there were once myths similar to those told about the Tukabahchee and Coweta, to account for the friendships and differences of all the principal groups of towns in the confederacy, but not many have come down to us. The following fragment tells of the relations between the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali, the latter probably the most ancient Red Town among the Upper Creeks. It was related by an old Indian named Kasihta Yahola, since deceased, who belonged to Łapłáko, a branch of Łiwahali.

"The ancestors of the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali were once in a fog or vapor which prevented them from seeing each other. The Łiwahali wanted to see the Tukabahchee very much, and finally the fog was blown away so that they could do so. For some time the Ispokogis (Tukabahchee Indians) would not speak to them. At last they said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the Hołiwahalis ("those who cut the war in two")'. Then the Łiwahali asked in their turn who the strangers might be and they answered, 'We are the Ispokogis and Tukabahchee.' Then said the Tukabahchee, 'All right, you shall be our younger brothers.'"

The following is told regarding the Tukabahchee, Atasi, and Łiwahali:

"Once, in ancient times, the Łiwahali became angry with the Atasi and determined to destroy them. But the Tukabahchee said to the Łiwahali, 'Don't do that. They might be of use to you in picking up spoons or something of that sort.' The Łiwahali persisted in their determination, however, until the Tukabahchee said, 'If you destroy them, you will have me on your back,' when they gave it up."

This story was perhaps evolved to express or explain the friendship which grew up between Tukabahchee and Atasi. In later times the former called the Atasi, "the carers of our medicine."

Another set of myths deals with the ancient town of Coosa and its offspring, although the latter are mentioned but seldom, the myth usually confining itself to a mere account of the origin of the mother town and an explanation of its name. One of these stories has been given already in the Tulsa migration legend.[46] Another informant said that Coosa was called Talokstû'mgi ("Town-lost-in-the water") by the Creeks, and that it had sunk into the water until nothing could be seen of it except the ball post. According to still another, the town was swallowed up by an earthquake. Two persons escaped by jumping into Coosa River and swimming to land. When they were found by people from other towns they were making little bows.

[46] See p. 55.

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The place where this happened is said to be called "the rocky sunken place in the Coosa River." Owing to "some powerful attraction" no birds could cross at that point except one called the koskosa, and from this fact both river and town obtained their name. The last circumstance was also known to Jackson Lewis. A story related to the above was told by a Nuyaka Indian and is to the effect that the Coosa were a people found in the river of that name in vessels—which must have been canoes—carrying white flags at either end. They were taken out and made into a town by the Hickory Ground (Otciapofa) people who protected them. Therefore they came to be considered as the offspring of Hickory Ground.

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The longest and best version which I myself obtained was related by an old man of Hilibi named Woksi miko and runs thus:

"An unmarried woman in the town of Coosa (Kosa or Koza) went to draw water from the spring and was afterward found to be pregnant. When her child was born it was spotted. Then her brothers and some of her relatives thought this was the offspring of a water tiger (wi katea), which the Muskogee now identify with the leopard, became angry with her, and wanted to kill it. But she had some old relatives who opposed them and finally prevailed. The busk ground and 'hot house' where they councilled about this stood near the river, and the girl ran to the water tiger and said 'There is an effort being made to kill my child, but they have not killed it yet.' Then the water tiger said 'Let those who are disposed to defend the child move away from the rest.' The woman told these what the water tiger had said, so they moved away from the town, and that night the water tiger brought on a great inundation which covered Coosa, with its square ground and all, but for years after people could see there the main timbers that braced the old tcokofa. The water tiger took the woman home to live with him. Then the few persons who were left alive came together and said 'We were once a great town but now there are very, very few of us and we are ashamed of having fallen off so in numbers (istá'kosi). Nevertheless let us get together and make another town for ourselves,' and they did so, establishing the town we now know as Tulsa (istalsosi).[485] Those who were engulfed in the river did not all die, and afterward people could hear a drum beaten there when they were dancing and having their good times. There is now a whirlpool on the site of the old town and close to the river. Sometimes people used to see beams whirling round in this eddy, and occasionally men sitting upon them. No bird could fly over the whirlpool, and those which tried always fell into the center of it and were drowned. But there is a small bird with a yellow breast which seems to say 'koakoza' and this could fly across

[485] The first word seems to be a contraction of isti álsakosi, "many people ashamed," while the second is isti alsosi, "one (or a few) ashamed." The first is a pun on Kosa; the second on Tulsa.

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with perfect ease. Some maintained that the people beneath the water favored these birds and let them fly across. We name them from the noise which they make."

A version, differing from all of the above in certain particulars, was recorded by the late G. W. Grayson from Caley Proctor, one of the leading "reactionaries" among the Creeks at the present time, and I insert it here through the courtesy of the Grayson family:

"Cosa, according to this legend, was the original name of the Muscogees, two of whom, at a very early day, went away from home on a hunting expedition in the wild woods as was the habit of the people in those times. Having gone as far as they cared to travel the first day, they encamped near a stream of water. Near their camp stood a large tree, from a certain part of which the men noticed that drops of water occasionally fell. Regarding this as a rather strange phenomenon, one of the men determined to investigate it, and he climbed the tree to ascertain the cause, while his companion awaited the result below. He found the tree to be hollow at a certain point, containing a considerable quantity of water collected therein from rainfall, from which descended the drops of water they had observed. In this water were a number of fishes. With his hands he caught some of these which he brought down, cooked and ate against the protests of his companion, who said, 'We have always been counseled not to undertake to do anything unusual without the advice or consent of persons older than we and of greater experience, and I think you should not eat the fishes taken in so strange a manner lest something terrible befall you.' But the young man could not undo his rash act, and soon its effects began to show clearly; in a little while, that same evening, his human head and face changed into the head of an immense snake, while his arms and legs also changed, completing his metamorphosis into a large serpent of horrible appearance.

"Next morning he bewailed his plight to his companion, saying: 'You in all friendliness advised me not to eat of the fishes lest evil befall me, but, not regarding your friendly caution, I ate them and am now suffering the consequences of my obstinacy. Go now and inform my parents of my plight, tell them how it came about, and say to them, if they desire to see me, to come here. I will be in the creek near by. When they come let them discharge a gun as a signal of their arrival and I shall come out of the water to meet them.'

"So saying he entered the waters of the creek and disappeared, leaving his friend alone in camp. The latter thereupon returned to the town of Cosa, and to the parents and relatives of the now metamorphosed man he related all that had occurred and told how he had been deputed by his unfortunate friend to relate the story of his mishap and how they might once more see him if they desired.

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"The parents and relatives and all others who had heard the story were greatly concerned and, assembling in full force, repaired at once to the place indicated where they discharged the gun as their friend had directed. On hearing this signal the snake man came forth from the creek and stretched himself affectionately across the laps of his parents as they sat in the midst of the assemblage. Upon this they gave way to their grief and set up a great *wahketa*,[48] expressive of sorrow for the loss of their son. The monster said sadly: 'You see me in this pitiable condition, the circumstances of which have, I presume, been explained to you so that you understand how it came about. I now suggest that my relatives and friends return to their homes and on the fourth day from the present gather at the Tcook-u'-thlocco ("Big House"—i. e., the Square Ground) where I will meet them later.' Saying this, the snake-man returned to the water and his relatives and friends went back to their homes.

"On the fourth day the relatives and friends of the snake-man gathered at the Tcook-u'-thlocco, as had been requested, and many others came near but remained on the outside. Presently the snake-man made his appearance, coming from the stream in which he had taken refuge, and he was followed by a stream of water. When he entered the grounds occupied by the public buildings they all sank, along with the people gathered there, and this was the origin of Coosa River.

"Those who did not enter the Square Grounds with the friends and relatives of the snake-man were not destroyed, but gathered themselves together and became what was subsequently known as Cosa town, the members calling themselves Cos-is-tuggees, 'people of the Cosa town,' though the name is more properly Cos-ulgee. The residue of the Cosa people, having thus formed a town, bitterly lamented on account of the calamity that had thus robbed them of so many of their valuable citizens. In grievous distress they cried out, 'Woe is our nation! We were the greatest of all the nations; our *tus-e-ki-yas* were numerous, reaching out and known and dreaded the world over. But it is not so now. We have lost even our *Tcook-u' thlocco*, and a great number of our common people and great is the humiliation that has fallen on us. Shame and humiliation is now our portion. We can occupy only the place of the *e-yas-ke* (the humble, lowly, weak, unpretending).' The Cosas indulged in other similar jeremiads and changed their name to Tulsee, *ulsee* signifying in the Muscogee language 'to be ashamed,' 'bashful,' while from it may be derived *ul is ke ta*, 'shame,' 'disgrace,' but how the letter *t* could have become prefixed to *ulsee* is neither explained nor conjectured."

[48] Wahketa, a lamentation for the dead.

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The supposed derivation of the name Tulsa is, of course, fanciful. The story of the man turned into a serpent is well known among the southeastern Indians and I have several versions of it, but this is the only one in which it appears as explanatory of an historical event or social custom.

Legus Perryman and other informants told me that Kos istâgi is the old name of the Tulsa people; that it was used frequently in speeches on the busk ground; and that names beginning with Kos were common among them. One informant stated that the term was applied, not to the entire people, but to one of the two moieties, perhaps the Whites. The same terms were used by the Okfuskee, and, although some informants knew nothing of a connection between these towns, it is practically certain.

There is a story, the origin of which I do not know, to the effect that the Tulsa were once captured by the Tukabahchee.

Of course the native explanations of the names Coosa, Tulsa, and so on are the results of later reasoning. I met with two interesting cases of this linguistic phenomenon in which the English language was haled in to give point to the story. One affirms that there was once a great feast at which the Coweta Indians consumed so much more than any body else that they came to be called "Cow eaters." The other amounts to a myth built up to explain the name Eufaula and was related by as competent an authority as Jackson Lewis.

"In very early times the Eaufaula lived on one side of a certain stream and some Choctaw, with whom they were at war, lived on the opposite side which had a high bank. Every now and then a party from each would creep over to the other side, take a scalp, and, after their return, celebrate the event in the usual manner. Finally the Eufaula formed two bands of warriors which crept around back of the Choctaw town, one on each side, made an attack upon it and drove its occupants over the bluff, compelling them to jump into the water. From this circumstance that place came to be called "Where the people jumped down in" (isti aktaski) or "Where the people fell down in" (isti aklatki), and the Eufaula are said to have gotten their name from that circumstance. These names do not resemble the term Eufaula, but it is thought that that term is an English translation of them."

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The French memoir which I have assigned conjecturally to about the year 1755 contains the following curious story purporting to be the origin myth of the Creek Indians, or at least of that part of them living on Tallapoosa River. As it seems to emanate from Fort Toulouse, perhaps it should be still further restricted to the Alabama-speaking Indians about that place. The apparent European elements which it contains—for instance, the production of human beings from

[Cf. cat. 116, p. 72--Analyst]

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stones reminiscent of the Greek story of Deucalion and Pyhrra and the objective illustration of the "in union there is strength" aphorism—render it doubtful how much we should credit to a purely Indian origin. At any rate it stands apart from all the stories above reported.

"They pretend that their first father having escaped with two male children from a universal deluge, for they all declare that there was one, went to consult the oracle. This told him to ascend a designated mountain covered with stones, some white and others black, collect as many of both kinds as he could before sunset, he and his two children, and carry them over their lands, and the next day they would find as many men and women as they had carried stones; and that one of his little sons would become chief of a great nation made up of the fragments of many others, rendered fugitives by wars. The truth of the prediction of the oracle was demonstrated next day by the number of men and women they saw around their cabins, of whom they formed many villages. The good father finding himself on his deathbed, exhorted his children to live in a firm union; he had a bundle of canes brought which, having fastened together, he told them to break, which they could not do. But having detached these canes and given them out one after the other they broke them easily. Upon this he told them that so long as they were united, their enemies would not be able to destroy them, but they must take care not to separate, or they would infallibly fall into slavery. While these things were taking place there arrived a beautiful Indian woman, almost white, who by her fine face and noble bearing showed that she was not of the lowest rank. She told them that she had come from a distance, that she had left her village when it was on the point of falling into the hands of enemies, and asked of them an asylum. This they generously granted, so much the more willingly as she began to move the affections of the eldest son very deeply. The father on his side encouraged his son to take her as his wife and had the pleasure of seeing her become his daughter-in-law before he died. But scarcely had he closed his eyes when the other brother, jealous of the possession of such a beautiful wife by his brother, disputed with him over the leadership, and raised a part of the people who were in his interest. A war followed in which the elder brother was killed. Immediately after his death a white bear made its appearance. As there were only black bears in that country, this appeared astonishing. This bear was followed by a number of black bears, which waged a cruel combat against the white bear in the presence of the people, but it remained victor after causing a general carnage among the black bears, and disappeared immediately. When everyone had recovered from his astonishment, the victorious brother went to find his sister-in-law but he could not discover her

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anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.[1] 173 539

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death." [778

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Łapłáko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis- 173 177 609 648

[1] [Cf. cat 11b, p. 74 -- Analyst]

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possessed by these newcomers. Another informant said that the Indians were believed to have come out of the earth, and therefore they own it and are to go back into it. The white people, on the other hand, were created later out of the foam of the sea. They first begged to put one foot on shore to rest themselves a little, and the Indians consented, but afterward the newcomers complained that it was tiresome to stand on but one foot and they asked to be allowed to set the other ashore. This also was granted. Next, the whites wanted to buy from the Indians as much land as could be covered with a hide, and when the Indians agreed they cut the hide into strips and made it surround a large area. In this way the Indians were gradually dispossessed. The Indians were also given a prophecy at that time to the effect that the whites would come and preach to them and the preaching would move westward.

Here we have the famous "cowhide purchase" myth, which dates back as far at least as Virgil, reinjected into Indian thought, apparently from a modern schoolbook. The most remarkable interweaving of schoolbook and other latter-day elements into a kind of Indian neo-philosophy is, however, the following from a decidedly reactionary Creek of Hilibi town:

"When Columbus reached America the first thing he saw was an eagle with a bunch of arrows in one claw and some leaves in the other. The arrows had been shot by the Indians and the eagle had caught them. Then Columbus and his people landed, but, being at first unable to open communication with the natives on account of their shyness, they resorted to a stratagem. They set a barrel of whisky ashore, laid a cane by it, and then withdrew. Afterward the Indians found the barrel and got drunk so that the white people were enabled to capture one of them. The rest managed to get away. They took the man they had captured and taught him "English" and through him they gradually became acquainted with the rest. Then they began to make treaties. To illustrate the gradual encroachments of the newcomers and how they dispossessed the Indians the following parable is told. Seventy Indian chiefs sat on a log which had fallen toward the west, and every time the whites came to make a treaty with them they would move up on it a little. They kept hitching up until at last the end man was shoved off. Then he said: 'There it is. I told you that is what you would do with me.' The white people induced them to make a treaty granting them as much ground as could be covered with a cowhide, and afterward they cut the hide into strips and treated them in the way already related. More white people kept coming and trouble arose, so that part had to go back. The remainder, however, promised that they would treat the Indians right as long as the streams ran and the water lasted."

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This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say:

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"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.' "

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

Prophecies Regarding the Fate of the Indians

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse

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9. Okchaiyutci, Koasati, Kan-tcati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga. 619

Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potcas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opillâko in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."[22] In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

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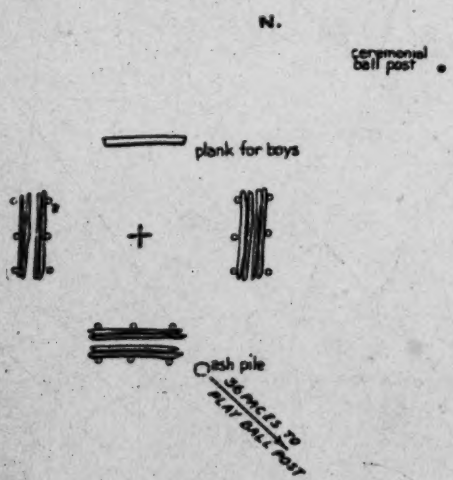

FIG. 60.—Hilibi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

EVOLUTION OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts. 173 642

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 262.

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Muskogee

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Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names

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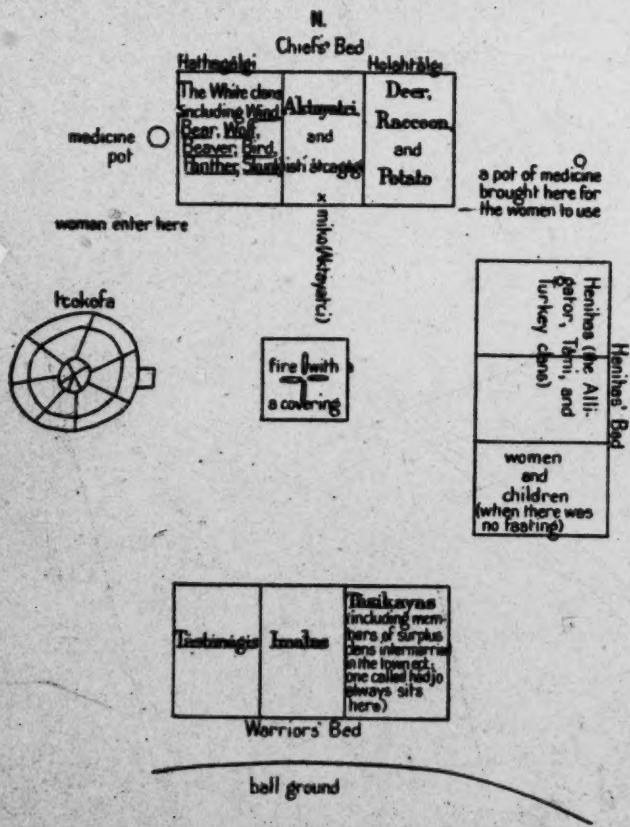

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)

of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe; that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

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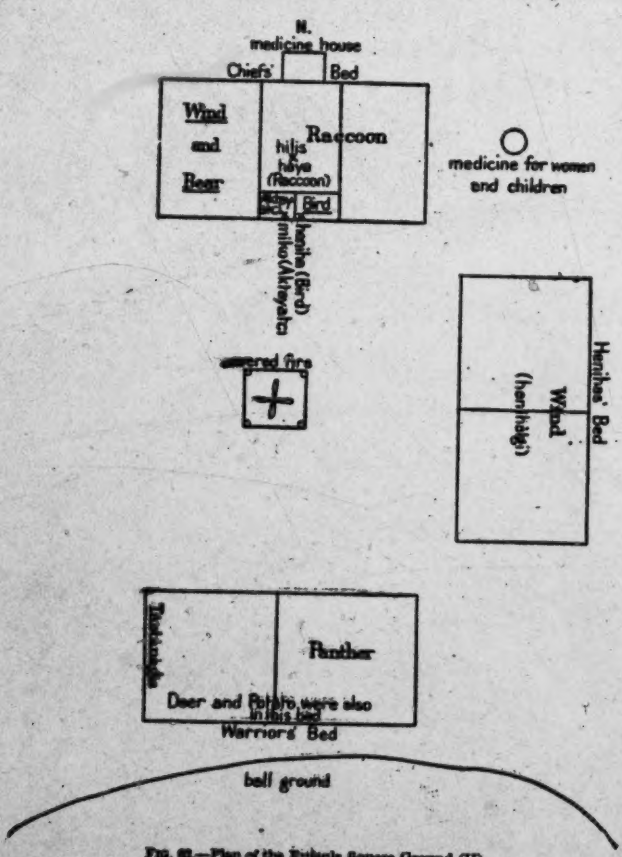

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (II)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Milfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

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no tribe is except the Coosa and its later divisions. If we consider the traditions by themselves, then, we seem to find that one body of Muskogee came from the west and subsequently divided into two parts which came to be known as Kasihta and Coweta, and that they were early associated with another tribe, probably also Muskhogean, the Abihka. The Coosa, on the other hand, came from the west independently, and had no subdivisions until much later. The explanation of the two divisions of towns or "fires" is given in Judge Gregory's story, and there is reason to believe that they did actually originate with the division of the easternmost band of Creeks into Kasihta and Coweta, although the specific account of it is, of course, entirely mythic. This now seems plausible because, in the first place, these two towns are the only pair seemingly sprung from one stem, which are conspicuously set over against each other as leaders of the opposing sides, there being no such pairing of the Upper Creek leading towns. Moreover, Bartram records a traditional belief that the Creek confederacy had originated at the old town of Okmulgee on the river of that name—i. e., among the Lower Creeks. The later Okmulgee town was a Hitchiti settlement, but Muskogee lived along Ocmulgee River at an early date. In De Soto's time the people of Cofitachequi, which we have identified as Kasihta, knew Coosa well, and it is not improbable that the basis of the confederacy had already been laid. It is likely that it was in existence before the Tukabahchee united with the other towns, in spite of the later prominence of the former and in spite of the fact that some Creeks will tell you that the busk fire originated with the Tukabahchee and was by them distributed to the rest.

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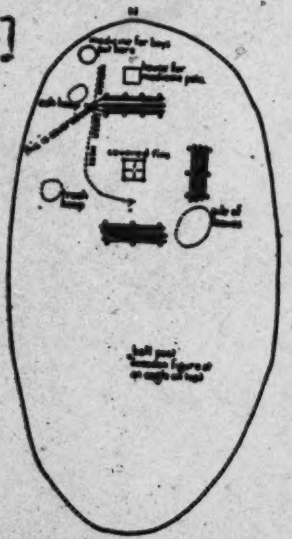

FIG. 68.—Eufaula Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Woodward says it was a matter of dispute among the Creeks whether Kasihta or Tukabahchee was settled first, but it was generally conceded that Kasihta was first settled.[38] Unfortunately we have no record, mythic or otherwise, as to how the friendship between Kasihta, Abihka, and Coosa grew up other than the references in the stories already given, and these do not explain why the friendship was between Abihka, Coosa, and Kasihta, rather than Abihka,

[38] Woodward, Reminiscences, p. 22.

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Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probaby Łiwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Łiwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that

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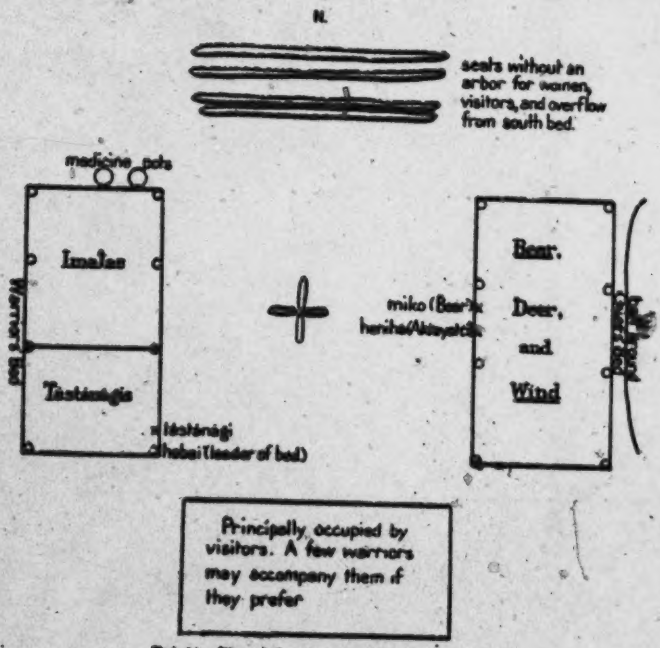

FIG. 64.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I)

the first was already a friend of Coweta, Łiwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.[34] From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hilibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Łikatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee tcaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

[34] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 234-235.

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groups. And with the exception of Tukabáhchee and its associates, which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy

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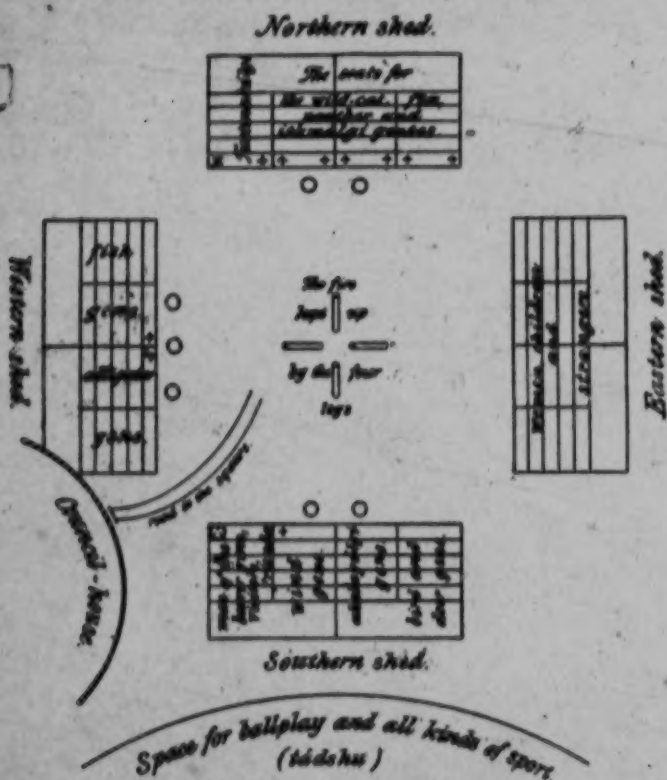

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,[20] was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with

[20] See p. 268.

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whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and

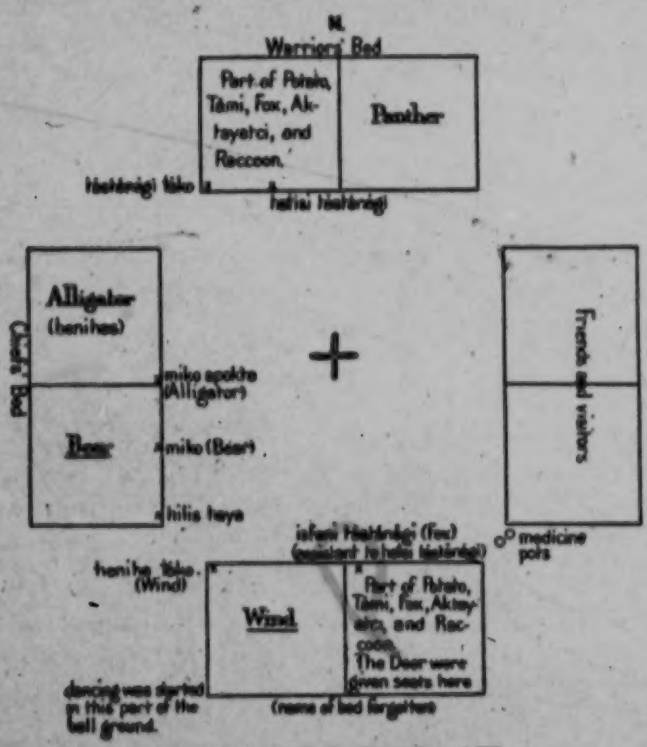

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

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As soon as the old men had delivered them they disappeared, returning to the sky. According to Tál mutcási, the medicine maker of Asilaŕabi and Łálogálga, seven selected men were putting the four logs together to make a foundation, and, as they were making the foundation, "there was a fire built" and it was said of the four main sticks: "They shall be the white path. There shall be peace and harmony." At this time were established the laws by which the people were to be ruled. They were also given the medicine roots and were told "This shall be your medicine. This shall be respected and appreciated as long as time lasts." 79b 173

Still another story is from Sanger Beaver, a Tcatoksofka Indian. He had heard that in ancient times the people were continually fighting, scalping, and killing, were without law, and went about nearly naked, clothed only in the skin breechclout. A certain man among them meditated much on this troublesome way of living. He fasted and thought for a long time, and finally he declared that he had received "the white day" (ni'ta hátki). This had been given to man through him by Ibofánga along with the miko hoyanídja, the pasa, the sawátcka, and the ási, and songs for each medicine. These were, to quote the language of this anonymous person, "for the building up of our future generations, to make grow up the women and the children." Having said this he started the fire of the confederacy by using four sticks of wood, and the other Indian tribes came there and obtained their fires from the one kindled by that old Indian. For this reason the Creeks claimed to be the originators of all of the national fires of the various Indian nations. Beaver added the important information that most of this story is contained in a kind of song that had been handed down from the old Indian that received the "white day." There is, of course, very much more to the story, but he did not know the rest. From such an origin grew the customs and practices of the busk, and it is said that the tribe was instructed that so long as it adhered to the use of these medicines, customs, etc., it would grow strong, but if at any time they became lax in attending to them they would grow weak and perish. The busk and the stomp dances which preceded it were all for the sake of the tribal health.

Many of the Indians claim that the first busk fire was built in the town of Tukabahchee and that all of the other towns derived their fire from that source, but I have shown elsewhere that this is a later explanation. It is admitted, nevertheless, by nearly all of the other Upper Creek towns. By some, all of their laws and regulations are traced to the Ispokogis and presumably the busk fires also. It is also said that when the Shawnee came east into the country of the Creeks they found that the stomp ground and the busk were not quite "right" and they remodeled them. Then they returned to 79b 173.

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796 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may
•173 indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the
642 psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial
621 and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though
619 it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire,
182 its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

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Muskogee

344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
621 marry outside of third cousins.

796 The Kăsihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,

The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

He added:

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609 We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

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614 had once been laid aside. According to one writer the Wind clan could take them up an indefinite number of times; according to another, four times. This privilege is well remembered. A single writer adds that people of the Bear clan were allowed to take the clubs up twice, but I have been able to learn nothing definite upon the subject from the living Indians. Local privileges connected with the busk ceremonial were, of course, enjoyed by other clans.[42]

In other parts of America clan distinctions are indicated by means of face paintings or tattooings. With the Creeks, however, most of the latter seem to have had to do with war honors. I was told that members of the Raccoon clan painted circles about their eyes, but according to others this was done merely by doctors as a sign that they were able to see in the dark. Paintings used to indicate the towns of the persons using them will be considered presently.[43a]

Another source of information regarding the position of clans in the tribe is still to be tapped, but in order to do this we must first set forth a description of the Creek ceremonial or busk ground, the religious and social center of every Creek community of consequence.

DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO THE LAND AND THE TOWN

174 361 614 Both the Creeks and the Texas-Alabama have told me that anciently clans lived apart, and in a Creek story of the origin of corn they are represented as scattered about in a number of different camps. Whether or not the major clans are descended from bodies of people which once lived in separate towns and lacked exogamy the local separation of the clans until very late times is an undeniable fact. I may note here the assertion of one of my oldest and best informants to the effect that in olden times the clans were not exogamous, but that upon one occasion a council was held and it was determined that afterwards they should be considered such. This is interesting as marking the native recognition of such a possibility, not as proving that the change actually took place. The Creek towns in the times [361] when we begin to have knowledge of them consisted of a succession 592 of villages or neighborhoods scattered through the woods and along the streams, and connected by a network of trails. The unit of such 614 a town consisted of a group of houses owned by women of one clan and occupied by themselves, their husbands, and their young children. In practice it worked out something like this. A man, assisted by other members of his family or clan, might build a house in a new situation and clear the usual yard by hoeing up the surface weeds and grass for a considerable space about it. Now, when one of his daughters married her husband, drawn from some other, perhaps distant, locality, would build another house on part of the same

[42] Cf. also Milfort, Mém., p. 258.

[43a] See p. 246.

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344 361 positions in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and the slave-posts."[74]

The use of the mound, while partly no doubt for defense and to add dignity to the structures placed upon it, was very often in order to protect the buildings from spring floods and the general dampness. Some earlier Spanish statements suggest that perhaps even in the sixteenth century not all public buildings were placed upon mounds. Yet by analogy with the Cherokee town house and the lower Mississippi temple we may consider it probable that the arrangement set forth by Bartram was actually a very ancient one. It would seem likely that the building called by Bartram the rotunda was once the most important element and that the public square was merely a summer substitute suggested by a southern climate. Such an evolution of the Creek public buildings would bring them into line with those known to have existed among the Cherokee and the tribes of the Mississippi. A later evolution changed the relative position of the elements here brought together and finally resulted in an almost complete elimination of the mounds. We will continue with Bartram's description of the later square (fig. 3) which remained essentially as he represents it almost to the present day.

[171 174]

FIG. 2.—Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

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"This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky-Yard Public Square, and Rotunda of the *modern* Creek towns.

"*A*, the Public Square or area.

"*B*, the Rotunda; *a*, the door opening towards the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; *c*, the great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house.

"*C*, part of the Chunky-Yard."[75]

[74] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

[75] Ibid., p. 54.

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anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.[1] 173 539

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death." [178

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Łapłáko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis- 173 177 609 648

[1] [Cf. cat 115, p. 74 -- Analyst]

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possessed by these newcomers. Another informant said that the Indians were believed to have come out of the earth, and therefore they own it and are to go back into it. The white people, on the other hand, were created later out of the foam of the sea. They first begged to put one foot on shore to rest themselves a little, and the Indians consented, but afterward the newcomers complained that it was tiresome to stand on but one foot and they asked to be allowed to set the other ashore. This also was granted. Next, the whites wanted to buy from the Indians as much land as could be covered with a hide, and when the Indians agreed they cut the hide into strips and made it surround a large area. In this way the Indians were gradually dispossessed. The Indians were also given a prophecy at that time to the effect that the whites would come and preach to them and the preaching would move westward.

Here we have the famous "cowhide purchase" myth, which dates back as far at least as Virgil, reinjected into Indian thought, apparently from a modern schoolbook. The most remarkable interweaving of schoolbook and other latter-day elements into a kind of Indian neo-philosophy is, however, the following from a decidedly reactionary Creek of Hilibi town:

"When Columbus reached America the first thing he saw was an eagle with a bunch of arrows in one claw and some leaves in the other. The arrows had been shot by the Indians and the eagle had caught them. Then Columbus and his people landed, but, being at first unable to open communication with the natives on account of their shyness, they resorted to a stratagem. They set a barrel of whisky ashore, laid a cane by it, and then withdrew. Afterward the Indians found the barrel and got drunk so that the white people were enabled to capture one of them. The rest managed to get away. They took the man they had captured and taught him "English" and through him they gradually became acquainted with the rest. Then they began to make treaties. To illustrate the gradual encroachments of the newcomers and how they dispossessed the Indians the following parable is told. Seventy Indian chiefs sat on a log which had fallen toward the west, and every time the whites came to make a treaty with them they would move up on it a little. They kept hitching up until at last the end man was shoved off. Then he said: 'There it is. I told you that is what you would do with me.' The white people induced them to make a treaty granting them as much ground as could be covered with a cowhide, and afterward they cut the hide into strips and treated them in the way already related. More white people kept coming and trouble arose, so that part had to go back. The remainder, however, promised that they would treat the Indians right as long as the streams ran and the water lasted."

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This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say:

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"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.' "

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

Prophecies Regarding the Fate of the Indians

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NNI

observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear." 616

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.[55a] 621

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Łapłáko the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group. 616 621 582

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties. 616 621 526

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had 616 621 526 177

[55a] See pp. 111–113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

616 621 526 [177] the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

614 582 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[55] 567 727 597

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177.

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[56] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 211.
[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 42, 212, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 371.

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or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344 361 621

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."[64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."[65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177].

Among the Alabama the yard (tā'ăle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the household. [351 784]

[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-55.
[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 86.

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344 is a cone terminating in a point over the fire some 20 odd feet high. The rafters extend down from the apex of the cone beyond the twelve pillars, which are about 8 ft. high, to within 4 or 5 ft. of the ground, which space, of 4 or 5 ft., is closed entirely with earth. Between the pillars and the extreme exterior, a space of several feet, are seats of mats, like those of the sheds [in the Square]. The manner of constructing the roof is very remarkable for Indian work. Upon the alternate couples of the 12 pillars are first placed horizontal pieces, then upon the ends of these are placed other horizontal pieces between the other couples of pillars, then another series of horizontal pieces resting upon the second set, but drawn within towards the centre of the circle a few inches. Upon these again are other pieces still more drawn in. There are 4 tiers of horizontal pieces thus placed upon each other (fig. 4).

"A, b, c, d, are four of the twelve pillars. Pieces are first laid upon ab and upon cd, then a piece upon these and between bc, etc., etc. These horizontal pieces are strongly bound together by leather thongs of green hide. They are only carried up to the number of 4 sufficient for giving a direction and a foundation for the rafters, which are laid upon these, extending up to a point in one direction and in the other direction over [the] outside nearly to the ground. The rafters are strongly bound by thongs and covered with ordinary rived boards for shingles. There is but one small entrance to the House which is next towards the angle of the square adjacent to which the Round House stands." [a]

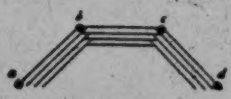

FIG. 4.—Structure of the roof of a Creek tookofa. (After Hitchcock)

[624] He adds that certain persons were appointed to preserve the buildings and that they were obliged to take the black drink every morning.

•177 344 These descriptions, particularly that of Hawkins, agree with those I have myself obtained from old men who remember some of the hot houses that were built in Oklahoma. One had even heard that these buildings were anciently on mounds. In later times, however, the construction became much simpler. Some were made by resting poles on one end on an earthen wall and drawing the upper ends together at the center, the whole being covered with long boards. It is to be added that, although the seats ran all the way around this building on the inside, it was divided into separate "beds," maintaining the same general position as those in the "big house" out of doors. It was, as nearly as could be managed, an indoors version of the latter. During the Civil War most of these houses disappeared, and only one seems to have been built after that time, in this case by the people of Pakan tallahassee. One of the men who had participated

[a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. The overlapping of the horizontal pieces in the sketch is crudely indicated, suggesting an outward rather than an inward flare.

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in the erection of this particular structure told me that the boards were made, and the materials brought to the spot, set up and fastened together—with grapevines instead of nails—all in 10 days. This hot house was used by the Laksafâski,[83] who are the tástânágálgi—in this town equivalent to the Deer clan. It was afterwards burned to the ground and has never been replaced, though the foundation, including the location of the large center post and the circular outline, was traceable when I visited the Pakan tallahassee busk ground in 1912. At Tukabahchee its place is still theoretically marked, and a fire made for it annually, in a circular area about 50 feet in diameter northwest of the square ground.[83a]

177 344

The outdoors council ground or "big house," as it is known to the Creeks, has also suffered degeneration, though not to such a marked degree as the tcokofa. The best early descriptions are by Bartram, Swan, and Hawkins, and they are confirmed by allusions on the part of Adair and other writers. Hawkins says:

344

"Choo-co-thluc-co, (big house), the town house or public square, consists of four square buildings of one story, facing each other, forty by sixteen feet, eight feet pitch; the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame, supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed, up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise, into two seats; the front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed-mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot, and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats they lie or sit at pleasure." [84]

Swan's description is yet longer:

"The public squares, placed near the centre of each town, are formed by four buildings of equal size, facing inwards, and enclosing an area of about thirty feet on each side. These houses are made of the same materials as their dwelling-houses, but differ by having the front which faces the square left entirely open, and the walls of the back sides have an open space of two feet or more next to the eaves, to admit a circulation of air. Each of these houses is partitioned into three apartments, making twelve in all, which are called the cabins; the partitions which separate these cabins are made of clay, and only as high as a man's shoulders, when sitting. Each cabin has three seats, or rather platforms, being broad enough to sleep upon. The first is raised about two feet from the ground, the second is eight inches higher, and the third, or back seat, as much above the second. The whole of the seats are joined together by a covering of cane-mats, as large as carpets. It is a rule, to have a new covering to the seats every year, previous to the ceremony of the busk; therefore, as the

344 352

[83] Said by some to be a nickname for the Tellokogálgi; see p. 157.

[83a] Some further notes on the tcokofa will be found on p. 50.

[84] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 68-69.

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344 a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, so have all the Indian
778 nations; particularly, the Muskohge. It is partitioned off by a mud-wall about breast-high, behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red-painted war-seat; there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular damage to themselves, and general hurt to the people, from the supposed divinity of the place."[84] Later most of the objects which had been preserved here were put up under the roof as was the case in the square described by Hawkins. In old Okchai they were up under the roof at the north end of the west cabin, where the Wind clan sat.
[177 In recent years, perhaps to protect them from desecration by the whites, they have in some towns built a small house about 4 feet
346] each way in which the pots used at that time are stored. There is one at Eufaula just back of the chief's bed, one at Alabama southeast of the square, and one at Chiaha Seminole in the same relative position. Tukabahchee, where the busk vessels and appurtenances are kept in a small inclosed space just back of the center of the chief's bed, is the only town to preserve a relic of the more ancient custom.

344 In olden times there was in front of each front post in every bed a stick tapering to a point at the top, leaning outward, and provided on the outer side with two notches. The butt ends of the wands on which the feathers were tied used in the tcitahaia dance were stuck into the ground at these same points. The sticks were called atàsà, like the smaller ones carried by the leaders of the women in the women's dance and the small ones given to youths when they were named, and in all cases they evidently refer to the old-fashioned war club (atàsà or atàsu). This description applies particularly to Tukabahchee. Other towns are said to have had sticks in the shape of axes instead of war clubs. Besides these sticks I am told that on the front of each post on the right-hand side of the center of each bed as you face the bed notches were cut called (i)nà'tàsà ha'ki, "made like the atàsà," and only men of great importance who could call councils sat next to these posts.

Jackson Lewis agreed with Hawkins in stating that in the old days when cane seats were employed there were generally only two tiers, but it is evident that the practice was different in different towns. Aside from the plan given by Swan the only attempt to represent any part of the square graphically was by a French artist who sketched what is probably the west bed of the Alabama ground in the early part of the eighteenth century. (Fig. 5.) This differs from all other illustrations and descriptions in showing four sections instead of three.

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[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 89.

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From these descriptions it appears that the buildings of the square were anciently constructed somewhat after the fashion of a native house with a long porch. In Oklahoma they degenerated rapidly, especially after the Civil War. While I have seen one square in which the cabins were provided with a shingle roof, they are almost universally simple brush arbors. In those which retain the original idea most fully there are eight posts marking out the three ancient subdivisions, but in many grounds these have become reduced to six and in still others to four. Often, however, the tripartite division is theoretically maintained. The posts are forked at the top and bear a brush roof that is renewed every year at the time of the busk. The seats are usually of logs split in halves, laid with the flat surface uppermost. Two or three rows from front to back are made of these, but as a matter of fact many Indians, especially the principal

344 [177]

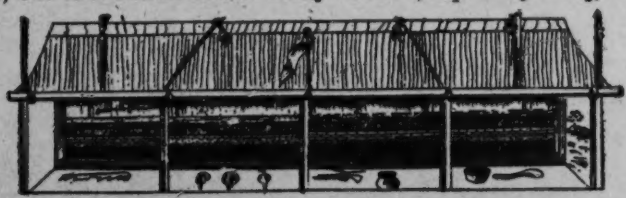

FIG. 5.—One of the beds in the Alabama Square Ground as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century. From a contemporary sketch. Medicine pots and spoons to right, on ground; gourd rattles to left; flag over the center pole; notched pole or stake at either end and another pair some distance in from either end; a pole carrying a scalp at the top of each intermediate post; two full-length cane seats below. Near the left end, under the front of roof, are written the words "Caban de Conseille." (From an article entitled "Documents concernant l'Histoire des Indiens," by the Baron Marc de Villiers, in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s. vol. xiv, 1922, p. 136.)

men, now use wooden chairs brought from their camps. The well-nigh universal statement, on the part of earlier white writers and the modern Indians, is to the effect that the cabins, arbors, or "beds," as the Creeks themselves call them, should be laid out toward the four cardinal points, and this holds for almost all of the modern squares. Jackson Lewis said that they used the north star as a guide in placing them. On the other hand the great square of Tukabahchee is somewhat askew, and one of my interpreters, who had formerly been the miko of that town, asserted that it was intended that the entrances should lie toward the cardinal points. This is confirmed by Hitchcock.[56a] Whether this was an established custom of some or all of the Creek towns it would now be impossible to say, but I am of the opinion that it was never universal. A change has also come about in the number of arbors. Anciently there appear to have been four without exception. At least there is no early mention of a smaller number among the Creeks proper.[56]

344 823 177 344

[56a] See p. 186.

[56] For the Seminole, however, see Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 36.

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With a falling off in population, however, and the conversion of many Indians to Christianity, it was found unnecessary to put up so many, and also too laborious for the workers available. Where four were preserved one or more came to be assigned to the women and children, although anciently they did not have seats on the square ground. We therefore find in many towns only three arbors, and in a few, like Alabama, only two. The ones dropped off were those which had been occupied by the boys, the visitors, and the less important officials. Liwahali Seminole presents an extreme stage in the decline of the busk, each arbor being represented by only a single split log entirely uncovered (pl. 5, *c*). The last relic of the public ground to survive, however, was the chunkey yard, which we have yet to consider.

344

Not so much attention is paid to this chunkey yard by our early authorities, Hawkins practically disregarding it, while Swan merely refers to "a May-pole, with a large circular beaten yard around it, at the southwest corner, which is called the chunkey yard."[96] Bartram gives the fullest description of the ground to be found among older writers. Following is his account in full:

"The *Chunky-Yard* of the Creeks, so called by the traders, is a cubiform area, generally in the centre of the town, because the Public Square and the Rotunda, or great winter Council-house, stand at the two opposite corners of it. It is generally very extensive, especially in the large old towns,[97] is exactly level, and sunk two, sometimes three, feet below the banks or terraces surrounding it, which are sometimes two, one above and behind the other, and are formed of earth cast out of the area at the time of its formation; these banks or terraces serve the purposes of seats for the spectators. In the centre of the yard there is a low circular mount or eminence, in the centre of which stands erect the *chunky-pole*, which is a high obelisk, or four square pillars declining upwards to an obtuse point, in shape and proportion much resembling the Egyptian obelisk. This is of wood, the heart or inward resinous part of the sound pine-tree, and is very durable; it is generally from thirty to forty feet high, and to the top of this is fastened some object to shoot at with bows and arrows, the rifle, etc., at certain times appointed. Near each corner of the lower and further end of the yard stands erect a less pillar or pole, about twelve feet high: these are called the *slave-posts*, because to them are bound the captives condemned to be burnt, and these posts are usually decorated with the scalps of their slain enemies; the scalps with the hair on them, and strained on a little hoop, usually five or six inches in

[96] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 265.

[97] "The chunky yards are of different sizes, according to the largeness and fame of the town they belong to; some are 200 or 300 yards in length, and of proportionable breadth."—Bartram.

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344 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have
346 been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, a and b.)

0177 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks
171 have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those
344 above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

344 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa),
558 usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The
621 names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tàstánágálgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibánágálgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihálgi intupa) and was known

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 362.

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Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

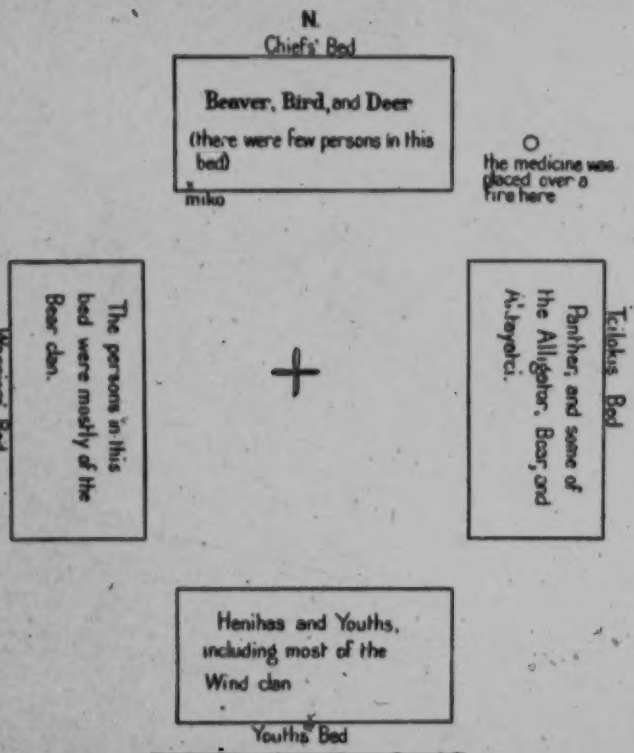

FIG. 33.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (1)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 38. [13a] See pp. 196-197.

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Muskogee

621 619 •177 [609] one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[14] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable

[344]

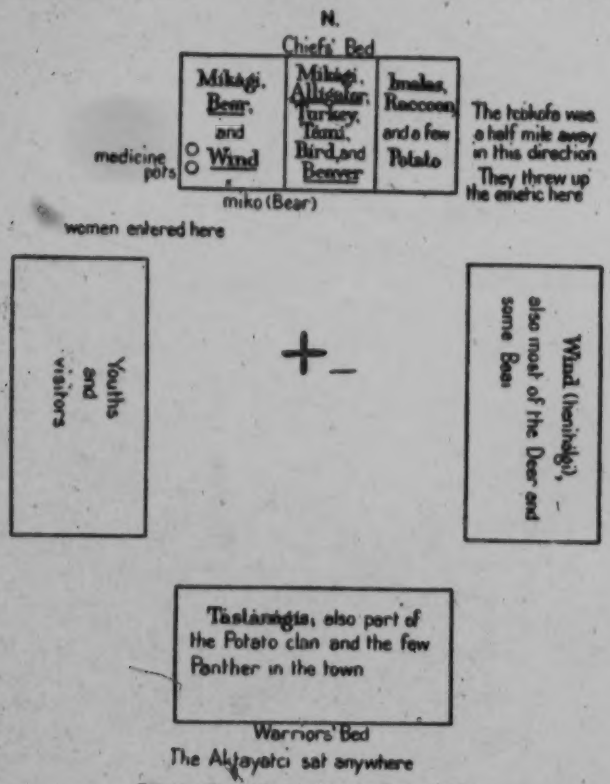

FIG. 81.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

621 619 Jackson Lewis used the name Tâlwa mikâgi for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 299.

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Muskogee

619
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At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opilłáko, and Łálogálga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

[347
621]

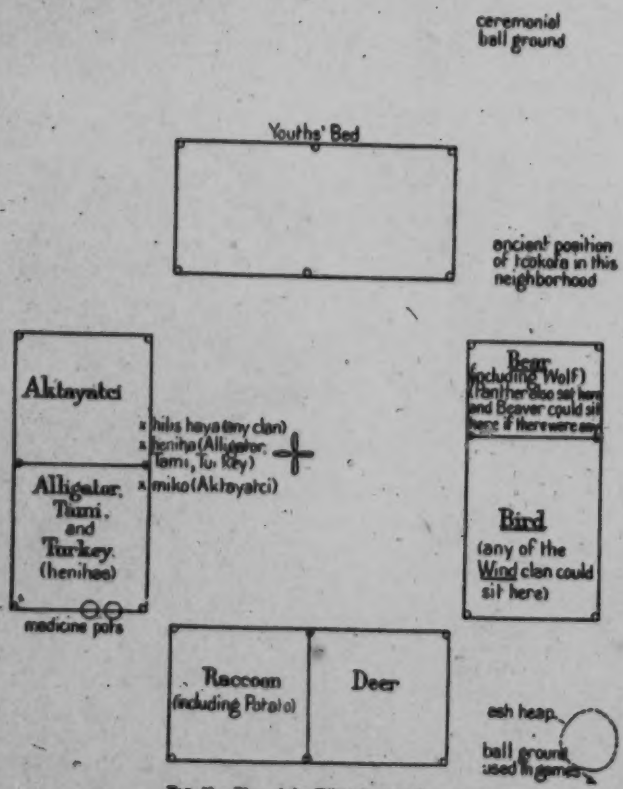

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Holiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

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619 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta.
631 Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoüita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqui. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another."[54]

619 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the
631 early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugurated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the
642 Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably
648 disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials
•177 strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1765, Ms.

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619 town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little
631 Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was
642 referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the
648 state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that
•177 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

423 A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the
642 volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by
648 Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in consequence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand,
539 the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 573. [56] Ibid., p. 788.

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537 a very pathetic, elaborate, allegorical, tragic oration, in the high praise, and for the great loss, of their great, judicious war-chieftain, *Shu-las-hum-máh-tà-be*, our daring, brave friend, *red shoes*. The orator compared him to the sun, that enlightens and enlivens the whole system of created beings: and having carried the metaphor to a considerable length, he expiated on the variety of evils, that necessarily result from the disappearance and absence of the sun; and, with a great deal of judgment, and propriety of expression, he concluded his oration with the same trope, with which he began."[64]

642 Stiggins tells us that the confederate council was in reality without power. He says:

"The form of Government under which they live is a tyrannical oligarchy in its principles and practiced under that head to the full extent. At a slight view the most of people suppose and say that it is a democracy on republican principles but it is far different, for all public business whether of a national or private character is done by the chiefs. Though the nation is summoned in what is termed their grand council, when the state of the nation is supposed to be examined into, and their oral laws made, the assembly say not a word in the matter. For while in their sittings the assembled body of the nation sit as mutes, without being consulted in any manner until a few chiefs in their council house make the laws for their government without condescending to ask an opinion or approbation in any case, the national body being merely convened to hear what is done, for after a law is digested by the chiefs the national convention is informed of its tendency by the orator of the nation in a very exact and precise manner, who moreover informs them of all that has been transacted, which new law when they are made acquainted with its tendency, let it be as it may, they are the most obedient subjects under the sun to the penalties of it, be it oppressive or not. Should they infringe the law they will suffer beating, confiscation of their property or even death without a murmur or family resentment. Moreover, should an Indian be obstreperous in contending for his right of property or otherwise or obtrude on the right or even interests of a chief, the chiefs can so far tyrannize after a consultation as to have him beaten or slain, as a common disturber of the peace, without any other imputation of guilt than a law breaker as they term it.

642 "In former days in the time of their self importance and undisturbed government, before an agent was located in the nation by the
648 U. S. to improve their morals and reform their customs, their ordained chiefs were more rude, active, and despotic and more frequent
177 in their mandates of tyranny, and not near so uniform and circumspect in their deportment as now toward the common men. In later years the principal chiefs or great men of the nation have been

[64] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 11.

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increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."[65]

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In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikâgi Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[66]

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Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."[67]

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says:

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"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

[65] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 12-13.
[66] Ibid., p. 14.
[67] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 576.

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chiefs, and their legislature or council of about forty minor chiefs or captains, who are also, *ex officio*, justices of the peace." [69]

The economic causes operating to increase the number of chiefs, to which reference was made above, are indicated in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of September 15, 1851, by Philip H. Raiford, agent of the Creek Indians. He says:

"The rude and irresponsible form of government by chiefs still prevails among them. The chiefs all receive salaries in proportion to their grade and rank, or, in other words, a larger share of the common fund of the tribe than the great mass of the Indians. The result of this system has been a great increase in the number of chiefs, until they now amount to about eight hundred, or one to every twenty-five souls; and, as the moneys due from the Government to the tribe are now paid to the chiefs, and they have it in their power to fix their own salaries, a large portion of the funds of the nation is divided out among themselves, and but little left for the great mass. Great wrong and injustice are thus done to the common Indians; and, as they are beginning to perceive and become dissatisfied with the system, and the evil continues to increase by the increase of chiefs, the result before long will inevitably be serious—internal dissentions and difficulties, if not strife and bloodshed, between the chiefs and their partisans on the one hand, and the common Indians on the other, unless the Government interposes some remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs." [70]

The word "chief" as employed by Mr. Raiford evidently does not refer merely to the class of mikàgi. Apparently it included the principal mikos, the isti àtcagàgi, and the leading henihas and tàstànàgis. We are not to suppose that the great increase in the number of chiefs of which this agent speaks was due to a desire on the part of the chiefs to share their privileges; it was rather for the purpose of securing those privileges by taking into partnership all who might have been powerful enough to endanger them. Another Indian agent, James Logan, writing some years before, in 1845, speaks of the abuse as follows:

"The annuity, amounting to [$]34,500, is paid to the principal chiefs of both [Upper and Lower Creeks], and equally divided between them, and by them distributed. . .[71] The chiefs appropriate the whole of this large amount to the pay of themselves and their subordinates. This mode of distributing it is much complained of by the intelligent portion of the community, who are now far from being inconsiderable, and the right thus arrogated by the chiefs of doing what they please with the annuity much questioned. But they are vested with so much power, and have inspired so much awe and fear

[69] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.
[70] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851, p. 122.
[71] The writer refers here to an unpublished document for confirmation.

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642 in the minds of the people generally, that they are restrained from making a public expression upon the subject. Indeed, I question very much whether there could be found many who would, before them, say that they objected to their acts in any particular. This I have sought for in regard to the annuity, and have failed to accomplish, owing to the preponderance of the chiefs and law makers, etc., and to the cause above stated."[72]

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The abuse became so great that payments were finally made directly to the heads of families and the old privileges of the chiefs abolished. They suffered the same fate that betook the ringleaders in a certain conspiracy formed not long ago by some of the members and employees of a large corporation. In order to keep what was going on quiet, it was necessary to let more and more into the ring, which finally became so large that the secret leaked. The oligarchic character of the Creek federal government as revealed by Stiggins and these Indian agents clashes rather oddly with what Adair says of its democratic character, but evidently the government of the confederacy was farther removed from the masses of the people than the government of the towns, and with the disappearance of war positions came to be held less on account of merit and more because of family connection and personal "pull." In the erection of a federal government over and above the former tribal governments the mass of the people had not succeeded in holding firmly to the reins of power; still such great abuses would probably not have arisen had it not been for the decline of the merit element in promotions and the cupidity excited by United States Government annuities.

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The most complete account of the general council as it existed after the removal to Oklahoma was furnished Schoolcraft by Mr. D. W. Eakins, whom Schoolcraft describes as "for some time a resident of the Territory now occupied by them west of the State of Arkansas." These facts were "communicated in reply to printed inquiries issued in 1847, respecting the History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

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The answers covering this subject may very well be run together.

"The general council of the Creek Indians consists of a representation from the whole tribe, as divided into towns. This council, composed of the chiefs, is vested with *plenary* power, to act for the whole tribe. Their *verbal summons* or decisions, have all the force of a written document; these decisions are announced in general council; and also recorded by the clerk. Their authority, (as among the principal chiefs,) is often assumed. Their authority is delegated to them, (in many cases,) by virtue of their standing and influence. They are at all times open to popular opinion, and are the mere

[72] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 514-517.

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"Decisions made by the chiefs in council are carried into effect implicitly. In cases of capital punishment, the executioner is selected from a body of men called 'the Light Horse.' He uses neither tomahawk, club, nor arrow. The gun is generally selected as the instrument of execution. If the culprit has no choice of place for execution, the executioner may appoint the place, which is generally selected with reference to a convenience for burial. In case of the restoration of property, a messenger is sent to the parties. There is, however, no regularity on this subject.

"In case of a vacancy by death or otherwise, the office is filled by the selection of the General Council. Sometimes the vacancy is filled by the town to which the chief belonged, and then brought before the General Council for sanction. In case of a vacancy among the leading chiefs, the vacancy is filled by the General Council. The chiefs may be deposed from office for gross outrage." [72]

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Logan, the agent quoted above, furnishes the following additional information about the Creek government of his time:

"Each party [i. e., both the Upper and Lower Creeks] has its own head chief, etc. Roly McIntosh, the chief of the Lower Towns, is also vested with the dignity of head chief of the nation, and he presides as such in the general council of the nation, which generally convenes once a year, but at no particular period. Its deliberations are confined to subjects exclusively national, and which affect both parties in common. Those subjects having reference to their own party concerns meet the action of their own councils, which are held separate and distinct, and in which neither interferes with the other. They are conducted precisely similar, and are composed of the chiefs and law-makers of the different towns (or more properly clans) adhering to each party. These chiefs are generally selected from the older citizens. In point of intelligence, they cannot compare with private individuals, who generally do not desire such dignities. Generally speaking they are extremely ignorant, are noted for their superstitious bigotry, for their old customs and ceremonies, and most bitter prejudices against all measures calculated to reform the condition or enlighten the minds of their people. There are, however, a few honorable exceptions, but they are far in the minority, and their councils have but little weight. They are opposed to [the Christian] religion and education, more particularly the former, conceiving very justly that it has a tendency to lessen their authority, and to abolish their old rites and ceremonies, of which they are particularly tenacious. They have gone so far this year as to exact a fine of from two dollars to three and a half dollars a head upon all non-attendants at their 'busks,' green corn dances, etc., or who do not drink the physic, a most nauseous compound of poisonous weeds. Their authority is often exerted arbitrarily, and their laws are unjust and unnecessarily severe. It is a standing law of the nation, 'if any

[72] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, pp. 275-277.

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person preach or hold religious meetings, whether white or red, he shall for the first offence receive fifty lashes on his bare back, and for the second offence one hundred lashes.' To maintain their authority, they support, out of the annuity, an immense number of subordinates, known as law-makers, light horse, etc. The people stand in much awe of them, and blindly pay them the obedience they exact; they have no voice in their appointment nor in their acts: when a vacancy occurs, the place is filled not by an election, but by the nomination made by some noted chief." [74]

Logan is decidedly too severe in his criticisms of the conservative party who were in the nature of things bound to be opposed to the spirit of innovation of which he was a part. While the nature and amount of the fines exacted from those who absented themselves from the busk were no doubt determined at the council of which he speaks, the principle was by no means new.

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The practical effect of the Confederate government on the bulk of the people was probably about as indicated in the following lines intended to apply to southern confederacies generally:

"Every town is independent of another. Their own friendly compact continues the union. An obstinate war leader will sometimes commit acts of hostility, or make peace for his own town, contrary to the good liking of the rest of the nation. But a few individuals are very cautious of commencing war on small occasions, without the general consent of the head men: for should it prove unsuccessful, the greater part would be apt to punish them as enemies, because they abused their power, which they had only to do good to the society.[75]

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Councils in which all of the towns, or as many of them as chose to do so, took part were certainly held at a period as early as an organization existed that could be called a Creek confederacy, but they seem to have been at irregular intervals and at no determined place. And as we have seen, the Lower Creeks and the Upper Creeks each had an independent council. It is likely that, if we could examine some of these old councils we should find a certain regular method of seating the different chiefs, and a certain procedure, but only the above scraps of information regarding them have come down to us. In Adair's time we learn that the French at Fort Toulouse in the forks of the Alabama River endeavored to foment civil war among the Muskogee especially through the hold they had on the small tribes other than Muskogee about their fort, but the Creek chiefs in council compelled them to desist.[76] In the Georgia colonial documents we read of a number of councils. One of these was represented by nine towns, of which two belonged to the Lower Creeks and seven to the Upper Creeks. Another was attended by 21 towns, of which 6 were Lower towns and the balance Upper. At a council of Lower

[74] James Logan in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 515-516.
[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 428.
[76] Ibid., pp. 258-262.

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Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [79]

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It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łáłogálga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

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It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

[79] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

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others, such as the Utina, Potano, and Apalachee of Florida, and the Chiaha, Tali, Mobile, and many more farther north. It is even uncertain whether at that date any sort of confederacy existed. As time went on, however, the Florida tribes were destroyed or scattered, and the same fate overtook the Yamasee, the Indians of the Georgia coast, and the smaller tribes in the neighborhood of South Carolina. This served to increase the power of the Creeks proper, both by weakening that of their neighbors and by causing many fugitive tribes to unite with them and add to their fighting force. Leaving out of consideration the Hitchiti, Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, who were incorporated almost before the dawn of clear history, we have very exact information of the incorporation of the Yuchi, which had formerly been an independent and hostile tribe, of part of the Shawnee, and of the remnant of the Natchez. This system of adoption resulted in the strengthening of the confederacy about in proportion to the weakening of its neighbors, until finally but one tribe remained, the Choctaw, able to contend with it on anything like equal terms. This latter, it is to be noted, owed its strength not so much to incorporation of fugitive elements as to a location where it was for a long time protected against European encroachment, intensive cultivation of the soil, and an unwarlike disposition—all contributing to a steadily mounting population. The Choctaw government was very feebly centralized for the same reason until very late times when it was much strengthened as a result of constant attacks on the part of Chickasaw and Creek enemies. The Creeks, on the other hand, had adopted their federal union very early, probably in part as the result of pressure from without, and as this pressure was increased by the approach of white settlements the sense of danger tended to accelerate the centralization. It thus happened that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century conditions were ripe for the evolution of a still more closely knit state, and merely awaited the advent of the man who could bring it about. And such a man appeared.

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A critical life of Alexander McGillivray would be a distinct contribution to southern history, but it is not germane to our purpose. Doubtless much that has been written regarding him is inaccurate and I do not vouch for all the facts given in the following account by Swan, but of the revolution he accomplished in Creek government there can be no doubt. Swan says that his title was Steutsa'cco-Cho'ota' which is evidently a very bad attempt at isti àtcagàgi làko, "great honored or beloved man."[80] He goes on:

"The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks,

[80] His Indian name, however, is given by Pope as "Hippo ilk Meco, or the good Child King." In correct Creek this would be Hobol-hili mico, but there is reason to think that McGillivray did not belong to a clan which would entitle him to be called mico.

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where he was born, by the advice of his father immediately set about placing himself at the head of the nation. His kindred and family connexion in the country, and his evident abilities, soon gave him such influence among them that the British made him their commissary, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, under Colonel Brown, then superintendent.

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"After the English had abandoned the nation, in 1782, this beloved man found it necessary, in order to carry on the war with success against the Georgians, to undertake a reform in the policy of the nation, which had for a long time been divided by faction.

"He effected a total revolution in one of their most ancient customs, by placing the warriors in all cases over the micos or kings, who, though not active as warriors, were always considered as important counsellors. The micos resisted this measure for some time; and the struggle became at last so serious, that the beloved chief had one Sullivan and two others, partizans of the micos, put to death in the public squares. They were all three white men who had undertaken to lead the faction against him; but he finally crushed the insurgents, and effected his purposes.

"The spirit of opposition still remained against him in the old Tallassie king, Opilth Mico, who, with his clan, pronounced M'Gillivray a boy and an usurper, taking steps that must be derogatory to his family and consequence. And under these circumstances he undertook to treat separately with the Georgians. The consequences were, his houses were burnt in his absence, and his corn and cattle destroyed. Notwithstanding, he remained refractory for a long time, as well as some of the most important of the lower towns, until, finding the Georgians aimed at them indiscriminately, and a Mr. Alexander had killed twelve of their real friends (the Cussutahs), they dropped their internal disputes, and united all their efforts, under the great chief, against the frontiers."[81]

Swan adds some interesting particulars regarding the means resorted to by McGillivray to secure his authority. He kept the several towns in obedience by threatening to remove the white traders from among them. He encouraged the presentation of complaints by all parties but put off judgment so long that the parties usually settled the matter between themselves, thereby relieving him of the necessity of delivering a verdict unfavorable to one of them and attracting personal enmity in consequence. Another device, as old as tyranny, was to collect about himself a body of retainers. Swan says:

"Some young men of his relations, and several active warriors living about Little Tallassie, whom the chief keeps continually attached to him by frequent and profuse presents, serve him as a

[81] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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kind of watch, and often in the capacity of constables—pursue, take up, and punish, such characters as he may direct; and on some occasions have acted as executioners.

"It is a maxim of his policy to give protection to outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country, who have fled in great numbers from the hands of justice, and found an asylum in the Creek nation. The whites living among the Indians (with very few exceptions), are the most abandoned wretches that can be found, perhaps, on this side of Botany Bay; there is scarcely a crime but some of them has been guilty of. Most of the traders and all their hirelings and pack-horse-men, are of the above description."[82]

McGillivray's father, Lachlan McGillivray, was a Scotchman loyal to the crown, and from him and his sojourn among the whites Alexander had gained sufficient astuteness to know how to deal with the colonists, along with a prejudice against their cause. His government, it will be seen, resembled rather a Greek tyranny than the military democracy to which Swan likens it. It must be added, however, that McGillivray's power was due rather to his shrewdness and his understanding of the Indian mind than to the exercise of autocratic authority, though, as we have seen, he could use the iron glove on occasion. McGillivray belonged to the Wind clan,[83] and although this clan held an exalted position in the tribe, none of the officials of Otciapofa, his proper town and that which he made his capital, were Wind people. This explains in part his adoption of the term "great beloved man," one which could be held by a member of any clan. The government as I have described it also explains the appellation of "grand chief" which Milfort applies to McGillivray.[84] Milfort was probably one of those outsiders whom McGillivray gathered about him. That he was made a tástanâgi is probable, but, as has been stated above, the name did not carry the significance which Milfort attaches to it of "head war chief" of the nation.

Milfort and Pope both confirm Swan's statement regarding the internal revolution effected by McGillivray, except that where the former says "nation" we must substitute "town," or "towns." His words are:

"The Tastanégy or grand war chief formerly had no part in the internal administration, his authority lasted only as long as the war: but now, he is the first civil as well as the first military chief of the nation."[85]

Says Pope:

"M'Gillivray who is perpetual dictator, in Time of War subdelegates a Number of Chieftains for the Direction of all military

[82] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.
[83] Milfort, Mém., p. 326; Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 266.
[84] Ibid., pp. 40-41 et seq.
[85] Milfort, op. cit., p. 267.

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Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings." [66]

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It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (tástánągi łáko) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,[67] both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

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A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

[66] Pope, Tour, p. 68.

[67] In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. II, p. 780) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallance Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.

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"2d. Ki-a-li-jee and Eu-fau-lau. For these two towns, they appointed E-maut-lau Hut-ke.

"3d. Hill-au-bee, Woc-co-coie and Pochusehatche. For these three towns they appointed Cussetuh Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Hill-au-bee, and Thle-chum-me Tustunnigge ["Łidjámi Tástánągi], of Woc-cocoie.

"4th. Au-bee-coo-che, Nau-che, Coosau and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. For these four towns, they appointed Olohtau Haujo [Holahta hadjo].

"5th. Ho-ith-le-wau-le, Ecunhutke, Sauvanogee, Mook-lau-sau and Took-au-bat-che. For these five towns, they appointed O-poie E-maut-lau [Hobayi Imała], of Ho-ith-le-waule. . . .

"6th. Oc-fus-kee and its villages, Sooc-he-ah, New-yau-cau, Immook-fau, Took-au-bat-che Tal-lau-has-see, Took-to-cau-gee, Au-che-nau-ulgau, Oc-fus-coo-che, and E-pe-sau-gee. For this town and its villages, they appointed Hopoie Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Oc-fus-kee, and Tal-lo-wau-thlucco Tus-tun-nug-gee.

"7th. O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-kee-gee. For these two towns, they appointed Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie.

"8th. Tal-e-see, Aut-tos-see, Foose-hat-che and Coo-loo-me. For these four towns, they appointed Foose-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Tal-e-see, and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Foose-hat-che.

"9th. Hook-choie-oo-che, Coo-sau-dee, E-cun-cha-te, Too-wos-sau, Pau-woc-te and At-tau-gee. For these towns and villages, they appointed Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc, of Hook-choie-oo-che." [88]

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To what extent this plan of government was put in force seems uncertain, but the primacy of Coweta and Tukabahchee continued, as is shown by numerous statements in the documents of the first half of the nineteenth century. We learn that in 1814 the "Little Prince" was head chief of the entire nation—though one writer refers to him as "the chief speaker." He belonged to Łikatcka, which, as we have seen, was a branch of Coweta. At the same time we are told that Tástánągi łáko, the "Big Warrior," a Tukabahchee, was "speaker for the Upper Creeks," Tástánągi hopai speaker for the Lower Creeks, and William McIntosh head chief of Coweta.[89] From what Hodgson says it is evident that in 1820 the Little Prince and the Big Warrior occupied the same positions, although they are both called "Chief Speakers of the Nation" as if their authority were coordinate. Hodgson adds, "The most popular and influential person, however, in the Nation, is Mackintosh, the Head Warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age; who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country." [90]

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[88] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

[89] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, pp. 571, 573.

[90] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267. In one place (Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571) McIntosh is called "Speaker of the Nation."

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642 of the Tukabahchee group. This statement remains unsubstantiated. The same man also stated that the Lower Creeks had two chiefs, "one governing on each side of any stream," but this would seem to refer to the chiefs of the Kasihta and Coweta, the lands of which were separated by the Chattahoochee River.

Writing in 1839, when the removal to the west was not completed, Farnham says:

"The civil government of this tribe is less perfect than that of the Cherokees. There are two bands; the one under McIntosh, and the other under Little Doctor. That led by the former, brought with them from their old home written laws which they enforce as the laws of their band. That under the latter, made written laws after their arrival. Each party holds a general council. The members of each are hereditary chiefs, and a class of men called councillors. Each of these great bands is divided into lesser ones; which severally may hold courts, try civil and criminal causes, sentence, and execute, &c. Laws, however, are made by the general councils only; and it is becoming customary to entertain trials of cases before these bodies, and to detail some of their members for executioners. The legislative, judicial, and executive departments of their government are thus becoming strangely united in one."[94a]

Eakins says "every hundred persons has a right to elect a chief, who represents them in general council."[95]

642 From the time of their emigration until after the Civil War the
643 Lower and Upper Creeks remained aloof from each other. Roly McIntosh,[96] first chief of the former division in the west, was succeeded by Moty Kennard, and when the latter died his second chief, Yakinha miko, took his place. Tukabahchee miko, often spoken of as chief of the Upper Creeks, was in reality their principal medicine maker. His fields were cared for by the people of Tukabahchee and he was allowed a salary of $500 from the Creek treasury. In 1842–43 the Upper Creek chief was Tamali miko.[96a] When the Creek constitution was adopted Itco hadjo miko occupied the position.

642 As is well known the Creeks split into two factions on the outbreak
•177 of the Civil War and became pretty thoroughly demoralized. After it was ended a great council was held near Okmulgee, a constitution was adopted and a new government set up, modeled to some extent on that of the United States. There were two deliberative and legislative bodies called the House of Kings and the House of Warriors chosen from the different districts and two head chiefs, a first and a second, elected every four years by the entire nation. He who received the highest number of votes was made first chief and he

[94a] Farnham's Travels, in Early Western Travels, vol. XXVIII, pp. 129-130.

[95] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 278.

[96] It appears from a writer in Schoolcraft (Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 267) that the second chief of the Lower Creeks under McIntosh was Benjamin Marshall.

[96a] See pp. 215-216; Stanley in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., no. 53, p. 13.

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who received the next highest second chief, no matter whether the two so chosen had run upon the same ticket or not.

The following first and second chiefs were elected after the adoption of this constitution:

HEAD CHIEF	SECOND CHIEF
Samuel Chicote of Sawokli (served three or four terms).	Itco hadjo miko.[97]
Lōtca hadjo of Abihkutci (or Nuyaka) (served three months and was then impeached).	Ward Coachman, of Alabama.
Ward Coachman (filled out the rest of the term).	(Left vacant.)
Joseph M. Perryman, of Okmulgee (one term).	(Uncertain.)[98]
Legus Perryman of Okmulgee (two terms).	Hotàlgi imala of Okchai.
Ispahihtca of Kasihta (one term).	Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee.
Pleasant Porter of Okmulgee (one complete term and part of a second term).	Moty Tiger of Tukabahcee.
Moty Tiger (completes term).	(Left vacant.)

Pleasant Porter was the last chief regularly elected. Moty Tiger was succeeded by the late G. W. Grayson, of Coweta, mentioned so often in this report, who was appointed by President Wilson. Mr. Grayson died in office and his son Washington Grayson was appointed his successor. When he resigned the position was conferred upon George Hill, of Tulsa Canadian.

The chiefs elected after the adoption of the constitution were not necessarily heads of the towns from which they came, and it is said of Tukabahchee miko, before that time, that he was transferred by special agreement from the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee to that of the Warriors because he could not be withheld from making addresses, and the delivering of addresses on the part of the town chief himself was contrary to custom. Itco hadjo miko was a tàstànàgi or an imala, Samuel Chicote was only a tàsikaya, Hotàlgi imala was a great war speaker (holibonaia) and also an imala, and Moty Tiger a tàstànàgi. Miko hàtki, given by Cook as second chief under Chicote, was, however, chief of his town, Tulsa. It is worthy of note that the ablest leaders, after the adoption of the constitution, were from the non-Muskogee towns, Ward Coachman, of Alabama, Samuel Chicote, the Perrymans, and Pleasant Porter from the Hitchiti-speaking towns, and Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee. Mr. McCombs considers the last named, although he did not reach the position of head chief, the greatest Creek statesman of his time. He was named

[97] Mr. McCombs, my authority for the incumbent of this position, was in some doubt about his correctness and the second chief may have been Miko hàtki of Tulsa, as given by Cook.

[98] Rechardah Cook thought that Roly McIntosh was second chief under J. M. Perryman and Legus Perryman second chief under Ispahihtca, but Mr. McCombs is probably right.

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for the first Roly McIntosh, who is said to have conferred the title upon him himself, in anticipation of his future greatness.

As stated already, when the Creek chief was installed an installation speech was made to him by a man of the Bird clan of Otciapofa, who instructed him regarding his duties and in general as to what was expected of him.

The duties of sheriffs or constables were discharged by eight, or about eight, light horsemen (tcilàko ohgà'ga), four for the Upper Creeks and four for the Lower Creeks.

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The government of the Seminole nation was similar to that of the Creek nation proper. They had only two light horsemen.

The following general view of the condition of the Creeks in the middle of the nineteenth century furnishes an interesting picture of them in their western home in the middle period of their decline, a decline soon afterwards accelerated vastly by the Civil War and now brought to completion by their allotment and the practical abolishment of their national government:

"The Lower Towns, from their closer proximity and greater intercourse with the whites, exhibit a much greater advance in civilization and manner than their brethren of the Upper Towns. The old custom of settling together compactly and cultivating the town fields has been altogether abandoned, and they are no longer visible in this portion of the nation; the people are settled promiscuously throughout the country; many of their farms and residences would do credit to the States. Ornaments, silver plates, ear-rings, beads, and paint, are grown into disuse, and seldom or never seen except at their festivals or ball plays. The dress of the whites is becoming common, with the exception of the hunting shirt, which is generally of gay printed calico, and may be conceived quite picturesque. It is tenaciously adhered to, and is common to all Indians. Hats, vests, pantaloons, and shoes may almost be said to be the common habilaments of the males, and dresses of the richest materials of silks and muslins, made, too, in accordance with the latest fashions, are often to be seen upon the persons of the female classes. Gold and silver watches, rich and costly articles of jewelry, viz: chains, rings, brooches, etc., etc., are also used by the rich.

"The English language, though not generally spoken, is understood by many; and a strong desire is manifested by the community at large to throw off all their old superstitious ways and customs, and to adopt the ways of the whites. On the other hand, however, it can be said that the number of the indigent and needy is much greater here in this part of the nation. The use of whiskey, too, is more general, and its effects more visible. As before stated, there is no town, nor even a village, to be met with, yet the people are every year summoned, to their great dissatisfaction, to assist in

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building or repairing the town council houses, etc.; in many instances, to leave their crops and go a distance of 20 or 30 miles;—this service is enforced, too, under a penalty of a pecuniary fine. The settlements of the Lower Towns extend from the Verdigris river, on it and between it and the Arkansas, on both banks, to the Red fork, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of fifty. They are separated from the settlements of the Upper Towns by an uninterrupted prairie, extending from the bottoms of the Arkansas, south, to those of the north fork of the Canadian, a distance of about forty miles; they [the Upper Towns] extend from there, westward, between and on the Deep fork, North fork, and Main Canadian, to Little river, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of about sixty. From their peculiar location, they have less intercourse with the whites, and consequently do not exhibit so much improvement. Their dress, too, is more after the aboriginal form; they are forbidden to adopt that of the whites under penalty of lashes; they are, however, generally speaking, more enterprising and industrious; they grow cotton, and practise the domestic arts of spinning and weaving to a greater extent than the others. Cases of extreme poverty are more rarely to be met with. The chiefs are more generous, and their policy more liberal than those of the Lower Towns. In addition to the two blacksmiths' shops, furnished them by treaty stipulations, they have a public shop, which is supported out of their portion of the annuity; they have also devoted a portion of it to the erection of a water mill, and the support of a millwright; they have also a wheelwright, but he is paid by the government; they have not so much wealth as the Lower Town chiefs, generally speaking—(the McIntosh family are supposed to be worth $150,000 and B. Marshall some $50,000) yet *they* contribute nothing towards anything of this kind—alleviating the distresses of the poor, or to affecting any improvement in their country; however, it is reported that Opothleyoholo is by far the richest man in the whole nation." [*]

Hitchcock informs us that the Creek laws were compiled, or rather digested, in 1826 before the emigration and that an abstract of the digest was approved by a general council in 1840. Mr. N. L. Alexander, the Creek through whom Hitchcock obtained access to these, did not think that the first written laws antedated about the year 1822, but Hitchcock himself remarks that the year "1817" was entered opposite the law punishing murder. He adds:

"Most of the laws—there are but few altogether—relate to the punishment of the most prominent crimes, known as such among all men, and the regulation of property rights. They scarcely touch upon the ancient customs and usages of the Nation which are for the most part left in full force. Infanticide was formerly not uncom-

[*] James Logan, in Indian Affairs Report, 1845, pp. 314-317.

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423 642 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

[727] Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on 423 original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19] 621 It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

•177 648 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

674 732 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. ix, p. 240; cf. also p. 209.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

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has the following to say regarding murder in the stricter sense of that term: 628 682

"If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitely. When the tribe may be affected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

"This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid." [29] 727 648

In view of these facts the following law which Hawkins induced the Creek council to adopt becomes significant: 682 177

"To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation." [30]

Nevertheless it was with great difficulty that the Indian agent was enabled to secure the punishment of certain thieves and mischief-makers, some of whom had insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States,[31] so strong was the sense of obligation to retaliate for injuries received by a fellow clansman and so great the fear of awaking it. Adair mentions several occasions on which an offender was protected by his family.[32] By 1820, however, Hodgson reports,

[29] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 74-75.
[30] Ibid., p. 68.
[31] Ibid., p. 67.
[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 182, 184.

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682 on the authority of a trader who had been in the Creek country 15 years, that the murderer was publicly executed and the law of private •177 retaliation had gradually become obsolete.[33] And, about 20 years later, Eakins says:

"Among the Creeks, now, however, the murderer undergoes a regular trial before some of the leading chiefs of the nation, and is dealt with according to their decision. If an Indian should murder a [563] negro, the law is satisfied with the value of the negro being paid to the owner. The intervention of time and the fleeing of the murderer, generally allay resentment and lead to compromises. After the annual "busk," all offences are cancelled.[34] There is no distinction made in the estimate of life between the male and female."[35]

696 The administration of justice was, however, far from being Europeanized. Thus Gregg contradicts Eakins in part when he tells us that—

"They have no trial by jury, and their judicial proceedings are exceedingly summary—frequently without witnesses; for the warriors are generally too proud to deny a charge, lest it be construed into cowardice. Executions sometimes take place within an hour after the commencement of trial. Murder, rape, and a third conviction of stealing are punished with death, usually by shooting; but, in case of homicide, if claimed by the relatives of the deceased, the criminal is executed with the same kind of weapon, or, if possible, the very same, with which he committed the murder."[36]

And he adds:

"Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are for the most part rigorously enforced; though a commutation satisfactory to the aggrieved is still permitted to release the offender. Their laws, in cases of accidental homicide, are still more barbariously rigid than those of the other nations."[37]

681 The information which I have myself obtained corroborates in all particulars that furnished by these earlier writers. The peculiar function of the White towns in protecting escaped criminals seems, however, to have well-nigh disappeared even before the migration to Oklahoma, as my oldest informants knew nothing about it. Jackson Lewis merely stated that a man who had committed an offense in one town frequently fled to another and kept out of sight as much as possible until a considerable period had elapsed. Then the chief of the town where he had sought refuge would say to the chief of the other town: "I have made a townsman of this friend of yours and I

[33] Hodgson, Journey through N. A., p. 367.

[34] This agrees with the statement of one of Speck's informants (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 115), but anciently murder was one crime excepted from the general amnesty.

[35] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[36] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.

[37] Ibid., pp. 315-316.

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684 that this was "according to one of their old laws against crimes of that kind." [67]

In another place Adair speaks of the nonobservance of the separation of a woman during her menstrual periods as a crime on a par with murder and adultery. "Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity," he says, "they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people." [68]

685 Punishments similar to those described above were resorted to in cases of theft, which anciently do not appear to have been common within the tribe. Hodgson, relying on an Indian trader of 15 years' experience, says of this:

"Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death—the amount stolen being disregarded. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing; the crime itself being almost unknown—when the Indians would go hunting, or 'frolicking,' for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighborhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts. Confidence and generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity has taught them suspicion and deceit." [69]

¶[177] It is to be feared that this is in part another case of "the good old days" which do not appear as good on close examination, but, for economic reasons, it is certain that stealing was not one of those sins characteristic of the southeastern Indians before white contact.

As to the penalties inflicted for theft, Hodgson's informant is substantially confirmed by Gregg. "Most inferior crimes," he says, "are punished by whipping; for the first offence of stealing, fifty lashes; for the second, a hundred and ears cropped," and he has already stated that death was the penalty for the third.[70]

Swan says that McGillivray introduced the law that "if an Indian steals a horse, he is liable . . . to return him, or another of equal value, and pay a fine of thirty chalks, or fifteen dollars; if he is unable to do so, he may be tied and whipped thirty lashes by the injured party. But," he adds, "as in other cases, the infliction of punishment depends, at last, on the superior force of the injured clan." [71]

687 Failure to attend the busk was penalized by the imposition of fines or confiscation of property, and similar punishments were resorted to for other derelictions in duty to the community. Thus,

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[67] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 22.

[68] See p. 359.

[69] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.

[70] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, pp. 315, 316.

[71] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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men who had obtained eagle feathers,[96] and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer. 703 554

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kila), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mysteries were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries. 756 538 791

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation: 177 888

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[96]

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[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 92. [96] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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181 562 [593] of relationship.[44] In the quotation given above he[1] makes another blunder when he assumes that from the apparent indifference exhibited by an Indian couple when they meet after a long separation a constitutional "phlegmatic coldness and indifference" may be inferred. The self-restraint and seeming unconcern exhibited was simply a native custom from which nothing at all regarding the real feelings could be deduced. It may be added that the hard life of Indian women to which he refers was not usually considered hard by them but as the customary and essential, and it was in large measure but their share of a life which was harder all around than the lives of many civilized human beings. It was certainly not as hard as the lives of many of our sweatshop and mill operatives, and there is this to be said for it besides that it did not exist side by side with and thereby shame a theoretically lofty moral standard. On the other hand the "care and attention" which Creek women bestowed upon their men must be read in connection with the drastic regulations to which a widow was subjected.[44a] Collective virtues and vices are so closely bound up with economic conditions that it would be easy to show how both as they exist among Indians show to advantage or suffer in comparison with virtues and vices among ourselves. It is probably true also that white contact by putting an [177] end to intertribal warfare and to hunting, the chief occupations of the men in olden times, has shown up the division of labor between men and women with some disadvantage to the men, because the old traditions regarding division of labor have persisted into a period when a new arrangement is rendered necessary. This is not said with the idea of justifying Indian or European customs. Some of these were doubtless due to economic conditions which were indeed their sufficient excuse at one time. Many, too, may be perversions of customs which once had some reason for their existence though the perversions themselves have not and never had any such basis. In these cases history may furnish a palliation and an excuse but it can not give a justification, and the sooner such custom is abolished the better.

It is not just then to condemn the Creeks on account of some of their customs or to praise them overmuch on account of others. But, abstracting the customs themselves from the people, we may say that those of the Creeks were upon the whole on a distinctly higher level than the customs of most of the hunting tribes of American Indians and indeed than those of most of the agricultural tribes about them.

BURIAL

764 In the accounts of burial customs, as well as in those of marriages, there are considerable differences, and here again it is evident that

[44] See p. 376. [44a] See pp. 383-384.

1 [i.e., Swan.--Analyst]

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been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk. 726 622

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off." [33] 701

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says: 726

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanidja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[34] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by [35] and Is-te-pau-pau,[36] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic." [37]

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which 726 1770 642

[33] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

[34] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.

[35] This is intended for tcito yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chicota told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.

[36] Isti papa, "person eater."

[37] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

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726 several towns joined. There was not before or after this time the
.177 same unity of action, not even in the Creek-American War. The
642 general correctness of Milfort's account is indicated by numerous points of agreement with the facts recorded by Adair and the other writers quoted above; in particular the prominent position he gives the war club as a war symbol tallies exactly with every scrap of information derived from other sources. The war medicines spoken of by Hawkins and in Chekilli's migration legend do not appear here; they were probably carried only by the head chief, or perhaps only by the chief of Kasihta.

Milfort claims to have been instrumental in doing away with the custom of burning captives at the stake,[28] but from what Bartram says[28a] it is evident that it had begun to decline several years before. Milfort also says that he induced the Indians to rate the taking of a prisoner at three scalps which should belong to the captor.[29]

His account follows:

726 "When he [the head war chief] had made known the necessity of calling together the warriors, a club was immediately exposed in public, part of which was painted red; that signified that a part of the nation, that is the young men, must hold themselves in readiness to march; for if the club had been colored red all over the entire nation would have had to prepare itself, something which happens only under extraordinary circumstances. The manner of painting this club red also lets each particular chief know at the same time how many men he must bring with him to the appointed rendezvous, so that the head war chief is always certain of the number of soldiers he will have at his disposal, a number which he regulates according as circumstances demand, and which he is able to fix absolutely.

[211] "When it is thus necessary to assemble the warriors at a common rendezvous, the head war chief has a club partly colored red given to each subordinate chief; it is usually accompanied by a certain number of little sticks, which serve to inform the warriors who carry them into the different cantons of the nation, of the day when they must be at the general rendezvous, with the number of young men needed for the march. Each day at sunrise a stick is thrown away, and the day on which they throw away the last must be that of their arrival at the place of meeting; there have been few cases of delay in this general muster. In order to provide against every slip of the memory, the bearers of the red club are obliged to give to each chief every day the watchword, which is usually the name of the place and the day of the meeting. I am going to give here a more detailed account of this red club, to say how it is given and what is its use.

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[28] Milfort, Mém., p. 219.
[28a] Bartram, Travels, p. 211.
[29] Milfort, op. cit.

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sippi tribes by those on the eastern side. When Bartram was on the Suwanee River, Fla., he learned that the Indians of that region went trading and hunting in their cypress canoes all along the coast as far as the southern end of Florida and even to Havana. He himself encountered a party which had just returned from the latter place. He states that they carried thither in trade "deer skins, furs, dry fish, bees-wax, honey, bear's oil, and some other articles."[1] Elsewhere he notes that the same articles, minus the dry fish, were traded to the American settlers and several Indians had become very well to do in consequence of this industry.[2] The following from Swan shows how and where they obtained their firearms at the end of the eighteenth century.

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"The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The chief has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

"If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting: a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or $50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country."[3]

That some of the Indians of this tribe readily took to trading is reiterated by Romans, who says: "There are few towns in this nation where there is not some savage residing, who either trades of his own flock, or is employed as a factor."[4]

438

Counting

The Muskhogean systems of numeration are all decimal. In Adair's time the Chickasaw figured out mercantile transactions on the ground, a system which they called yakâ-ne Tlápha,[5] or "scoring on the ground."[6] They made single marks for each unit and a cross for 10. Adair believed that this latter mark was borrowed from the whites, but I have seen computations by the northwest coast peoples in which straight marks are used for units and a cross inserted to mark off every 20 units, the system of notation being vigesimal with them. The cross in the south may have been used for the same purpose in marking off tens. It is to be added that Adair's statements are confirmed by Eakins.[7] Eakins also says that they used

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[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 225.
[2] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 39.
[3] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 268.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 93-94.
[5] Yakni lapa, "ground spread out."
[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 77.
[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

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is a man at each goal to see that the goals are made fairly, and two 526
men on each side (called mâdjokâlgi) to umpire and keep order. They tell the players to play hard without fighting. Sometimes they have four of these men on a side. There is also one scorer for each side, each provided with a number of broken sticks. Each scores for his own side, sticking one stick after another in the ground until there are 10 and then withdrawing them until all of the sticks belonging to one side are out.

If any one gets knocked out in play they even up again by throwing down their ball sticks opposite each other to be sure that neither side has an advantage. The players wear red fringes around their necks, and cows' tails, panthers' tails, and bison tails on their buttocks. They run with the ball or throw it, whichever way will advance the ball fastest. When they are through, the winning side marches around its goal, goes home, and has a "stomp dance." The others may set a time and hold a "stomp dance" afterwards.

A man had to play on the side of his own town even against the people of the town into which he had married, but if he lived in a third town not involved in the game, he could join the town that asked him first. This, therefore, gave a man an opportunity to play on the side opposite that of his proper town, but in olden times it is probable that it did not happen very often. When preparing for the ball game at Tcatoksofka the town chief talked the players over with one heniha (of the Wind clan) and one man of the Raccoon clan, or sometimes he consulted two members of each clan. According to Zachariah Cook, at Tukabahchee there were two men known as imagâlgi who divided up the men or else called upon some experienced men to do it for them. Two mikâgi had charge of the women's dance. Although Jackson Lewis speaks of the place where the contest was to be held as being agreed upon in advance by the eight men who arranged it, this was not done finally until just before the game, each side fearing lest the opponents should bewitch it. This was given me as the reason why it was not known where the Talahasutci and Łiwahali Seminole were going to play in the summer of 1913. When the wife of a ball player was pregnant the doctor prepared a medicine for him different from that taken by the others. The middle ground, half way between the ball posts, was called wâskita; and each station halfway between that point and either goal was known as nâlkâptkâ'ga. The side which threw through one goal called the other party fûlûdjî and vice versa. It is asserted that there 526 578 177
was little or no fighting in olden times during the ball game, and this assertion is borne out by what the older writers tell us—although legs and arms were sometimes broken in the scrimmages—but in recent years it has been almost impossible to play a game through without a free fight. A game between the Nuyaka and Łapłâko towns ended

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526 this way, and the same fate befell one started between the Eufaula
578 and Abihka towns. In the latter case the very first time the ball was
177 thrown up a free fight began which lasted three hours, and, according to report, the county sheriff and his deputies were utterly unable to stop it.

526 Sometimes the parties to a ball game had to march some distance to reach the place agreed upon for the encounter. When that was the case they would go by easy stages, hold a rally in the evening, the night before, and dance all night. I have one account which states that they held such a dance the first evening, reached the place appointed the next day, held another dance there, and then began the game. A great amount of property was wagered on the outcome of one of these games by both men and women, who whould even strip clothing off of their bodies for that purpose.

It is to be observed that the Indian attitude with reference to the goals is just opposite to that taken by white men in their games, for with us the idea is to drive the ball through the enemy's goal, but the Indian considered that he was bringing the ball home to his own goal.

526 Among the Texas Alabama the method of counting points was
802 different from that used by the Creeks, but it was probably a later innovation. There a straight line was drawn and transverse marks made on one side of this for one party and on the other side for the other party, twelve constituting the game. Figure 105 will illustrate.

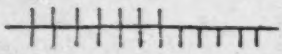

FIG. 105.—Alabama method of recording scores in the ball game

526 I will now give an account of a practice game between Łaplako
788 Indians witnessed by myself in 1913. We drove from Wetumka Sunday afternoon, July 27, and found the Indians seated on logs around the dance ground while the medicine maker at the other end was blowing into the medicine (pl. 7, *b*). There were two tubs, each said to contain miko hoyanīdja, but each treated differently by the doctor, so that the men drank from both. He did his work very deliberately, sitting motionless for a long time and afterwards taking some time in blowing into the medicine. He probably did this four times, though we did not watch him long enough to be certain. He sat facing the east. After that the yatika made an announcement and all went to the medicine, formed two rows, facing east, and took the medicine in the usual manner, afterwards vomiting it out, though some did not choose to take it (pl. 7, *c*). Before and during this ceremony the chief held in his hand a short stick on the end of which was fastened two balls and a bunch of small sticks. The last were the scoring sticks; the former comprised a large ball with which they were going to play next day and a smaller ball, the "chief ball" above mentioned, used when one side has scored three goals. It is said that each side

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same orderly manner, with all the children that can walk, behind them, ranged commonly according to their height; the very little ones they carry in their arms. Those, who are known to have eaten of the unsanctified fruits, bring up the rear. In this manner the procession moves along, singing . . . till they get to the water, which is generally contiguous, when the Archi-magus jumps into it, and all the holy train follow him, in the same order they observed from the temple. Having purified themselves, or washed away their sins, they come out with joyful hearts, believing themselves out of the reach of temporal evil, for their past vicious conduct; and they return in the same religious cheerful manner, into the middle of the holy ground, where having made a few circles, singing and dancing around the altar, they thus finish their great annual festival, and depart in joy and peace.[75]

In a note he adds:

"They are so strictly prohibited from eating salt, or flesh-meat, till the fourth day, that during the interval, the very touch of either is accounted a great pollution: after that period, they are deemed lawful to be eaten. All the hunters, and able-bodied men, kill and barbecue wild game in the woods, at least ten days before this great festival, and religiously keep it for their sacred use." [76]

If this was indeed a Chickasaw ceremony it declined rapidly, and the declension had begun even in Adair's time, for he says: "As they degenerate, they lengthen their dances, and shorten the time of their fasts and purifications; insomuch, that they have so exceedingly corrupted their primitive rites and customs, within the space of the last thirty years, that, at the same rate of declension, there will not be long a possibility of tracing their origin, but by their dialects, and war-customs." [76] It may be added that a comparison of the earlier and later forms of the busk tends to bear out Adair's statement with reference to the lengthening of the dances and the shortening of the fasts and purifications. In other words, the social features progressively expanded at the expense of those of a strictly religious nature. It is a process common in all parts of the world where faith in an institution is gradually decaying. In this case the decay was due not so much to the direct influence of European missionaries as to the general modifying tendencies accompanying the advance of white civilization.

A word or two might be added regarding the busk of the Alabama Indians now living in Texas. It is rather curious to find that the Alabama in Oklahoma who have been in close contact with the whites still maintain a busk ground, while those in Texas, though they are

[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 108-111. [76] Ibid., p. 98.

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796 [177] comparatively remote from white settlements of any size, gave theirs up so long ago that only the oldest people know much about it. The Alabama kept their busk some time in June. It was thought that after it was held the corn would not hurt anybody but before that it was wrong to touch it. If anyone did not take part in the ceremony the other people would not talk to him, let him come into their houses, or have anything to do with him. They said "it was wrong." At the beginning of this ceremony each family brought a quantity of ears of corn already roasted to the square ground and it was put up on a scaffolding made of canes and raised on forked posts to a height of perhaps 4 feet. Then all the people came there and danced until midnight. At about that time some of the roasting ears were shelled and a few men took a handful apiece and threw it over the house. This was done four times. What was left they ate. Then one man blew through a cane into a pot of medicine which had previously been heated and all had to drink some of this. After drinking it they went away and vomited it up. They used the pasa (Koasati pasé), but there was another medicine in the pot with it. The taking of this medicine was thought to bring good luck and health. Early on the following morning the new fire was made in the square by twirling a stick from a bush called hàsa'lapo against a stick of slippery elm (bàkca). Previously all of the fires in the village had been extinguished, and each woman carried home some of the new fire. The new fire is said to have been made out in the woods and was brought into the square from there. Next day the people went home and roasted more corn which they brought to the same place. In the evening they danced, threw more corn over the roof, and again ate. They did this four nights in succession and then the ceremony ended.

The "old dance" was probably danced at this time, but I am not sure. As the Alabama performed it there was one drummer and he had one assistant to help him sing. There were five or six songs. The dancers went about the fire in two files, the women next to the fire, the men outside. Each dancer held his hands clasped in front and twisted his body from side to side as he proceeded. They danced around the fire once, stopping and completing the first song at the same time. Then they went around singing another song and stopped again at the end of one circuit. When the last song was taken up they went around twice before they stopped.

796 171 Ceremonies modeled after those of the Creek busk seem to have spread to the Cherokee within recent years, though certain changes have been introduced. When I first visited the few surviving speakers of Natchez near Braggs, Okla., the ceremonial ground of the Indians near by had the four cabins typical of Creek practice and was resorted to by Natchez, Creeks, and Cherokee,[77] but on my next

[77] See Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pl. 10.

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METHODS OF PRACTICE

755 The method of bestowing medical treatment seems to have changed
●177 progressively after first contact with the whites, the religious fea-
771 tures becoming less and less pronounced and the features connected with the administration of the medicine more and more important.
755 Adair's account of the performance among the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century is as follows:

"When the Indian physicians visit their supposed irreligious patients, they approach them in a bending posture, with their rattling calabash, preferring that sort to the North-American gourds: and in that bent posture of body, they run two or three times round the sick person, contrary to the course of the sun, invoking God as already exprest. Then they invoke the raven; and mimic his croaking voice . . . They also place a bason of cold water with some pebbles in it on the ground, near the patient, then they invoke the fish, because of its cool element, to cool the heat of the fever. Again, they invoke the eagle, (*Ooôle*) they solicit him as he soars in the heavens, to bring down refreshing things for their sick, and not to delay them, as he can dart down upon the wing, quick as a flash of lightning. They are so tedious on this subject, that it would be a task to repeat it: however, it may be needful to observe, that they chuse the eagle because of its supposed communicative virtues; and that it is according to its Indian name, a cherubimical emblem, and the king of birds, of prodigious strength, swiftness of wing, majestic stature, and loving its young ones so tenderly, as to carry them on its back, and teach them to fly.[93]

Of the Chickasaw of a later date we read:

"When they are sick, they send for a doctor, (they have several among them,) after looking at the sick a-while, the family leave him and the sick alone. He then commences singing and shaking a gourd over the patient. This is done, not to cure, but to find out what is the matter or disease: as the doctor sings several songs, he watches closely the patient, and finds out which song pleased: then he determines what the disease is: he then uses herbs, roots, steaming, and conjuring: the doctor frequently recommends to have a large feast: (which they call *Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah;*) if the Indian is tolerably well off, and is sick for two or three weeks, they may have two or three Tonsh-pa-shoo-phahs.[94] They eat, dance, and sing at a great rate,

[93] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 173-174.

[94] Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah is ta-shi ăt pishofa, "the corn is hulled."

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754 "Stitches in the side, or small rheumatic pains, which are frequent with them [the Creeks], are often considered as the effect of some magic wound. They firmly believe that their Indian enemies have the power of shooting them as they lie asleep, at the distance of 500 miles. They often complain of having been shot by a Choctaw or Chickasaw from the midst of these nations, and send or go directly to the most cunning and eminent doctress for relief." [34] Male doctors prescribed for witchcraft equally with women.

114 Some other diseases and some different methods of treating the above are given by Doctor Speck, to whose paper (Mem. Am. An-
753 throp. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 121–133) the reader is referred. Also cf. the same writer's Yuchi paper, Anthrop. Pubs. Univ. Mus., I, pp. 132–135.

753 Sickness was sometimes attributed to the absence of the soul from the body, and this was probably assigned as a principal cause of disease as well as a secondary cause. It was then the object of the doctor to induce it to come back. I have an Alabama story telling of such an occurrence. This is given by the same people as the specific cause of "slow fever." [34a]

753 Adair gives us in one invaluable paragraph an account of the
•177 origin and naming of a new disease. He says:

"In 1767, the Indians were struck with a disease, which they were unacquainted with before. It began with sharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and swelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and also the testicles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like space of time went off gradually, without any dangerous consequence, or use of outward or inward remedies: they called it *Wahka Abeeka*, 'the cattle's distemper,' or sickness. Some of their young men had by stealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themselves, and were smitten in that strange manner, by having their heads, necks, etc., magnified like the same parts of a sick bull. They first concluded, either to kill all the cattle, or send them immediately off their land, to prevent the like mischief, or greater ills from befalling the beloved people—for their cunning old physicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former resolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would spoil their open cornfields; upon which account, the traders arguments had no weight with these red Hebrew philosophers. But fortunately one of their head warriors had a few cattle soon presented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reasoning proved so weighty, as to alter their resolution, and produce in them a contrary belief." [35]

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[34] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[34a] See p. 666.
[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 182.

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Besides the accounts of diseases and their cures already given I have considerable information regarding medicine plants and their uses in diseases for which I have no native explanation, although in some cases the name of the plant probably contains the supposed cause of the disease. The greater number of these were obtained from Jackson Lewis, another portion was from a Wiogufki Indian named Caley Proctor, a brother of the leader of the "Snake Indians," Eufaula Hadjo. He stated that he learned these things from an old Indian named Nokos īmała just before he died. To this I have added what I could learn among the Alabama of Texas, and some information from one of the few surviving Natchez Indians. The former varies somewhat from the rest on account of a difference in the Texas flora, while the latter has probably absorbed a great deal from the Cherokee among whom the surviving speakers of Natchez are living. A certain disorder was injected into Creek medical practice by the removal of the tribe west of the Mississippi, though Eakins's statement that "The roots and herbs they were accustomed to use in the '*old nation*' they have not yet been able to discover in their new country," must not be interpreted in a too sweeping manner.[38]

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For the identification of the various plants I am indebted to Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the United States National Museum.

1. Miko hoyanīdja (a species of *Salix*, willow), "passer by of the chiefs," the medicine being supposed to pass by of its own power (G. W. G.) or perhaps "sovereign purgative." This is one of the two great busk medicines and as a remedy seems to have been thought more of than the pasa. It is known colloquially as the "red root," the roots of some being blood red and others pale red. Jackson Lewis said that it was used as part of the medicine in a great many complaints, such as fever with nausea and vomiting. According to Caley Proctor it was put in water and drunk by the patient, either cold or hot, in cases of internal fever, malaria, and biliousness. According to another informant it was used as "a graveyard medicine"—i. e., as he explained it, a medicine for dropsy—and also to cure the deer sickness. The patient was also bathed in it. It was used in conjunction with the spicewood (kāpapāskā) in cases of rheumatism and swellings. According to another informant the miko hoyanīdja and pasa together will cure "the clap" almost immediately. Eakins says simply that it was used in fevers.[39]

2. Pāsa. This is the "buttonsnake-root" of the whites, also sometimes called "bear grass," and its scientific name is *Eryngium yuccaefolium*. The Natchez called it awe'lwaih; the Koasati pase'. As above noted, it was the second of the two important busk medicines. Its use in conjunction with miko hoyanīdja has been mentioned. According to Caley Proctor, it was pounded up, mixed with water and drunk cold in cases of neuralgia and in kidney

[38] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 274.

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Muskogee

344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
621 marry outside of third cousins.

796 The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

•177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,

The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

He added:

177 We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part
609 of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

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182 of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is
771 every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some
796 of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe. Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

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628 His employer, however, had such a friendly intercourse with them, as
682 to gain timely notice of any thing that might affect his person or interest; but he was so far from assisting the unfortunate brave man, as the laws of humanity and common honour obliged him, that as a confederate, he not only concealed their bloody intentions, but went basely to the next town, while the savages painted themselves red and black, and gave them an opportunity of perpetrating the horrid murder. The poor victim could have easily escaped to the English settlements if forewarned, and got the affair accommodated by the mediation of the government. In acts of blood, if the supposed murderer escapes, his nearest kinsman either real or adopted, or if he has none there, his friend stands according to their rigorous law, answerable for the fact. . . . .

•181 "There never was any set of people, who pursued the Mosaic law
628 of *retaliation* with such a fixt eagerness as these Americans. They are so determined in this point, that formerly a little boy shooting
682 birds in the high and thick corn-fields, unfortunately chanced slightly to wound another with his childish arrow; the young vindictive fox, was excited by custom to watch his ways with the utmost earnestness, till the wound was returned in as equal a manner as could be expected. Then, 'all was straight,' according to their phrase. Their hearts were at rest, by having executed that strong law of nature, and they sported together as before. This observation though small in itself, is great in its combined circumstances, as it is contrary to the usage of the old heathen world. They forgive all crimes at the annual atonement of sins, except murder, which is always punished with death. The Indians constantly upbraid us in their bacchanals, for inattention to this maxim of theirs; they say, that all nations of people who are not utterly sunk in cowardice, take revenge of blood before they can have rest, cost what it will. The Indian Americans are more eager to revenge blood, than any other people on the whole face of the earth. . . .

"I have known the Indians to go a thousand miles, for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods; over hills and mountains; through large cane swamps, full of grape-vines and briars; over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, if not with the rambling and lurking enemy, while at the same time they were exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitude of the seasons; to hunger and thirst, both by chance, and their religious scanty method of living when at war, to fatigue, and other difficulties. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly condemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer, or enemy, to satisfy the supposed craving ghosts of their deceased relations. Though they imagine the report of guns will send off the ghosts of

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their kindred that died at home, to their quiet place, yet they firmly 181
believe, that the spirits of those who are killed by the enemy, without 628
equal revenge of blood, find no rest, and at night haunt the houses 682
of the tribe to which they belonged: but, when that kindred duty of
retaliation is justly executed, they immediately get ease and power
to fly away: This opinion, and their method of burying and mourning for the dead, of which we shall speak presently, occasion them to
retaliate in so earnest and fierce a manner. . . . When any casual 181
thing draws them into a war, it grows every year more spiteful till 721
it advances to a bitter enmity, so as to excite them to an implacable
hatred to one another's very national names. Then they must go
abroad to spill the enemy's blood, and to revenge crying blood.
We must also consider, it is by scalps they get all their war-titles,
which distinguish them among the brave: and these they hold in as
high esteem, as the most ambitious Roman general ever did a great
triumph.[33]

Says Stiggins: 628
"When one of another clan if even by chance should kill one of 682
their blood relations on the mother's side of the family, their customary law in this is similar to the law of the Jewish legislator in reference to the manslayer excepting the city of refuge, for their law is literally whoso sheddeth man's blood by man his blood must be shed. Time nor distance can not palliate their revenge for should the perpetrator make his escape one of his brothers or cousins on his mother's side is taken. One of his blood kindred or himself must atone for the one lost, male for male and female for female. Even accidents are frequently made a matter of atonement, as far for instance as to be on business for another person and be killed by their horse the employer or one of the brothers or cousins must atone with his life for the death; for this reason they say that had it not been for him and his business the death would not have happened."[34]

To illustrate this point Stiggins describes at length an event which occurred in the year 1808 when a Creek named the Singer, described as head chief of the Creek Nation, was on an expedition to the west of the Mississippi River, accompanied by his brothers. They were frightened back to the east side by enemies, and while there one of the Singer's brothers killed another Indian belonging to Kasihta, whom he mistook for an enemy. The comrades of the man who had been slain came to the Singer's camp and found the Singer alone, his brothers having set out to visit the Kasihta and explain to them the accidental nature of what had happened. This the Singer himself then proceeded to do, and at first the explanation was accepted as satisfactory. On their way home, however, the Kasihta Indians

[33] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 148-151.
[34] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 29; cf. also Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol ii, p. 111.

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585 prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . .

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

595 "A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

• 181 611 836 "Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue."[14]

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.[15] It is an old ex post facto explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

583 It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

[14] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273 [15] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 21.

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"The women perform all the labor, both in the house and field, and are, in fact, but slaves to the men, being subject to their commands without any will of their own, except in the management of the children. They are universally called wenches; and the only distinction between them and the negro women is, that they have Indian children; and when a man would have you understand that he is speaking of his wife, he designates her as his son's mother, etc. Yet in this unhappy, servile state, the women are remarkable for their care and attention to the men, constantly watching over them in their desperate drunkenness and quarrels, with their utmost solicitude and anxiety. . . ."[41] 562

"A stranger going into the country must feel distressed, when he sees naked women bringing in huge burdens of wood on their backs, or bent under the scorching sun, at hard labor in the field; while the indolent, robust young men are riding about, or stretched at ease on some scaffold, amusing themselves with a pipe, or a whistle."[42] 181 462

In another place we read:

"The men, in general, are of a good size, stout, athletic and handsome: the women are of good height, but coarse, thick-necked and ugly. Being condemned, by the custom of the country, to carry burdens, pound corn, and perform all the hard labor, they are universally masculine in appearance, without one soft blandishment to render them desirable or lovely. Both sexes have a phlegmatic coldness and indifference, uncommon and unknown to most white people."[43]

This last statement Swan confirms by citing the apparent indifference exhibited by a husband and wife when they met after a long separation.

I may add that in 1911–12 I was several times told that Creek Indians would let their wives walk home from town carrying heavy loads, while they hung about for some time and finally hired a liveryman to take them, perhaps passing their wives on the way.

Nevertheless, the condemnation of the Indians by Pope, Swan, and others is as unintelligent as the praises bestowed by Bartram. A people or a person can be judged properly only by observing the conformity or lack of conformity which their actions bear to the ethical and social standards among them, not by the measure of ethical or social standards among other people. And secondly, the presence or absence and in general the intensity of emotions can not be assumed because their expression is less or different from that to which the critic is himself accustomed. I have already called attention to Swan's misconception regarding marriage relations owing to the difference between the significance of Indian and white terms 181 562

[41] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272. [42] Ibid., p. 273. [43] Ibid., p. 274.

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•181 562 [593] of relationship.[44] In the quotation given above he[1] makes another blunder when he assumes that from the apparent indifference exhibited by an Indian couple when they meet after a long separation a constitutional "phlegmatic coldness and indifference" may be inferred. The self-restraint and seeming unconcern exhibited was simply a native custom from which nothing at all regarding the real feelings could be deduced. It may be added that the hard life of Indian women to which he refers was not usually considered hard by them but as the customary and essential, and it was in large measure but their share of a life which was harder all around than the lives of many civilized human beings. It was certainly not as hard as the lives of many of our sweatshop and mill operatives, and there is this to be said for it besides that it did not exist side by side with and thereby shame a theoretically lofty moral standard. On the other hand the "care and attention" which Creek women bestowed upon their men must be read in connection with the drastic regulations to which a widow was subjected.[44a] Collective virtues and vices are so closely bound up with economic conditions that it would be easy to show how both as they exist among Indians show to advantage or suffer in comparison with virtues and vices among ourselves. It is probably true also that white contact by putting an [177] end to intertribal warfare and to hunting, the chief occupations of the men in olden times, has shown up the division of labor between men and women with some disadvantage to the men, because the old traditions regarding division of labor have persisted into a period when a new arrangement is rendered necessary. This is not said with the idea of justifying Indian or European customs. Some of these were doubtless due to economic conditions which were indeed their sufficient excuse at one time. Many, too, may be perversions of customs which once had some reason for their existence though the perversions themselves have not and never had any such basis. In these cases history may furnish a palliation and an excuse but it can not give a justification, and the sooner such custom is abolished the better.

It is not just then to condemn the Creeks on account of some of their customs or to praise them overmuch on account of others. But, abstracting the customs themselves from the people, we may say that those of the Creeks were upon the whole on a distinctly higher level than the customs of most of the hunting tribes of American Indians and indeed than those of most of the agricultural tribes about them.

BURIAL

764 In the accounts of burial customs, as well as in those of marriages, there are considerable differences, and here again it is evident that

[44] See p. 376. [44a] See pp. 383-384.

1 [i.e., Swan.--Analyst]

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

796 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may
173 indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the
642 psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though
621 it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire,
619 its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which
•182 united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

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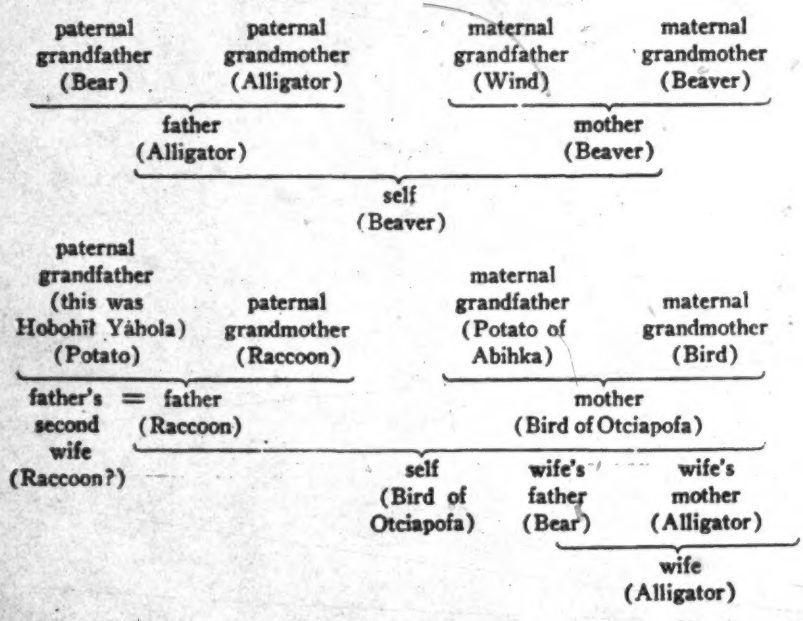
GENEALOGIES

The two brief genealogies which follow will illustrate in some measure the influence of the clan system on marriage. The first is the genealogy of Jeff Canard of Łapłàko; the second that of Earnest Gouge of Hanna, the latter of especial interest because it includes the famous orator Hobohīł Yàhola.



CONCLUSION

The busk undoubtedly represents a long period of development, and as the stages through which it passed and the elements entering into it have been lost, we can never understand it fully. Its main purpose, however, was evident. It was to restore the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rupture. Hence the new fire, extracted from its abiding place in the wood and not as yet sullied by contact with humanity. Hence the rigorous fast accompanied by administration of medicines divinely revealed to the ancestors, the general pardon of offenders, the sabbath calm prescribed for that period of regeneration, the use of white paint, and the employment of the term white—"the white day," "the white smoke," "the white drink"—in various parts of the ritual. The one discordant note seems to have been provided by the women's dance, since the leaders

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182 of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is
771 every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some
796 of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe. Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

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776 however, a material one. What they had in mind was rather the mind or minds believed to be operant there. While we know of some supernatural beings connected primarily with the busk and numerous spirits associated with natural objects were anciently believed in, it seems fairly certain that the peculiar patron of the ceremony was a solar, or rather celestial, being generally called Hisagita-immisi, "the breath controller," and also Ibofánga, "the one above," and that the busk fire was in some way an earthly representation of the great solar fire overhead. While it is probable that Hisagita-immisi was [177] not in ancient times the monotheistic deity he has now become, there is every reason to think he was already, before White contact, the supreme being of the Creeks.

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Muskogee; Hitchiti; Koasati

601 the connection. The łki or łkutci are connected with self through the
602 primary łki or father; or because, through marriage, they have been brought in line with other łki. Much the same is true of the other relationships, and it becomes particularly obvious when we examine the associations due to marriage. The "typical" relations for a man appear to be: potca, grandfather; posi, grandmother; łki, father; tcki, mother; pawa, maternal uncle; łaha, elder brother; tcusi, younger brother; wànwa, sister; kputci, son; tchusti, daughter; hopwiwa, sister's son (or daughter); hàkpati, sister's daughter; osuswa, grandchild; mahe, father-in-law; hoktàlwa, mother-in-law; hàtcawa, sister-in-law; kaputci, wife's brother; tcukowaki, sister's husband; hàtisi, spouse of child. The typical relations for a woman are the same except that the terms used by a man for elder brother and younger brother she applies to her elder and younger sisters, while she has a term, tcilwa, not employed by a man, for all of her brothers, and one term, tchuswa, for a child of either sex. Hàtcawa has a wider extension, and, according to Morgan, a new term, ehiwa, is used for the brother's wife, perhaps a mere modification of the word "wife" itself; kaputci is not employed. The tie between an individual and his mother's people is certainly far closer than that between him and his father's people, but the fact is not reflected in the terms of relationship to the extent one would anticipate.

601 Although no doubt the terms of relationship employed by the various tribes incorporated into the Creek confederacy differed some-
● 184 what not only in the forms of the words but in application it is to be suspected that, as we have them to-day, they have been brought into conformity with Muskogee usage. This should be found particularly the case with Hitchiti and to a somewhat less degree with Koasati and Alabama.

601 My list of Hitchiti terms is incomplete. It is as follows: grandfather, fosi; father, łki (in direct address by children, tati); mother, hki or ki (in direct address by children, watci); mother's sister, hkosi ("little mother"); elder brother, tcayi; younger brother, yakpitci (or yakposi); elder sister (man sp.), funki; younger sister (man sp.), otcabaka; brother (woman sp.), łàkfi; elder and younger sisters of woman, same terms as for elder and younger brothers of man; son, hopui; daughter, ostaiki; nephew (and niece?), ohosotci; wife, hàlki (called by husband in direct address hamuhtci); husband, nàkàni ("male"); mother-in-law, katamoh. The oldest sister was known as hamuhtaka.

The following diagram illustrates the Koasati terms of relationship, as they were obtained by me at the Koasati village in Louisiana:

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama
Natchez NO8 91

Most of the apparent differences between the Muskogee and Koasati systems disappear on closer examination, but a few divergencies are left which are rather striking. Thus Muskogee males call the children of the mother's brother by the same terms as the children of the own brother, while the Koasati give to them the terms employed for the father's sister's children. Again, the Muskogee have but one term for son-in-law and daughter-in-law, while the Koasati have a term for each. C. 184 601

So far as I have been able to determine, the Alabama system closely resembles that of the Koasati, but the words employed differ somewhat. These differences are as follows: Grandfather, fosi; maternal uncle, mosi; father's sister, tcipo; elder brother of man and elder sister of woman, tcatci; younger brother of man and younger sister of woman, bâhlo; daughter, ostaiki. Also, ânale (or onali) is used for both the son-in-law and the daughter-in-law, so that Alabama resembles Muskogee in this respect more than it does Koasati. In direct address an Alabama child calls its mother pitci. C. 601

A few Natchez terms of relationship were recorded by Albert Pike, Mrs. Robertson, and Dr. A. S. Gatschet from individuals belonging to those Natchez living among the Muskogee, but the more complete list obtained by the writer was secured from an Indian of the Cherokee branch of the tribe. No differences in usage have been observed between the two sections. N. 601

From the narratives of Du Pratz and other early writers we know that the ancient Natchez organization was highly complex and a considerable development of the relationship terminology was to have been expected. What has come down to us resembles in essentials the systems of the surrounding tribes, but there are a few peculiar features and some supplementary terms which suggest greater complexity in the past. The explanations which I obtained for some of these Natchez terms are contradictory, due no doubt in part to the fact that they were transmitted through a Cherokee interpreter, but most of them may be straightened out by reference to the other Muskhogean systems. In the following list I have numbered them so as to conform as nearly as possible to the numbers in the lists already given.

Terms of Relationship Used by a Man

1. dedex (grandfather). Applied to the grandfather on either side.

2. icdu, yecdu, yecta, necte (grandmother). Applied to the grandmother on either side, and to the father's sister. From the variant forms it is possible that the one used for the father's sister may have been slightly different from that used for the grandmother, but I think not. The secondary applications were probably like those in the other southeastern languages, though whether of the Muskogee or the Chickasaw type it would be impossible to say.

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thought the proper designation of the clan was Nokfilâlgi, a name originally applied to a mythic animal but later given to the white people. We must be a little cautious about this, however, because some of Gatschet's aged informants told him that properly the Nokfilâlgi were a native tribe which disappeared long ago.[13] If the interpretation is correct we should naturally suppose that the clan originated in early intermarriages between Indians and Spaniards, but the purely conventional use of Sawanogâlgi warns us against placing too much reliance upon such an hypothesis. 615

Clans were linked together into phratries in various ways. Many were small and were considered merely as minor branches of some large clan; others were coordinate in size and importance, though not necessarily of equal importance in every town. Some appear to have been almost entirely confined to certain villages, while others were represented nearly everywhere. Still more remarkable is the fact, hardly paralleled elsewhere, that the very same clans were often linked into a phratry in some towns and separated in others, sometimes even linked with different clans. The relationship of certain clans was recognized practically throughout the nation, but in the case of many others there was no such uniformity. We may divide the associations which we find into three classes: (1) The affiliations of obscure clans for which we have perhaps the authority of but one or two persons; (2) associations recognized almost universally; and (3) associations which varied from one town to another. 615 184

Of the first class were the Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, and Kantâlâlgi, said to be Lower Eufaula clans affiliated with the Bear. A Seminole informant stated that the name Asunâlgi referred to the âsi or black drink; another maintained that it was from Spanish moss, asunwa. Both of these informants, however, agreed that this clan belonged with the Bear, and the former added that it was because the female bear, when she is going to bring forth her cubs, pulls down âsi bushes for a bed; hence the âsi was said to be the bear's grandparent. The Inlanisâlgi were connected with the Bird clan. One of my informants knew an old man who claimed that he belonged to the Hilislâgi or Medicine clan. He classed himself with the Bird people and this was natural since the Bird was a White or Peace clan with which we should expect medicine to be associated. The Turtle clan (Lutcâlgi) is said to have been connected with the Wind. On one occasion, when a man belonging to the Wildcat clan was being tried in an Indian court, a prospective juryman presented himself who said that he belonged to the Liâlgi or "Arrow people." As he claimed that this clan was connected with the Wildcat and Panther he was excused from service. 615

According to an old man, people were on one occasion about to kill the mink but he escaped into the cane, therefore the Mink clan

[13] See p. 61.

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127 writers, and this is particularly true of that part of the work dealing with customs like war which are now obsolete or obsolescent but could be made subjects of direct observation at the time in which they wrote. I have also made liberal use of the material published in recent years by Prof. Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, particularly his paper on "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town" (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, vol. II, pt. 2). His more extensive work on the Yuchi has been mentioned only incidentally, as the Yuchi are an alien tribe incorporated into the Creek Confederacy in comparatively modern times. Their culture, however, presents numerous features resembling that found among the Creeks, and Professor Speck's paper (Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1) should be read in conjunction with the material here presented. The valuable and hitherto unpublished Hitchcock material was placed at the disposal of the Bureau of Ethnology through the kindness of Mrs. W. A. Croffut, General Hitchcock's niece.

194 The following peculiar phonetic signs are used: ł, unvoiced l; ȧ, obscure a; tc, English ch; c, English sh; ⁿ, nasalization of the preceding vowel; x and ɣ (in Natchez), palatal and velar spirants; vowels generally have continental values.

NATIVE LEGENDS DEALING WITH CREEK HISTORY

Origin Legends

173 The origin myths of the Hitchiti and Alabama, minor components of the Creek Nation, have been given in Bulletin 73.[1] Here it is proposed to include the origin myths of the dominant tribe, that which constituted by far the largest portion numerically and from which came the crystallizing force which united them all into one political body. Who the Muskogee were and what towns they occupied has been explained in the bulletin above mentioned. The origin legend, or the origin legends, of these people differed to some extent in the several Muskogee towns, but there was a harmony between the various versions, perhaps brought on pari passu with the progressive unification of the confederacy. There are many references to this legend in very general terms, but several stories have survived, which, though usually fragmentary, shed most valuable light upon the nature of the original. The earliest of these legends is that given to Governor Oglethorpe by one Chekilli,[2] who is styled "emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks," and was probably a Kasihta. At any rate the legend seems to be from Kasihta sources. According
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[1] Swanton, Early Hist. Creek Inds., Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 172-174, 191-192.
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Means of Communication

202 The languages of the southern Indians are matters for separate discussion, and, as our classification is based on language, that in itself will indicate the number of dialects so far as they are known. Some other means of communicating intelligence were also in existence. I shall speak presently of mnemonic devices such as notches, knots, beads, and pictures.[81a] Smoke signals were also in use. In the Elvas account of the De Soto expedition we read that "so soon as the Christians appeared in sight of land [near Tampa Bay, Florida], they were descried, and all along the coast many smokes were seen to rise, which the Indians make to warn one another."[82] And I was told myself that when the Seminole in Oklahoma went out hunting they divided into parties which preserved the proper distance from one another by smoke signals. They would light a fire, and, as the film of smoke rose they would stop it at intervals by throwing a blanket over it. Whooping also formed a kind of means of communication. The death whoop and the whoop of the successful warrior coming in with a scalp were well known. Adair also speaks of "the whoop of friendship," "the whoop of defiance," and the "news whoop."[83] Most interesting of all was a sign language. The existence of such a language among the Plains Indians is well recognized and by them it was carried to a high point of development. It is not so well known that there was such a language among the southern Indians, but the existence at least of a rough and ready device of the kind seems to be proven by Adair, who says:

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"The present American Aborigines seem to be as skilful Pantomimi, as ever were those of ancient Greece or Rome, or the modern Turkish mutes, who describe the meanest things spoken, by gesture, action, and the passions of the face. Two far-distant Indian nations, who understand not a word of each other's language, will intelligibly converse together, and contract engagements, without an interpreter, in such a surprising manner, as is scarcely credible."[84]

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[81] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 318.

[81a] See pp. 453–456.

[82] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. 1, p. 22.

[83] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 165, 166, 254, 273, 276, 277, 301, 318, 325, 326.

[84] Ibid., p. 79.

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[81] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 313.
[81a] See pp. 429–436.
[82] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. i, p. 32.
[83] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 168, 169, 264, 272, 276, 277, 291, 316, 323, 329.
[84] Ibid., p. 70.

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173 story tellers or that the Creeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation, but we know from several [211] sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta repre- [101] sented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.[17] This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground," [18] and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

173 Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. 539 Milfort,[19] who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégy ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crëck."[20] We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own tástánágis and its head tástánági. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otciapofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for

[17] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 215-234.

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 268.

[19] Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes différens voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëck. Paris, 1802.

[20] On the title page of Milfort's work.

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several towns joined. There was not before or after this time the same unity of action, not even in the Creek-American War. The general correctness of Milfort's account is indicated by numerous points of agreement with the facts recorded by Adair and the other writers quoted above; in particular the prominent position he gives the war club as a war symbol tallies exactly with every scrap of information derived from other sources. The war medicines spoken of by Hawkins and in Chekilli's migration legend do not appear here; they were probably carried only by the head chief, or perhaps only by the chief of Kasihta.

Milfort claims to have been instrumental in doing away with the custom of burning captives at the stake,[28] but from what Bartram says[28a] it is evident that it had begun to decline several years before. Milfort also says that he induced the Indians to rate the taking of a prisoner at three scalps which should belong to the captor.[29]

His account follows:

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"When he [the head war chief] had made known the necessity of calling together the warriors, a club was immediately exposed in public, part of which was painted red; that signified that a part of the nation, that is the young men, must hold themselves in readiness to march; for if the club had been colored red all over the entire nation would have had to prepare itself, something which happens only under extraordinary circumstances. The manner of painting this club red also lets each particular chief know at the same time how many men he must bring with him to the appointed rendezvous, so that the head war chief is always certain of the number of soldiers he will have at his disposal, a number which he regulates according as circumstances demand, and which he is able to fix absolutely.

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"When it is thus necessary to assemble the warriors at a common rendezvous, the head war chief has a club partly colored red given to each subordinate chief; it is usually accompanied by a certain number of little sticks, which serve to inform the warriors who carry them into the different cantons of the nation, of the day when they must be at the general rendezvous, with the number of young men needed for the march. Each day at sunrise a stick is thrown away, and the day on which they throw away the last must be that of their arrival at the place of meeting; there have been few cases of delay in this general muster. In order to provide against every slip of the memory, the bearers of the red club are obliged to give to each chief every day the watchword, which is usually the name of the place and the day of the meeting. I am going to give here a more detailed account of this red club, to say how it is given and what is its use.

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[28] Milfort, Mém., p. 219.

[28a] Bartram, Travels, p. 211.

[29] Milfort, op. cit.

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802 their fingers in counting from one decimal to another.[8] One of my Creek informants in using his fingers to aid his memory began with the little finger of his left hand, which he doubled over, and followed with his other fingers in order. Then he passed to his right hand where he again began with the little finger and proceeded as before.

804 Measures of length were based on various parts of the body, as was originally the case with us, the fingers, hands, arms, etc., being used.

Distances between places far apart were measured by the time consumed in getting from one to the other—i. e., by the number of camps or "sleeps" or by the number of moons. Regarding their

805 sense of the passage of time generally Swan has the following very pertinent remarks:

"They count the number of days or years, either past or to come, by tens. Having no exact method of keeping or reckoning their time they seldom tell nearer than within one month of the time any remarkable occurrence took place in the preceding year; but circumstances, or any speeches that might have attended such occurrence, they remember accurately. There is not one in the whole nation knows how old he is." [9]

The natural measures of time marked off by the altered positions of the sun and moon—i. e., days, months, and years, and their subdivisions—have already been discussed. When they wished to keep in mind a certain number of these or to remember certain ones among them they employed several devices.

805 211 The commonest method of determining a fixed date in the future upon which some event was to take place was by wrapping up a number of short sticks into a little bundle and throwing one away each day. When but one remained the person who had the bundle knew that the appointed day had arrived. This was the method employed every year to enable all of the families of each town to assemble on the busk ground at the proper date. As many bundles were distributed as there were families and the head of each family threw away the sticks. It is to be noted that a stick was thrown away immediately on receipt of the bundle—i. e., the count began with the day on which the bundle was received; in fact the messenger who brought the bundle usually threw away the first stick himself. This is said by French writers to have been the method by which the date of the Natchez massacre was fixed, and the tribes confederate to the conspiracy were able to tell when to rise. Such sticks were called "the broken days," and according to Adair the same name was applied to certain square notched sticks which were used for a similar purpose. In the latter case the sticks were sent about with a definite

[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 273. [9] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277.

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number of notches in them and each day the man in charge cut one notch out. At other times notches were made instead of being cut out, especially when the future date was indefinite.[10] I have seen this method employed on the north Pacific coast. Eakins saw still another method in use among the Creeks in recording the days of the week. This consisted of a series of holes made in a board into which a peg was inserted.[11] 805 211

A third and particularly important method is mentioned by Adair. It was the use of cords on which were a definite number of knots. The time was determined by untying one of these knots each day, or perhaps by tying it, similarly to the usage in the case of notches. They employed all these devices not merely to keep run of the days but of the months and years as well, and Adair says of the last: "They count certain very remarkable things, by knots of various colours and make, after the manner of the South-American Aborigines."[12] Of course Adair is referring to the famous quipu of Peru, and it is very interesting to find that our southern tribes had a similar mnemonic system, especially as he implies that this was used to some extent to mark important events in past history. Adair's statement also serves to confirm an analogous assertion by Milfort, except that, according to the latter, beads strung on threads took the place of knots. Still there is no good reason why both devices should not have been employed. The idea once established would have seized upon any convenient means of expression. Milfort's statement runs thus:

"Since my arrival among the Creeks the old chiefs had often spoken to me of their ancestors, and they had shown me the belts (banderoles), or species of chaplets, which contained their histories. These chaplets were their archives; they are of little seeds like those which are called Cayenne pearls; they are of different colors and strung in rows; and it is on their arrangement and their pattern that their meaning depends. As only the principal events are preserved on these belts and without any details, it sometimes happens that a single chaplet contains the history of twenty to twenty-five years. These pearls are placed in such a manner as to preserve the various periods exactly; and each year is easily distinguished by those who know the arrangement."[13] 211

It furthermore appears from the speech of Chekilli to Governor Oglethorpe painted on a bison skin[14] that pictorial mnemonics or "picture writing" was known. 212

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[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 73.

[11] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 373.

[12] Adair, op. cit., p. 73.

[13] Milfort, Mémoire, pp. 47-48. Such devices were in use also among the tribes of the Carolinas and Virginia.

[14] See p. 32.

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127 writers, and this is particularly true of that part of the work dealing with customs like war which are now obsolete or obsolescent but could be made subjects of direct observation at the time in which they wrote. I have also made liberal use of the material published in recent years by Prof. Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, particularly his paper on "The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town" (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, vol. II, pt. 2). His more extensive work on the Yuchi has been mentioned only incidentally, as the Yuchi are an alien tribe incorporated into the Creek Confederacy in comparatively modern times. Their culture, however, presents numerous features resembling that found among the Creeks, and Professor Speck's paper (Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. I, no. 1) should be read in conjunction with the material here presented. The valuable and hitherto unpublished Hitchcock material was placed at the disposal of the Bureau of Ethnology through the kindness of Mrs. W. A. Croffut, General Hitchcock's niece.

174 The following peculiar phonetic signs are used: ł, unvoiced l; ȧ, obscure a; tc, English ch; c, English sh; ⁿ, nasalization of the preceding vowel; x and ɣ (in Natchez), palatal and velar spirants; vowels generally have continental values.

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young buffalo, and translated into English, as soon as delivered. . . . The said skin was set in a frame, and hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster."[3] Of course this means that pictures had been made on the blanket similar to those in the Delaware Walam Olum, to mark the various important events narrated by the speaker. It has unfortunately been lost, along with the accompanying English text, but a German translation of the English was preserved, and from this Doctor Gatschet had the legend rendered again into English and also into Creek for his "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians." This version, including one or two corrections made by Doctor Gatschet in one of his personal copies of the work, is as follows:

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"WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO 1735, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS:

"[Speech, which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by][4] Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks; Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head-chief of the Cussitaws, Tomechaw, War King; Wali, War-captain of the Palachucolas, Poepiche, King; Tomehuichi, Dog-king of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War-chief of the Okonees, Tuwechiche, King; Whoyauni, Head War-chief of the Chehaws and of the Hokmulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Osoches; Opithli, King of the Jawocolos [Sawokli]; Ewenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War-captain of the Eufantees [misprint for Eufaulees?]; and thirty other Warriors.[5]

"At a certain time the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The Earth opened and the Cussitaws came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the Earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so. Their children, nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

"They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river—came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years;

[3] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 296.

[4] This bracketing is copied from Gatschet.

[5] The following transliterations and translations of a part of these names were furnished by the late G. W. Grayson and A. S. Gatschet: Anatitci, to wound; Ilitci, to kill, or putting something down; Osta, four (?); Tometca, (a number of creatures) flying; Wali, from wahali, south (though Gatschet suggests the name of the coast province of Georgia, Guale, see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80 et seq.); Poepitca, to cause to win; Hoyahani, to pass by; Stimelakoetci, somebody having caused something to come; Hopili, leg.

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number of notches in them and each day the man in charge cut one notch out. At other times notches were made instead of being cut out, especially when the future date was indefinite.[10] I have seen this method employed on the north Pacific coast. Eakins saw still another method in use among the Creeks in recording the days of the week. This consisted of a series of holes made in a board into which a peg was inserted.[11] 805 211

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[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 75.
[11] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 272.
[12] Adair, op. cit., p. 75.
[13] Milfort, Mémoire, pp. 47-48. Such devices were in use also among the tribes of the Carolinas and Virginia.
[14] See p. 32.

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•212 These facts all tend to show that the Creeks anciently had made some endeavors to record their history and serve to strengthen our respect for certain of the features of their migration legends. It will also prevent us from dismissing as an altogether idle tale De la Vente's assertion that the Natchez had preserved a record of 45 or 50 of their Great Suns.[15] At the best the attempts were, of course, crude, but in Peru the device of the quipu seems to have preserved a great amount of extremely valuable history extending to a remote antiquity.

436 Before white contact value was measured by means of shell money, but we have not from the southern Indians as full an account of this as from the northern Indians. The following from Adair contains nearly all that we know about it:

"Before we supplied them with our European beads, they had great quantities of wampum; (the Buccinum of the ancients) made out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking. With these they bought and sold at a stated current rate, without the least variation for circumstances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loss or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reasons ever so strong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-skins was the price of a large conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's forefinger; which they fixed to the crown of their head, as an high ornament—so greatly they valued them." [16]

Games

526 As with so many other American tribes, the two-goal ball game, resembling in many respects that known as lacrosse, was the leading game among southern Indians. I will begin an account of it by prefixing Adair's description as he witnessed it among the Chickasaw, though the Creek game as it has come down to us differed in several important particulars. He says:

[525] "The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game; and is such severe exercise, as to shew it was originally calculated for a hardy and expert race of people, like themselves, and the ancient Spartans. The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews. The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thongs. Between these, they catch the ball, and throw it a great distance, when not prevented by some of the opposite party, who fly to intercept them. The goal is about

[15] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 18th sess., vol. i, p. 37.

[16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 176. Cf. also Lawson, Hist. Car., pp. 315-317. The use of the term "wampum" here is erroneous; wampum was of a wholly different type.

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In the Yuchi calendar recorded by Doctor Speck five months agree with those in Swan's list, with but slight variation, both in name and in the period of the year to which they were applied. It seems rather curious that these all belonged to the summer series.[84] 805 821

Adair says of the Indians of his acquaintance: "They pay great regard to the first appearance of every new moon, and, on the occasion, always repeat some joyful sounds, and stretch out their hands toward her—but at such times they offer no public sacrifice." [85] And in another place he remarks that they "annually observed their festivals . . . at a prefixed time of a certain moon." [86]

House building was a social affair and was distributed between the spring and fall. Adair gives a very lively account of the operation. 221 342

"While the memory of the bleak pinching winds lasts, and they are covered with their winter-blackened skins, they turn out early in the spring, to strip clap-boards and cypress-bark, for the covering of their houses: but in proportion as the sun advances, they usually desist from their undertaking during that favourable season; saying, 'that in the time of warm weather, they generally plant in the fields, or go to war; and that building houses in the troublesome hot summer, is a needless and foolish affair, as it occasions much sweating,'—which is the most offensive thing in life to every red warrior of manly principles. On this account, if we except the women chopping firewood for daily use, it is as rare to hear the sound of an ax in their countries, as if they lived under the inhospitable torrid zone; or were nearly related to the South-American animal Pigritia, that makes two or three days journey in going up a tree, and is as long in returning. When the cold weather approaches, they return to their work, and necessity forces them then to perform what a timely precaution might have executed with much more ease. When they build, the whole town, and frequently the nearest of their tribe in neighboring towns, assist one another, well knowing that many hands make speedy work of that, which would have discouraged any of them from ever attempting by himself. In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finish, a good commodious house.[87]

"They first trace the dimensions of the intended fabric and every one has his task prescribed him after the exactest manner."[88]

There was, of course, nothing like a week among them in olden times, though Bartram assures us that the Creeks at one of the towns through which he passed remained quietly in their houses on Sunday out of respect to the white people.[89] The Alabama have the following 512 805

[84] Speck, in Anthr. Publs. Univ. Mus., Univ. Pa., vol. i, p. 67.
[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76.
[86] Ibid., pp. 99-102.
[87] But see p. 372.
[88] Adair, op. cit., p. 417.
[89] Bartram, Travels, p. 428.

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512 805 terms for the days of the week: ni"ta holo', "holy day," Sunday; ni"ta ho'lin ni"ta, "day after holy day," Monday; ni"ta ato'kla, "second day," Tuesday; ni"ta tutcī'na, "third day," Wednesday; ni"ta ostā'ga, "fourth day," Thursday; ȧtȧ'lapi, "fifth day," Friday; ni"ta holosī, "little holy day," Saturday. Christmas is ni"ta holo' tcoba', "big holy day," in Koasati, and Kilisme', "Christmas," in Alabama.

221 After the busk men and women alike devoted the rest of the summer largely to the cultivation and harvesting of their crops. In the fall took place the Skunk Dance. After that the hunting began, and the men were away from town much of the time, but, when there was plenty of food or the game was near town, ball contests in which hunting played a part took place, accompanied with feasting and dancing, and these lasted until very cold weather.

574 The following account of these feasts and sports was given me by one of the Texas Alabama and is typical:

Sometimes a woman would make a ball and give it to one of the men who in turn must kill a deer for her. This the women cut up and prepared for all of the people in the village and they assembled at the ball ground to eat it. Then they feasted, played ball, and frequently danced in the evening. Sometimes several balls would be made at the same time and given out by as many women. After the ball or balls were used up another woman made one for another man and the games and feasts were thus continued at the pleasure of the tribe. Sometimes, when a woman gave a ball to a man in this way, she would say she wanted bear meat. Then they would play ball for a while, after which the man would go out with three or four others and kill a bear. They gave this to the woman, who distributed the meat as before. While the men were away the women were out after kanta roots[90] and they prepared a quantity of kanta bread. Kanta was always eaten with bear meat and corn bread (and potatoes) with deer meat. When the kanta was used up the men went for bear once more and the women went to the store and bought wheat flour. These celebrations lasted for some time.

Sometimes, when a woman gave out a ball in this way, she would say she wanted squirrels and the men would kill enough of them for the village, bring them to her and let her distribute them, when the same festivities were repeated. Again she might say she wanted coffee, and the man whom she addressed would go and buy enough for the village. It was brought to the ball ground and prepared there. This giving was often repeated many times.[91]

221 Often, however, the families were separated all winter, those who were related camping together. In the old country, at least, all but

[90] The word kanta was applied to several species of smilax.

[91] See also pp. 526-527, 555-556. Charlie Thompson, my informant, and another Indian now long dead first began to have dinners after the white men's style, and now they are all of that character.

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Bossu says:

"The savages usually set out on the hunt at the end of October. [224]
The Allibamons go to a distance of 60, 80, and even 100 leagues from their village, and they carry along with them in their pirogues their entire family; they return only in March which is the season for sowing their fields. They bring back many skins and much smoked meat. When they have returned to their villages, they feast their friends, and make presents to the old people who have been unable to follow them, and who have protected the cabins of the village during this hunting period."[92]

War parties were usually started as soon as the weather began to warm up a little. The labor of planting was, as we shall see, [241]
interspersed with ball playing and dancing. Right afterwards the men went out again on a hunt. According to one of my informants they thought if they did not do this the crows would eat the corn and the weevil would get into the beans. Then their summer duties began once more, taking care of the harvest occupying first place. War, ball games, riding, horse racing, and dancing also consumed a great deal of the time. Women naturally made their pots and most of their baskets during this period of the year.

War

Out of consideration for standard classifications of customs I retain 721
the name "war" for this section, but it might rather be called "institutional killing," if not "institutional murder." For while the occasions of war were various and "retaliation" for past offenses by the hostile tribe and the necessity of placating the souls of the slain were always the professed objects, the truth of the matter was that war among the southern Indians was a social institution and warlike exploits necessary means of social advancement.[93] This being the case it is easy to see that the score between most tribes was certain never to be evened permanently and that only a social revolution could abolish the custom in spite of the alliances by which certain single units agreed to settle their differences on other grounds. Ambition for scalps was carried so far, Adair assures us, that "sometimes a small party of warriors, on failing of success in their campaign, have been detected in murdering some of their own people, for the sake of their scalps."[94] This result of economic or rather social determinism reminds us of that canny Scotch captain caught in the Baltic Sea in the act of supplying Russia with the sinews of war when his own

[92] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 51-52.

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[12] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.
[13] Ibid., p. 19.
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"In the hunting season, that is in autumn and winter, the men are generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls on the women, who are than obliged to undergo a good deal of labor, such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they toat on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the ancient large towns, where the commons and old fields extend some

[30] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272. [31] Ibid., p. 422.
[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 121.
[33] Ibid., pp. 96-97.
[34] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 31.

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[24] Adair, Hist. Am. Indn., p. 392.

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241 followed by a dance in the evening. While the corn was in the ground the young people, under the supervision of some of their elders, were stationed in the fields, where small shelters were often built for them, and drove away any animals and birds coming to disturb it. The boys were armed with bows and arrows, and had acquired such skill with these that Bartram says they loaded themselves with squirrels, birds, and other small game in the course of the day.[77] According to the same writer the men took turns patrolling the field at night, "to protect their provisions from the depredations of night rovers, as bears, raccoons, and deer, the two former being immoderately fond of young corn, when the grain is filled with a rich milk, as sweet and nourishing as cream; and the deer are as fond of the Potatoe vines."[77]

When the harvest was ripe all proceeded to the field in the same manner, but this time each family garnered from his own plot. The women made sacks out of cowskins, and the corn was carried home in these after it had been shucked. Then it was laid away in rows in the different granaries, the better corn farther back as that which would last longest, the worse nearer the entrance. A portion of the harvest, however, each family contributed to a large corncrib, which Bartram says was called "the king's crib."[78] This constituted a [621] reserve supply upon which to fall back when the private granaries gave out. Or it was used to succor other towns, to feed travelers, to supply to war parties, and so on. It was, in fact, a kind of public commissary.

I was told that the ground of the hilis-haya or physic maker was planted by some of the old women in return for his services. This must refer to his garden plot. At Tukabahchee and Kealedji it was close to the northwestern edge of the grounds.

Hunting

224 Hunting and the ball play were close rivals for the second place after war in the esteem of the ancient Creeks. The former was of course a necessity and has its strictly economic side which does not here concern us. A few words may, however, be said regarding it from the social and religious points of view.

Elsewhere I have spoken of the ancient rights to hunting grounds and of the times of the year when hunting expeditions were undertaken.[78a]

The Creeks usually took medicines and washed their guns in them before they went after game. The Alabama, and probably the Creeks in general, steamed themselves thoroughly in the sweat house and then plunged into a cold stream before they set out. If several

[77] Bartram, Travels, p. 192. [78] Ibid., p. 310. [78a] See pp. 336-337, 404-405.

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hunters were going together they took the sweat bath one at a time. While they were out they put Indian tobacco (hitci pakpagi) under every campfire both going and returning in order to keep away the maleficent spirits of the dead. Before leaving home the hunters prepared a pot of medicine. The last of the ingredients to be put into this were four sticks of miko hoyanidja which went on top. This medicine was used for four successive days, and afterwards the four sticks of miko hoyanidja were taken out and carried along by the party. Afterwards the same medicine was employed by them in all kinds of ways, as an emetic, to bathe in, steam in, etc. If the hunter were not successful he might use another such as the "devil's shoestring" or a vine called itco hiliswa ("deer medicine"). These matters were of course under the direction of a medicine man, since one of these accompanied each party. According to an Alabama informant when deer were killed each hunter gave the medicine man a skin by way of payment, but this probably applied only when the hunt was reasonably successful.

Eakins says that each hunting party made its own regulations regarding the distribution of the game. "The person who starts an animal and wounds it, is entitled to the skin. The meat is divided according to agreement. Each one bags his own game. In cases of thefts from traps, the offenders are punished by law." [79]

When an Alabama hunter gave a bear bone to his dogs he laid it down near by, for if he threw it some distance off he feared that the bear would run away. In fact he threw bear bones far from him at no time. Dishes soiled with bear grease must not be washed at the creek, but instead a bucket of water must be brought to the camp and the dishes must be washed there. The same thing must be done with dishes soiled with deer grease; deer bones could, however, be thrown anywhere. If these regulations were not observed it was believed the hunters would kill nothing. Boys were not allowed to wrestle about in camp: if they did a bear would jump upon someone and kill him. After his return the successful hunter divided his meat among all of the houses in the yard and sent a little to his own parents. Nevertheless, the cooking was done by each family separately. "I have often observed," says Bossu, "that when they returned from the chase the chiefs took great care, before dividing the food, to set aside the share of the old men who were to return to the widows and the orphans whose fathers had been killed in war in defense of the fatherland." [80]

After an Indian had chased a bear, deer, or other game animal for a long time until he had become tired and sweaty he would take a fish-tooth scratcher and scratch one thigh until the blood ran. This would prevent him from getting tired out. Long ago the Indians

[79] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 278. [80] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. 2, pp. 36-37.

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224 scratched their bodies all over so that the loss of blood would lighten them and they would be able to run long distances without becoming weary. Regarding the Indian runners in his time Adair says:

"Though some of us have often ran the swiftest of them out of sight, when on the chase in a collective body, for about the distance of twelve miles; yet, afterward, without any seeming toil, they would stretch on, leave us out of sight, and out-wind any horse." He reinforces this statement by telling how the Choctaw chief Red Shoes had run down and killed a French trader mounted on a fast horse.[81]

Means of Communication

202 The languages of the southern Indians are matters for separate discussion, and, as our classification is based on language, that in itself will indicate the number of dialects so far as they are known. Some other means of communicating intelligence were also in existence. I shall speak presently of mnemonic devices such as notches, knots, beads, and pictures.[81a] Smoke signals were also in use. In the Elvas account of the De Soto expedition we read that "so soon as the Christians appeared in sight of land [near Tampa Bay, Florida], they were descried, and all along the coast many smokes were seen to rise, which the Indians make to warn one another."[82] And I was told myself that when the Seminole in Oklahoma went out hunting they divided into parties which preserved the proper distance from one another by smoke signals. They would light a fire, and, as the film of smoke rose they would stop it at intervals by throwing a blanket over it. Whooping also formed a kind of means of communication. The death whoop and the whoop of the successful warrior coming in with a scalp were well known. Adair also speaks of "the whoop of friendship," "the whoop of defiance," and the "news whoop."[83] Most interesting of all was a sign language. The exist-
201 ence of such a language among the Plains Indians is well recognized and by them it was carried to a high point of development. It is not so well known that there was such a language among the southern Indians, but the existence at least of a rough and ready device of the kind seems to be proven by Adair, who says:

"The present American Aborigines seem to be as skilful Pantomimi, as ever were those of ancient Greece or Rome, or the modern Turkish mutes, who describe the meanest things spoken, by gesture, action, and the passions of the face. Two far-distant Indian nations, who understand not a word of each other's language, will intelligibly converse together, and contract engagements, without an interpreter, in such a surprising manner, as is scarcely credible."[84]

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[81] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 316.
[81a] See pp. 452-454.
[82] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. 1, p. 32.
[83] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 163, 165, 264, 272, 276, 277, 301, 319, 283, 232.
[84] Ibid., p. 70.

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821 If the bodies of young children were not put into trees in the way elsewhere described it was thought there would be a drought.[93] If, after they had been so disposed of, it began to get dry, the people would go to the tree where the body had been placed and sprinkle water all about it.

823 That locations might be considered lucky was shown in the case of my Alabama interpreter. After he had lost two wives in succession the people said that something about the situation of his house was "wrong," so he changed it.

821 An Indian preacher, who, of course, was glad to see Biblical re-
773 semblances in native lore, told me that there was a story of a great and long-continued drought in which the people were fed on bread and meat by The One Above. This bread is said to have been "something like white peas" (lady peas).

796 The annual busk was the principal occasion with them. Bartram observed in one town that they kept Sunday in his time out of respect to the white people,[94] but this custom could never have been very widespread.

SACRIFICES

782 Sacrifices or offerings similar in kind were made by all of the south-
224 ern Indians. Adair says:

"They sacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, both in their summer and winter hunt; and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health and for their former success in hunting; or that the divine care and goodness may be still continued to them. . . . Formerly, every hunter observed the very same religious economy; but now it is practised only by those who are the most retentive of their old religious mysteries. . .

"The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology. . .

"The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in their divine presence, singing Yo Yo, etc. for their success and safety [in case they have lost none of their companions]: but . . . both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill. . .

"They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned; unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity."[95]

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[93] See p. 398. [94] Bartram, Travels, pp 455-456. [95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 117-119.

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Elsewhere he states that "when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it."[96] Again "the Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil.[97] He was informed by those whites who had become used to living in the Indian manner "that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed venison; but that otherwise they decline it."[97] 782 224

Of course most of these are merely taboos connected with the hunting of deer. Pope says on this point:

"The *Creeks* regularly make a Burnt Offering of what they conceive to be the most delicious Parts of every Animal taken in Hunting, before they presume to taste a Mouthful. The Parts they commit to the Flames are proportioned to the Size of the Animal, probably about 2 or 3 lb. from a *Buffalo*, and still less in a regular gradation down to the smallest Quadrupede, Fish or Bird."[98]

I have no confirmation or contradiction of the gradations of sacrifice here mentioned, but it is well known even to the living Indians that the old people used to put a little food into the fire before eating. The same thing is noticed in Adair's account of the Creek who railed upon the fire for burning him after the good treatment he had given it.[99] One of my informants had seen the Nuyaka Indians "feed the fire" with turkey during their fall festivities accompanied by hunting and ball games. 782 264

TABOOS

The religion of these people, and, as we shall presently see, their medicine, was seamed through and through with the idea that similarity in appearance means similarity in nature, that similarity in one property involves similarity in all the other properties, and that association of any kind will result in communicating properties from one thing or person to another. This is particularly true about things which are taken into the system by eating and drinking, but applies in other ways as well. Adair says on this point: 771 789

"They believe that nature is possest of such a property, as to transfuse into men and animals the qualities, either of the food they use, or of those objects that are presented to their senses; he who 789 262

[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 137-138.
[97] Ibid., p. 113.
[98] Pope, Tour, p. 38.
[99] See p. 484.

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The principal occupations of the men were hunting, ball playing, war, and rites connected with the use of medicine and ceremonial affairs. They built the houses, the corncribs, and the structures belonging to the square ground, felled trees, made canoes and mortars, drums, pipes, calumets, ball sticks, and of course in olden times the axes and the arrows, bows, war clubs, and most of the other articles used in hunting and war. When hunting at a distance from home they cut up the meat, loaded it on horses, and brought it back. It is evident that their labors amounted to considerable in the aggregate, although they were not so evenly sustained throughout the year as those of women. The smaller garden plots were cared for almost exclusively by women, but the town fields were tended by individuals of both sexes, and Bartram says that "there are not one-third as many females as males seen at work in their plantations; for, at this season of the year, by a law of the people, they do not hunt, the game not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in, so the males have little else with which to employ themselves."[24] Later on in the season the same writer tells us that the labor falling upon women was harder.

[224] [241]

"In the hunting season, that is in autumn and winter, the men are generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls on the women, who are than obliged to undergo a good deal of labor, such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they toat on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the ancient large towns, where the commons and old fields extend some

[224]

[20] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[21] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 132.
[22] Ibid., pp. 96-97.
[23] Ibid., p. 422.
[24] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 31.

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the old people usually remained in the camps during that time. 221
Bossu says:

"The savages usually set out on the hunt at the end of October. [224]
The Allibamons go to a distance of 60, 80, and even 100 leagues from their village, and they carry along with them in their pirogues their entire family; they return only in March which is the season for sowing their fields. They bring back many skins and much smoked meat. When they have returned to their villages, they feast their friends, and make presents to the old people who have been unable to follow them, and who have protected the cabins of the village during this hunting period."[93]

War parties were usually started as soon as the weather began to warm up a little. The labor of planting was, as we shall see, [241]. interspersed with ball playing and dancing. Right afterwards the men went out again on a hunt. According to one of my informants they thought if they did not do this the crows would eat the corn and the weevil would get into the beans. Then their summer duties began once more, taking care of the harvest occupying first place. War, ball games, riding, horse racing, and dancing also consumed a great deal of the time. Women naturally made their pots and most of their baskets during this period of the year.

War

Out of consideration for standard classifications of customs I retain 721
the name "war" for this section, but it might rather be called "institutional killing," if not "institutional murder." For while the occasions of war were various and "retaliation" for past offenses by the hostile tribe and the necessity of placating the souls of the slain were always the professed objects, the truth of the matter was that war among the southern Indians was a social institution and warlike exploits necessary means of social advancement.[94] This being the case it is easy to see that the score between most tribes was certain never to be evened permanently and that only a social revolution could abolish the custom in spite of the alliances by which certain single units agreed to settle their differences on other grounds. Ambition for scalps was carried so far, Adair assures us, that "sometimes a small party of warriors, on failing of success in their campaign, have been detected in murdering some of their own people, for the sake of their scalps."[94] This result of economic or rather social determinism reminds us of that canny Scotch captain caught in the Baltic Sea in the act of supplying Russia with the sinews of war when his own

[93] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 51-52.

[94] Bossu gives the abduction of women as one of the most important causes of war. If this happened to the wife of a chief he says that the entire nation was obliged to avenge the insult.—Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 51. I confess to have read few accounts of wars started in this manner.

[94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 392.

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"The Indians can not shew greater honour to the greatest potentate on earth than to place him in the white seat—invoke Yo He Wah, while he is drinking the Cusseena, and dance before him with the eagles tails. When two chieftains are renewing, or perpetuating friendship with each other, they are treated with the same ceremonies. And in their circular friendly dances, when they honour their guests, and pledge themselves to keep good faith with them, they sometimes sing their divine notes with a very awful air, pointing their right hand towards the sky. Some years ago, I saw the Kooasahte Indians (two hundred miles up Mobile River) perform this rite with much solemnity; as if invoking the deity by their notes and gestures, to enable them to shew good-will to their fellow-creatures, and to bear witness of their faithful vows and conduct." [74] 728

A peace-making ambassador, besides carrying the swans' wings, was provided with eagles' tails, white beads, white pipes, and tobacco.[75] When Adair visited the Choctaw for the purpose of concluding peace with them, they tied strings of beads about his neck, arms, and legs, and in return he presented to them silver arm-plates, gorgets, wrist plates, ear bobs, and so on.[76]

Agriculture

Agriculture among the Creeks had both an economic and a social side. We are here concerned only with the latter. Each town, in addition to small garden plots worked by individual families, or rather by their female members, had a large common field located as near the town as possible. This was planted with corn chiefly, although beans, squashes, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, and rice are mentioned by early travelers, the last three contributions from the whites. The allotments of the different households were separated by a narrow strip of grass, poles, or any suitable natural or artificial boundary. In caring for this the town acted together, under the charge of an overseer said to have been appointed annually. He called the men to the square by going through the town blowing upon a conch shell or uttering a loud cry. Immediately they gathered with hoes and axes, and then marched in order to the field as if they were going to battle, headed by their overseer. The women followed in detached parties bearing the provisions for the day. Anyone who attempted to shirk was fined. In the field they also worked together, beginning with the patch at one end and going through to the last. In this way they prepared the field, planted it, and cultivated it from time to time until the harvest was ready. While they were at work they sang certain special songs. Generally they suspended work early in the afternoon and indulged in ball games or other sports, which were 241

[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 167-169.
[75] These things are enumerated by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 269-270, and 318.
[76] Ibid., p. 321.

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•241 followed by a dance in the evening. While the corn was in the ground the young people, under the supervision of some of their elders, were stationed in the fields, where small shelters were often built for them, and drove away any animals and birds coming to disturb it. The boys were armed with bows and arrows, and had acquired such skill with these that Bartram says they loaded themselves with squirrels, birds, and other small game in the course of the day.[77] According to the same writer the men took turns patrolling the field at night, "to protect their provisions from the depredations of night rovers, as bears, raccoons, and deer, the two former being immoderately fond of young corn, when the grain is filled with a rich milk, as sweet and nourishing as cream; and the deer are as fond of the Potatoe vines."[77]

When the harvest was ripe all proceeded to the field in the same manner, but this time each family garnered from his own plot. The women made sacks out of cowskins, and the corn was carried home in these after it had been shucked. Then it was laid away in rows in the different granaries, the better corn farther back as that which would last longest, the worse nearer the entrance. A portion of the harvest, however, each family contributed to a large corncrib, which Bartram says was called "the king's crib."[78] This constituted a [621] reserve supply upon which to fall back when the private granaries gave out. Or it was used to succor other towns, to feed travelers, to supply to war parties, and so on. It was, in fact, a kind of public commissary.

I was told that the ground of the hilis-haya or physic maker was planted by some of the old women in return for his services. This must refer to his garden plot. At Tukabahchee and Kealedji it was close to the northwestern edge of the grounds.

Hunting

224 Hunting and the ball play were close rivals for the second place after war in the esteem of the ancient Creeks. The former was of course a necessity and has its strictly economic side which does not here concern us. A few words may, however, be said regarding it from the social and religious points of view.

Elsewhere I have spoken of the ancient rights to hunting grounds and of the times of the year when hunting expeditions were undertaken.[78a]

The Creeks usually took medicines and washed their guns in them before they went after game. The Alabama, and probably the Creeks in general, steamed themselves thoroughly in the sweat house and then plunged into a cold stream before they set out. If several

[77] Bartram, Travels, p. 192. [78] Ibid., p. 510. [78a] See pp. 336-337, 404-405.

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Elsewhere he states that "when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it."[96] Again "the Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil.[97] He was informed by those whites who had become used to living in the Indian manner "that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed venison; but that otherwise they decline it."[97] 782 224

Of course most of these are merely taboos connected with the hunting of deer. Pope says on this point:

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I have no confirmation or contradiction of the gradations of sacrifice here mentioned, but it is well known even to the living Indians that the old people used to put a little food into the fire before eating. The same thing is noticed in Adair's account of the Creek who railed upon the fire for burning him after the good treatment he had given it.[99] One of my informants had seen the Nuyaka Indians "feed the fire" with turkey during their fall festivities accompanied by hunting and ball games. 782 264

TABOOS

The religion of these people, and, as we shall presently see, their medicine, was seamed through and through with the idea that similarity in appearance means similarity in nature, that similarity in one property involves similarity in all the other properties, and that association of any kind will result in communicating properties from one thing or person to another. This is particularly true about things which are taken into the system by eating and drinking, but applies in other ways as well. Adair says on this point: 771 789

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[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 127–128.
[97] Ibid., p. 115.
[98] Pope, Tour, p. 59.
[99] See p. 464.

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789 feeds on venison, is according to their physical system, swifter and more sagacious than the man who lives on the flesh of the clumsy
•262 bear, or helpless dunghill fowls, the slow-footed tame cattle, or the heavy wallowing swine. This is the reason that several of their old men recommend, and say, that formerly their greatest chieftains observed a constant rule in their diet, and seldom ate of any animal of a gross quality, or heavy motion of body, fancying it conveyed a dulness through the whole system, and disabled them from exerting themselves with proper vigor in their martial, civil, and religious duties." [1]

784 A little farther on he tells us that it was customary in all the Indian tribes to eat the heart of a slain enemy "in order to inspire them with
262 courage." He had seen some of their warriors drink out of a human skull in order to "imbibe the good qualities it formerly contained." [2]

This idea is one of the cardinal principles on which their medicine is built and was shared by every tribe in America that has been investigated. Adair introduces it in order to draw a parallel between the taboos of the Israelites and those of the Indians, but most of the Indian instances which he cites are to be accounted for in the way explained by him above or because it was believed that the animal in question would bring on a certain disease, a matter to be elaborated presently. Nevertheless it is worth while to take note of the things from which they abstained in his time, even though we fail to discover in that traces of a Jewish origin. He says that they refused to eat all birds of prey and birds of night, and a little farther on he mentions specifically eagles, ravens, crows, buzzards, swallows, bats, and every species of owl. He also adds flies, mosquitoes, and gnats. They did not eat many carnivorous animals or such as lived on nasty food, as hogs, wolves, panthers, foxes, cats, mice, rats. All beasts of prey except the bear were "unhallowed"—also all amphibious quadrupeds, horses, fowls, moles, the opossum, and all kinds of reptiles.[3] He says that the old traders could remember when they first began to eat beaver.[4]

Hogs and domestic fowls were probably tabooed at first because strange to the Indians and in the case of the hog because it is a heavy, awkward looking animal and might communicate such properties to the eater.

"When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the temple, he was indeed re-admitted to his usual privileges." [5]

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[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 133.
[2] Ibid., p. 135.
[3] Ibid., pp. 130-138.
[4] Ibid., p. 132.
[5] Ibid., p. 139.

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From want of any independent information on this point this must be left without comment. Of course, Adair is anxious to make the most of such a taboo in his desire to establish a Hebrew origin for his red friends, and this is naturally extended to the opossum, after which the Indians named the hog. Still, what he says may be true, that "several of the old Indians assure us, they formerly reckoned it as filthy uneatable an animal, as a hog."[6] The instances which Adair gives in proof of the existence of these taboos all tend to prove that they abstained from them generally for fear of some disease or limitation which the animal might communicate. He says that they abstained from swallowing flies, mosquitoes, or gnats because they believed that they bred sickness or worms, "according to the quantity that goes into them."[7] Upon one occasion Adair shot a small fat hawk which he strongly importuned an old woman to take and dress, but although there was no meat of any kind in camp, "she, as earnestly refused it for fear of contracting pollution, which she called the 'accursed sickness,' supposing disease would be the necessary effect of such an impurity."[8] Again he says that "they abhor moles so exceedingly that they will not allow their children even to touch them for fear of hurting their eye-sight; reckoning it contagious."[9]

Other food taboos mentioned by Adair are against eating an animal that had died of itself, a young animal newly weaned, and blood. The first of these may be commended as a taboo of real medicinal value and the reason given by themselves, that the animal might have died of a contagious disease, is just as valid to-day. Adair has the following to say regarding this taboo.

"None of them will eat any animal whatsoever, if they either know, or suspect that it died of itself. I lately asked one of the women the reason of throwing a dung-hill-fowl out of doors, on the cornhouse; she said, that she was afraid, *Oophe Abeeka Hakset Illeh*,[9a] 'it died with the distemper of the mad dogs,' and that if she had eaten it, it would have afflicted her in the very same manner. I said, if so, she did well to save herself from danger, but at the same time, it seemed she had forgotten the cats. She replied, 'that such impure animals would not contract the accursed sickness, on account of any evil thing they eat; but that the people who ate of the flesh of the swine that fed on such polluting food, would certainly become mad.'

"In the year 1766, a madness seized the wild beasts in the remote woods of West-Florida, and about the same time the domestic dogs were attacked with the like distemper; the deer were equally infected. The Indians in their winter's hunt, found several lying dead, some in a helpless condition, and others fierce and mad. But though they

[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 16.
[7] Ibid., p. 121.
[8] Ibid., pp. 120-121.
[9] Ibid., p. 123.
[9a] *Oft abeka hakset illi.*

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are all fond of increasing their number of deer-skins, both from emulation and for profit, yet none of them durst venture to flay them, lest they should pollute themselves, and thereby incur bodily evils. The headman of the camp told me, he cautioned one of the *Hóttuk Hakse*, who had resided a long time at Savannah, from touching such deer, saying to him *Chehaksinna*, 'Do not become vicious and mad,' for *Isse Hakset Illehtàhah*, 'the deer were mad, and are dead'; adding, that if he acted the part of *Hakse*, he would cause both himself, and the rest of the hunting camp to be spoiled; nevertheless he shut his ears against his honest speech, and brought those dangerous deerskins to camp. But the people would not afterward associate with him; and he soon paid dear for being *Hakse*, by a sharp splintered root of a cane running almost through his foot, near the very place where he first polluted himself; and he was afraid some worse ill was still in wait for him."[10]

Adair is also very insistent regarding the blood taboo, and cites the case of a woman who believed "she had *Abeeka Ookproo*, 'the accursed sickness,' because she had eaten a great many fowls after the manner of the white people, with the *Issish Ookproo*, 'accursed blood,' in them." Afterwards she would never eat fowls unless they had been bled to death.[11] This must also be left unverified. While there was probably truth in it it is doubtful whether it had the importance attributed to it by Adair, who is again anxious to make a point for his Hebrew theory. The taboo against eating a newly weaned animal is probably correct, since one kind of disease was traced to such an animal in later times, as we shall presently see. Adair says that the old men not merely refrained from eating it but thought "they would suffer damage, even by the bare contact."[12] He also cites instances of Indians refusing to eat with the traders for fear of pollution,[13] but this was less on account of the whites themselves than what might be contained in their dishes. Taboos were so numerous with the old time Indians that parallels with the taboos of any other nation could be found without a great deal of difficulty.

A few miscellaneous beliefs bearing upon taboos may be added, obtained principally from the Natchez doctor so frequently quoted.

If a hunter ate the head of a turkey, gnats and similar flying insects would come about him so closely and in such numbers as to interfere with his vision.

If he ate the tail of a deer the deer would become wild and the hunter could not approach them.

Nothing half cooked and nothing young was to be eaten, nor should one wash his face with soap or bathe in warm water. On

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[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 131-132. Chickasaw words: *hóttik hakxi; chihaksinna; isi hakxit illitoha.*
[11] Ibid., p. 135. Chickasaw words: *abeka okpulo; issish okpulo.*
[12] Ibid., p. 136.
[13] Ibid., pp. 133-134.

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the contrary he must go to cold running water in the morning, even though it were covered with ice, and, breaking the ice, if necessary, plunge into that. He must go in when daylight first showed itself and remain until the sun was up.[13a] This, of course, applies to the baths universally taken in the Southeast every morning and may be overdrawn in details.[14] 784 262

An individual taboo of my informant, or means of obtaining luck, was to drink from a cup held in his right hand while he faced the east. 789

The Natchez and Cherokee ate their food cold, believing it was better for their teeth. 262

Breaking wind was associated with manliness. 514

Among the Creeks I was told that when a story-teller finished his narrative he would spit, and then another would have to contribute a story in return, and in this way the cue was taken up by one after another "until the children went to bed." 538

MUSIC AND DANCING[14a]

Their musical instruments were the drum, rattle, and a kind of flute. Adair makes mention of a stringed instrument, and the mere notice of this would be important if we could prove that it was truly aboriginal. Pope speaks of the Indians in his time dancing for several hours to the music of the violin; but if so, this was a late innovation. The flute was used only by individuals and was never employed in ceremonies, as was constantly the case with the drum and rattle. The Alabama flute was made of two pieces of cedar hollowed out and fastened together with buckskin. There were six holes along the sides toward one end and on top toward the other was placed a separate piece of cedar covering two additional holes. All were bound with buckskin at frequent intervals. Flutes were sometimes made of cane. It may be said of the drum and rattle that the one was an almost invariable and the latter a very frequent accompaniment of their dances. 534

The drum was made by sawing off a cypress knee close to the ground and stretching a buckskin over the wide end (pl. 13, *a*). This buckskin was wet from time to time to make it sound properly. Anciently an earthen pot was also employed, and in later times they resorted to a keg partly filled with water and covered with buckskin or cowhide. The rattle was made of a gourd containing 30 or 40 small pebbles, with a stick about a foot long run through it as a handle. In later times a coconut was substituted for the gourd. The chief of the Mikasuki remembered to have heard of still another kind of

[13a] Or as another informant expressed it, "from the second call of the crow until sun up."

[14] See pp. 365-366.

[14a] The interested reader should consult "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," by Frank G. Speck, in Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1911.

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"They count the day also by the three sensible differences of the sun, like the Hebrews—sunrise, they term, *Hassé kootcha meente* [hàshi kucha minti], 'the sun's coming out';—noon, or mid-day, *Tabookòre* [tabokoli]; and sun-set, *Hassé Oobea* [hàshi àbia], literally, 'the sun is dead'; likewise, *Hasse Ookka'tòra* [hàshi okatula], that is, 'the sun is fallen into the water'; the last word is compounded of *Ookka* [oka], water, and *Etòra* [itola], to fall; it signifies also 'to swim,' as instinct would direct those to do, who fell into the water. And they call dark, Ookklille [oklili]—derived from *Ookka* [oka], water and *Illeh* [illi], dead;[68] which shews their opinions of the sun's disappearance, according to the ancients, who said the sun slept every night in the western ocean. They subdivide the day, by any of the aforesaid three standards—as half way between the sun's coming out of the water; and in like manner, by midnight, or cock-crowing, etc."[69] 512 821 805

The Creeks rose early, and, as we have already described, ran to the creek or the nearest water to plunge in four times before they returned to the fire. Perhaps they owed to this regulation in a measure their skill as swimmers. 512 515

Adair says:

"Except the Choktah, all our Indians, both male and female, above the state of infancy, are in the watery element nearly equal to amphibious animals, by practice: and from the experiments necessity has forced them to, it seems as if few were endued with such strong natural abilities,—very few can equal them in their wild situation of life."[70]

He attributes the deficiencies of the Choctaw in this particular to an absence of deep rivers or creeks in their country and he was so much impressed by the failing that he mentions it four times and gives it as the principal cause of the greater part of the losses they had suffered in their wars with the Muskogee.[71] How much truth there may have been in this we do not know. Whatever there was could probably have been traced to something in their environment or their customs.

While in later times, at least, the ancient Creeks did not have meals at regular hours as with us, they had two meals at irregular hours, one between 7 and 10 in the morning, the other around 2 in the afternoon. There was always a pot of sofki ready into which anyone could dip whenever the spirit moved him, and Swan says they resorted to it about once an hour.[72] This was their only supper. Labor was performed early by both men and women, and ordinarily it was laid aside about 2 o'clock, after which a ball game might be indulged in, and in the evening a dance until late at night. 512 264

[68] The etymology is probably altogether wrong.
[69] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76.
[70] Ibid., p. 404.
[71] Ibid., pp. 283, 291-292, 304, 404.
[72] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.

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Elsewhere he states that "when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it."[96] Again "the Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil.[97] He was informed by those whites who had become used to living in the Indian manner "that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed venison; but that otherwise they decline it."[97] 782 224

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[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 137–138.
[97] Ibid., p. 115.
[98] Pope, Tour, p. 59.
[99] See p. 494.

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"Each square has a black-drink cook, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum." [87] 344 [272]

Hawkins probably had the square of Kasihta more particularly in mind and Swan that of Otciapofa. From Bartram we have two different descriptions, one more generalized, the other a particular account of the square of Atasi. The first and briefer of these runs as follows:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all the apparatus of the priests. None but the priests having the care of these articles are admitted; and it is said to be certain death for any other person to enter. [623] [778]

"Fronting this is another building, called the "Banqueting House;" and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike, and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment." [88]

His description of the Atasi square is much longer:

"The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre and highest part of the town: it consists of four-square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants: there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width: each building is constructed of a wooden frame fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay mortar; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air; the front or side next to the area is quite open like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the coun- 344 623

[87] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 264-265.
[88] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, pp. 52-54.

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726 796 talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition.[a]

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

726 272 "When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

727 [a] Elsewhere Milfort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained: "When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

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because the circumstances do not demand the great one. It is for the sagacity of the chief to turn this superstition to advantage. 726 272

"This medicine, of the moral effect of which I have just spoken, has two effects purely physical. The first is that the Indians are very fond of getting drunk on strong liquors, and it is necessary to find a means of depriving them of these without exciting their murmurs. The medicine, great or little, offers this means, since, before taking it, they may not drink any liquor, a matter which they observe very religiously; and the chief, having the right to order it when he thinks that it is proper, can, in that way, preserve the utmost sobriety in the army. The second is that this medicine is really purgative, and the warrior thus purged is less endangered by the wounds which he receives, and which, in consequence, heal very promptly unless they are mortal. These people have still another means of diminishing the danger from their wounds, which is to fight almost naked. They recognize that a woolen garment, some particles of which almost always remain in the wounds, makes them much more difficult to heal and more dangerous. Thus shrewdness and religion, supporting each other, lend mutual assistance, and turn to the profit of those who know how to use them. [273]

"The Moskoquis observe, during war, a very rigorous discipline; they can neither eat nor drink without the order of their chiefs. I have seen them go without drinking, even when swimming across a river, because circumstances had obliged their chief to forbid it to them under pain of depriving them of their little war medicine, that is, of the influence of the talisman." [41] 726

"When they go to war they observe a very rigorous discipline. At the moment when they approach the enemy, they march in single file, the chief of the party at their head, and so arrange it that all the following warriors step in the footprints of the first. Even those are sometimes concealed by the last man by means of grass. In this manner they prevent the enemy from telling their number. When they halt or camp they form a circle, and leave open only one passage large enough to admit one man. They seat themselves with their legs crossed, and each has his gun beside him. The chief faces the entrance of the circle, where no soldier can go out without his permission. When it is time to rest he gives the signal, and then no one is allowed to move. The awaking is also by a signal.

"It is usually the head chief who indicates the positions,[42] and who has the sentinels placed charged with caring for the safety of the

[41] "I have already said that the great medicine or general medicine is taken before setting out."—Milfort. It is not altogether clear whether Milfort means that they were to be threatened with deprivation of the little war medicine taken internally or the medicine sack, but the former was probably intended. Milfort, Mém., pp. [illegible].

[42] Elsewhere he tells us that particular clans had the right to certain positions when on a war expedition. "These same [privileged] families, that is, the young warriors who belong to them, usually march to war ahead, and the war chief takes care to preserve this prerogative, unless circumstances compel another disposition. It is a means of emulation from which he sometimes derives great advantage." (p. [illegible].)

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By "the royal standard" Bartram means nothing more than the feathered calumet. The drum, as we learn on all hands, was used to call assemblies at the square for whatever purpose, and bear skins were usually laid down for the principal men and their guests on such occasions. The all-night dance mentioned at the end was a familiar accompaniment of the daily lives of the people.

Ceremony of the Asi

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At least one ceremony is involved here which was more religious than social and I will proceed to a more intimate account of it. This is the ceremony connected with the taking of the *Ilex vomitoria* or "black drink." The longest and best description of this is given by Swan and is as follows:

"The ceremony of the Black-drink is a military institution, blended with religious opinions.

"The black-drink is a strong decoction of the shrub well known in the Carolinas by the name of Cassina, or the Uupon tea.

"The leaves are collected, parched in a pot until brown, boiled over a fire in the center of the square, dipped out and poured from one pan or cooler into another, and back again, until it ferments and produces a large quantity of white froth, from which, with the purifying qualities the Indians ascribe to it, they style it white-drink; but the liquor of itself, which, if strong, is nearly as black as molasses, is by the white people universally called black-drink.

"It is a gentle diuretic, and, if taken in large quantities, sometimes affects the nerves. If it were qualified with sugar, etc., it could hardly be distinguished in taste from strong bohea tea.

"Except rum, there is no liquor of which the Creek Indians are so excessively fond. In addition to their habitual fondness for it, they have a religious belief that it infallibly possesses the following qualities, viz.: That it purifies them from all sin, and leaves them in a state of perfect innocence; that it inspires them with an invincible prowess in war; and that it is the only solid cement of friendship, benevolence, and hospitality. Most of them really seem to believe that the Great Spirit or Master of breath has communicated the virtues of the black-drink to them, and them only (no other Indians being known to use it as they do),[38a] and that it is a peculiar blessing bestowed on them, his chosen people. Therefore, a stranger going among them can not recommend himself to their protection in any manner so well as by offering to partake of it with them as often as possible.

"The method of serving up black-drink in the square is as follows, viz:

[38a] This was by no means the case since, in one form or another, the drink was used by practically all Southeastern tribes. See below.

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"The warriors and chiefs being assembled and seated, three young men acting as masters of ceremony on the occasion, each having a gourd or calabash full of the liquor, place themselves in front of the three greatest chiefs or warriors, and announce that they are ready by the word choh! After a short pause, stooping forward, they run up to the warriors and hold the cup or shell parallel to their mouths; the warriors receive it from them, and wait until the young men fall back and adjust themselves to give what they term the yohullah, or black-drink note. As the young men begin to aspirate the note, the great men place the cups to their mouths, and are obliged to drink during the aspirated note of the young men, which, after exhausting their breath, is repeated on a finer key, until the lungs are no longer inflated. This long aspiration is continued near half a minute, and the cup is taken from the mouth of the warrior who is drinking at the instant the note is finished. The young men then receive the cups from the chiefs or head warriors, and pass them to the others of inferior rank, giving them the word choh! but not the yohullah note. None are entitled to the long black-drink note but the great men, whose abilities and merit are rated on this occasion by the capacity of their stomachs to receive the liquor.

"It is generally served round in this manner three times [34] at every meeting; during the recess of serving it up, they all sit quietly in their several cabins, and amuse themselves by smoking, conversing, exchanging tobacco, etc., and in disgorging what black-drink they have previously swallowed.

"Their mode of disgorging, or spouting out the black-drink, is singular, and has not the most agreeable appearance. After drinking copiously, the warrior, by hugging his arms across his stomach, and leaning forward, disgorges the liquor in a large stream from his mouth, to the distance of six or eight feet. Thus, immediately after drinking, they begin spouting on all sides of the square, and in every direction; and in that country, as well as in others more civilized, it is thought a handsome accomplishment in a young fellow to be able to spout well.

"They come into the square and go out again, on these occasions, without formality." [35]

The following is Adair's account, which shows that the ceremony was almost identical among the Chickasaw:

"There is a species of tea, that grows spontaneously, and in great plenty, along the sea-coast of the two Carolinas, Georgia, and East and West Florida, which we call *Yopon*, or *Cusseena*: the Indians transplant, and are extremely fond of it; they drink it on certain

[34] Probably this should be "four times."
[35] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 326-327.

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stated occasions, and in their most religious solemnities, with awful invocations; but the women, and children, and those who have not successfully accompanied their holy ark, *pro Aris et Focis*, dare not even enter the sacred square, when they are on this religious duty; otherwise they would be dry-scratched with snakes teeth, fixed in the middle of a split reed, or a piece of wood, without the privilege of warm water to supple the stiffened skin.[26a]

"When this beloved liquid, or supposed holy drink-offering, is fully prepared, and fit to be drank, one of their *Magi* brings two old consecrated conch-shells, out of a place appropriated for containing the holy things, and delivers them into the hands of two religious attendants, who, after a wild ceremony, fill them with the supposed sanctifying, bitter liquid: then they approach near to the two central red and white seats, (which the traders call the war, and beloved cabbins) stooping with their heads and bodies pretty low; advancing a few steps in this posture, they carry their shells with both hands, at an instant, to one of the most principal men on those red and white seats, saying, on a bass key, Yàh, quite short: then, in like manner, they retreat backward, facing each other, with their heads bowing forward, their arms across, rather below their breast, and their eyes half shut; thus, in a very grave, solemn manner, they sing on a strong bass key, the awful monosyllable, O, for the space of a minute: then they strike up majestic He, on the treble, with a very intent voice, as long as their breath allows them; and on a bass key, with a bold voice, and short accent, they at last utter the strong mysterious sound, Wah, and thus finish the great song, or the most solemn invocation of the divine essence . . . The favoured persons, whom the religious attendants are invoking the divine essence to bless, hold the shells with both hands, to their mouths, during the awful sacred invocation, and retain a mouthful of the drink, to spurt out on the ground, as a supposed drink-offering to the great self-existent Giver; which they offer at the end of their draught. If any of the traders, who at those times are invited to drink with them, were to neglect this religious observance, they would reckon us as godless and wild as the wolves of the desert. After the same manner, the supposed holy waters proceed, from the highest to the lowest, in their synedrion: and, when they have ended that awful solemnity, they go round the whole square, or quadrangular place, and collect tobacco from the sanctified sinners, according to ancient custom."[26]

Still another description of this ceremonial is given by Stiggins:

"I shall now enter on their uniform custom of drinking their *Assēe* which is a very strong black tea used by them without any sugar,

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[26a] See pp. 262-264.

[26] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 46-48.

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made of eupon or Cassene leaves. Said drink is called by the white men among them the *Black drink*. It is customary at this time and may have been for ages back for the men to meet at their town house or square in every town at least once a week. In the Tuckabatchies, the principal town, they meet every morning to drink their asee, which is prepared for use in the following manner at all places. It is parched first in a large pot of their own manufactory of clay untill the leaves are brown. Then water is applied to the full of the pot and boiled by a man appointed to that service. After boiling, it is cooled in large cooling pans of the same manufactory by one of the oldest chiefs of the town. When it can be poured over his finger without scalding it is cool enough to drink. It is then put into two gourds that would hold near a gallon each with a hole in it of about three quarters of an inch in diameter at which hole they suck it out. Said gourds of assee are very ceremoniously handed round the square to every man by men selected for the purpose and drunk as made, without sugar or any other embellishment. It is singular how this tea operates on them after they drink it, for after they have drunk it they retain it in their stomack for near a half hour. They can discharge their stomack of it as often as they drink it, with seeming ease, spouting it out of their mouth as it were by eructation. After four or five drinks and discharges of their stomack at different times of near a quart at a time, the black drink being over they disperse at or near ten o'clock; it acts as a tonic, as it is drunk of a morning fasting. By the process their stomack is well rinsed and braced up. The taste of the black drink is not disagreeable being not unlike [that of] very strong black tea and nearly of a black colour. No doubt but their custom of drinking the black drink originated through political motives, viz., for the purpose of assembling the towns people frequently at their town house or square in order to keep them united." [27]

A few shorter accounts may be added. The first is by David Taitt:

"I went this morning to the [Tukabahchee] Town hot House where was only a few Old Men sitting and smoking Tobacco. When I went in the men present came a(nd) shook hands with me and offered me their Tobacco to smoke, afterwards they presented me with a Calabash filled with black drink made from the leaves of Casina which they parch in an Earthen pot till they are of a Dark brown Colour, they then put water upon them and boil it up till it is very Strong. They afterwards put a Strainer made of Split Canes into the pot and so take the drink out of the Strenner with a Callabash, entirely free from any leaves, they cool it in a Large Earthen bowle by heaving it up with gourds or Callabashes till

[27] Stiggins, Ms.

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they raise a froth on the Top as Strong as that on porter. When it is Cool enough they fill some gourds with (it) and Carry it into the hot house in winter or Square in Summer, and present it to the head man or King of the Town first and likewise to any Stranger that is present two or three men Singing while the others Drink. As soon as they have done Singing, they Receive the Callabashes from head man and Stranger and Exchange them that they may drink together, then it is handed all round to every person present without the Ceremony of Singing or Exchanging Cups."[28]

Claiborne incorporates the following in his History of Mississippi:

"When the Creeks meet in council they smoke and have what they call 'the black drink.' It is made of the leaves of the Cassina Yapon, a tree resembling the haw-bush. They put the leaves in a basket and deposit it in a long earthen pot and boil them over a fire made in the middle of the square under a scaffold. The ceremony of drinking 'the black drink,' says Gen. Dale, is this: When they are all seated around one of them takes the gourd, (kept for that purpose) holds it over the pot, pours into it the liquid and continues pouring in until it foams and runs over. He then takes the gourd to the Head Chief and begins making a long note, drawing out his breath longer than one would suppose he could; he then draws his breath a second time, giving another long note, but in a different key. He then carries the gourd to the other chiefs, giving each of them a grunt as he presents it. There is no fixed time for the latter to drink by; the head chief drinks during the making of the two notes. They drink a quart at a time as hot as they can bear it. Some 15 minutes afterwards they vomit the drink without any effort or artificial means. The virtue of the drink is exhiliration and warmth to the system."[29]

Bossu says:

"All the savages of the country of the Alabamas drink cassine; it is the leaf of an extremely bushy shrub; it is not larger than a black poplar (liard) but is serrated all around. They roast it as we make coffee, and drink the infusion with many ceremonies. When this diuretic drink is made, the young people go to offer it in gourds open like cups, according to the quality and rank of the chiefs and the warriors; that is to say to the Honored men, then to the other warriors, according to their rank. They preserve the same order when they offer the calumet for smoking; while you drink they shout with a loud voice and lessen it gradually; when you have stopped drinking they catch their breath and when you begin again they continue the same shouting. This kind of orgy lasts sometimes for six hours in the morning until two hours after noon. These savages are not

[28] Journal of David Taitt, in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., pp. 502-503.
[29] Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 491.

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otherwise inconvenienced by their drinking, to which they attribute much virtue. They throw it up without effort and without inconvenience. The women never drink of this beverage which is made only for warriors. It is in such assemblies into which they (the women) are never admitted that they relate all of their news and deliberate over their political business, concerning war or peace."[30]

Milfort is another French traveler who has left us a description of this ceremonial:

"When the savages assemble for any reason they are accustomed before undertaking any business, to begin by smoking their pipes, and drinking a liquor which they make from the leaf of a tree, very common among them, and which it is claimed is a wild tea tree. It much resembles that of China, except that the leaf is much smaller. This tree is green during the entire year; its leaf is gathered only when it is to be served. When the savages wish to make use of it they have it boiled like coffee. When they prepare this liquor to drink in their assembly this is how they treat it. They put a certain quantity of tea leaves into an earthen vessel which they place over the fire; when they are dried sufficiently, they put in water in proportion to the quantity of leaves, and boil the whole. When they decide that the infusion is strong enough, they pass it through a basket like a sifter, and leave it in great earthen vessels destined to receive it for cooling. When it is not warmer than the natural heat of milk, one of the old men who has charge of this ceremony has it put into gourds at the top of which is an opening about two inches in diameter. It is presented for drinking in these gourds, and for this purpose it is passed in succession to each one of the members of the assembly."

He adds that it was later vomited up in order to assure clear headedness on the part of the members of the assembly in taking up the business in hand, particularly to insure against the effects of spirituous liquors.[31]

It is not clear that this ceremony was gone through on all occasions when the black drink was taken, because in some towns and at certain times it is said to have been taken every morning. In particular it was prescribed for those men who were appointed to preserve the buildings of the Tukabahchee Square. They were not permitted to eat until after they had taken it. It at least preceded all important assemblies. Adair, in pursuance of his pet theory of an Israelitish origin for the American Indians, lays great stress upon the syllables uttered by the bearers of the black drink, and he supposes that they were the syllables of the name Jehovah. It so happens that although I can add little or nothing regarding the ceremony in general I obtained a short account of it from Jackson Lewis which

[30] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 41-42.
[31] Milfort, Mém., pp. 195-199.

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throws light upon just this point. He stated that formerly the black drink (âsi) was taken at the same time as the busk medicines, though it has now long been abandoned. But, while those who take the ordinary busk medicines go to the medicine pots to drink, the black drink was brought to the drinkers by four bearers. Each of these men would hand a pot of âsi to one who was to drink and when the latter placed it to his lips the bearer would utter a cry, which, as described to me, was something like this, "ā-a-a-a

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because the circumstances do not demand the great one. It is for the sagacity of the chief to turn this superstition to advantage. 726 272

"This medicine, of the moral effect of which I have just spoken, has two effects purely physical. The first is that the Indians are very fond of getting drunk on strong liquors, and it is necessary to find a means of depriving them of these without exciting their murmurs. The medicine, great or little, offers this means, since, before taking it, they may not drink any liquor, a matter which they observe very religiously; and the chief, having the right to order it when he thinks that it is proper, can, in that way, preserve the utmost sobriety in the army. The second is that this medicine is really purgative, and the warrior thus purged is less endangered by the wounds which he receives, and which, in consequence, heal very promptly unless they are mortal. These people have still another means of diminishing the danger from their wounds, which is to fight almost naked. They recognize that a woolen garment, some particles of which almost always remain in the wounds, makes them much more difficult to heal and more dangerous. Thus shrewdness and religion, supporting each other, lend mutual assistance, and turn to the profit of those who know how to use them. [273]

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"When they go to war they observe a very rigorous discipline. At the moment when they approach the enemy, they march in single file, the chief of the party at their head, and so arrange it that all the following warriors step in the footprints of the first. Even those are sometimes concealed by the last man by means of grass. In this manner they prevent the enemy from telling their number. When they halt or camp they form a circle, and leave open only one passage large enough to admit one man. They seat themselves with their legs crossed, and each has his gun beside him. The chief faces the entrance of the circle, where no soldier can go out without his permission. When it is time to rest he gives the signal, and then no one is allowed to move. The awaking is also by a signal.

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621 532 view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist." [11]

[302] According to some informants the people of each tálwa formerly had distinctive face paintings, and there were men in every town particularly skilled in applying these. The design for Tuskegee was as shown in the cut (fig. 102).

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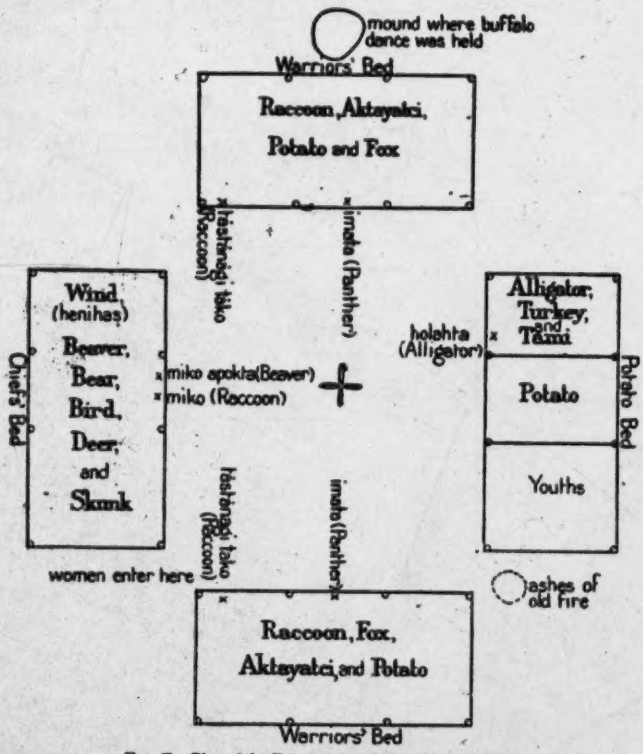

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (III)

621 A word may be quoted from Stiggins regarding the feeling of unity which subsisted within each town.

"The towns people were frequently assembled at their town house or square in order to keep them united, for the harmony subsisting among the people of a town is noted and seems to be cemented by an affection as strong towards each other as the sons of Jacob of old in their association. As the usages and customs of every town are similar and the men all know the unity and sympathy of a town

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

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"the best speaker in the town." The two offices may sometimes have been combined, but it is evident that they were usually distinct. 624

In Tukabahchee and all of those towns of which the ancient organization has been preserved, either in the memories of the Indians or in fact, there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the tàstánàgàlgi, the next in rank the imała łàkà'lgi, or "big imałas," and the third the imała łàbotskàlgi or "little imałas." At Tukabahchee, and probably in the greater number of towns, the tàstánàgis sat at the western end of the north bed, but, as I have shown elsewhere, their position varied, and sometimes the tàstánàgis and imałas were seated in different beds. The Tukabahchee arrangement is given by Hawkins as that in Kasihta in his time. He does not indeed give the Indian names of the various grades of warriors but he states that there were three of them and that promotion was regular from lowest to highest. In most towns the tàstánàgis and imałas received their positions on account of warlike feats, not because of ancestry or clan connection. One of my informants said that a tàstánàgi was a man who "carried out the determinations of the town." The leader of the tàstánàgis was usually known as the tàstánàgi łàko, "big warrior," and Hawkins states that he was selected from among the tàstánàgis by the miko and isti àtcagàgi.[36] According to the same writer the highest title to which a warrior could aspire was that of "Great Leader" (Is-te-puc-cau-chau thlucco [isti pàkatca łàko]), which required "a long course of years and great and numerous successes in war." The head warrior of Tukabahchee was known as the Tàstánàgi simiabaiya.[36] He was privileged to call the whole town together. According to a Coweta informant, in his town the tàstánàgis were elected by the head men of the town from the Red clans, but, although it is probable that, on account of the theory regarding them, more warriors would arise from the Red than from the White clans, they were certainly not drawn exclusively from such clans. These officials all had to do with war and with the ball game which is called "the brother of the war." War, while decided upon in council, was announced by the Big Warrior. According to a Coweta informant ball games were arranged by the Big Warriors of the towns concerned, each taking such assistants as he desired, but in Kasihta there was a special official, the halisi tàstánàgi, who attended to such matters. The Tàstánàgis were also the native police, the Big Warrior being "chief of police"; they carried out the decisions of the miko and the isti àtcagàgis, and they punished any one who

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FIG. 102.—Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green

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[36] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, p. 78.

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disposition—and this in spite of the almost universal classification of the Bear as a peace clan. Further evidence of degeneration is shown in some of the Seminole towns in Oklahoma where a singe tàstànàgi has usurped the functions of both the chief's heniha and the miko apokta. 624 614

At Tukabahchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns as well, the isti àtcagàgi, the tàstànàgis, and some of the other classes bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a share in its government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seen to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war. When it was in its prime it is probable that merit vastly overbalanced, the isti àtcagàgis, tàstànàgis, imalas, and tàsikayas having owed their positions mainly, at least, to individual accomplishments. Although the mikàgi and henihàlgi had to do with peace mainly, they had gone through with the war discipline and had been selected from among the warriors. While they must always belong to certain clans they were, beyond that restriction, elective, and, as these clans were usually numerous, a considerable choice could be exercised. While it is true that the legislative and executive power was vested in a small number of people these were persons who had, for the most part, worked their way up by their talents and bravery, and were really representative of the native ideals of what was highest and most worthy. A power of recall was also exercised in the case of the chief and it is probable that we should find that the same power existed in effect over the other offices. A separation of governmental functions had begun in some particulars, the henihas being a kind of Department of the Interior concerned with the pursuits of peace, and the various classes of warriors, particularly the tàstànàgis, a department concerned with war, and also constituting an internal police. 624 554

Speck is the only authority for the use of face paintings to mark differences in rank. He says: 554 302

"Facial painting was employed to indicate rank in the town. Persons bearing the title of *mĩko* or *hiniha* wore black paint on one side of the face and red on the other, coloring either the whole face or only the space around the eyes. The second pattern belonged to ordinary initiated men having the title *taskáya* and consisted of four stripes, from the cheek-bone to the angle of the jaw, alternating in red and yellow." [48]

[48] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

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554 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck
•302 derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say:

"The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti àtcagàgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the ā-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the àsi was the prerogative of the henihàlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the àsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at
614 different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the
623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

619 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy
631 the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets
642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 246.
[48] See p. 436.
[49] The game described on pp. 469-470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 293.

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589 When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

"Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself. . . .

"The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, 'Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;' the most degrading of epithets." [29b]

548 A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint [302] their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

171 589 It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.[29c] It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive;* they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

562 592 Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, "In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

[29b] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 188-189. [29c] Milfort, Mém., p. 282.

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721 country was engaged in fighting her, and of more recent dealings of the same kind. It shows also how the customs of a people react inevitably upon themselves for good or for evil.

642 721 In the case of the confederacies above mentioned the very abolition of war between certain units increased the power of the aggregate body and at the same time their temptation to use this advantage in the exploitation of their less well-organized neighbors. And in the Creek confederacy, for instance, while its very existence depended on the fact that certain tribes had agreed to live without fighting, social advancement and the whole structure of the state was dependent on war to such a degree that a complete account of the institution involves an almost complete account of the Creek social system. This having already been given, we are now in a position to take up more particularly the method of waging war.

[302]

FIG. 103.—Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans)

726 The Creek warrior fought almost naked. He wore, of course, the breechclout and belt, also a pair of moccasins. His face and the upper part of his body were painted red and black. He carried a pack in which were an old blanket, some parched ground corn, cords, and leather with which to repair his moccasins. His weapons consisted in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt. Adair mentions a javelin which would be a short spear or throwing knife.[95] In later times the bow and arrow gave place to the gun, though the former were used along with the latter as late as Adair's time. The war club (átasa) was, however, the principal symbol of the institution. Stiggins describes it as "shaped like a small gun about 2 feet long, and at the curve near where the lock would be is a thin square piece of iron or steel with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about 2 inches."[96] It is remembered at the present day as an implement like a combined hatchet and knife, which could either be retained in the hand or thrown. One form of headdress of a Creek warrior is shown in the accompanying illustration, taken from the work of Romans (fig. 103).

[41]

721 Intertribal warfare among the southern Indians was suppressed so long ago that not much is remembered regarding it. In this

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 393. [96] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 35.

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726 302 Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war[49] but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

726 789 Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To conteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as ina hĭta, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

701 Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.[49a] They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called hobayi mi'ko, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as tăstănăgi lăko. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the hobayutci, "little-far-away." Third came the tăstănăk hobayi, "far-away-warrior," fourth the tăstănăkutci, "little warrior," fifth the lihomăhti or "trailer," and sixth the lĭhomahtūtci, or "little trailer." These two last were

[49] Milfort, Mém., pp. 33-34.

[49a] See p. 367 and also pp. 617-620 in the second paper of this volume.

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535 Poko imobânga, "the ball dance." (I presume this was danced in connection with the ball games.)

My most complete list was from the Alabama in Texas and was as follows:

Tcitcoba bitka, "the horse dance."
Nita bitka, "the bear dance."
Yanasa bitka, "the bison dance."
Kono bitka, "the skunk dance."
Tcoskâni bitka, "the duck dance."
Tcola bitka, "the fox dance."
Tcintcuba bitka, "the alligator dance."
Kitini bitka, "the horned-owl dance."
Ôfolō bitka, "the screech-owl dance."
Akâga bitka, "the chicken dance."
Tcofkoni bitka, "the bone dance."
Wokaskila bitka, "the tree-frog dance."
Łâlo bitka, "the fish dance."
Isbâk tokolo bitka, "the double-headed dance."
Pâspa bitka, "the bread dance."
Sâtâne bitka, "the wood-tick dance."
Sinte bitka, "the snake dance."
Sâtâ bitka, "the terrapin dance."
Okadjibândja bitka, "the parroquet (?) dance."
Itibitilga bitka, "the war dance."
Oktcâl'ā bitka, "the blackbird dance."
Kowegi bitka, "the quail dance."
Tcukfi bitka, "the rabbit dance."
Tcokce bitka, "the pumpkin dance" (a very old dance).
Itêheci bitka, "the friends' dance."
Pâtka bitka, "the bed dance."
Bitka atcōba, "the old dance."
Taske bitka, "the scalp dance."
Akita bitka, "the ākita dance."
Kinia bitka, "the kinia dance."

The aged chief of the Mikasuki knew of the horse, chicken, quail, skunk, old man's, duck, garfish, alligator, terrapin, crow, corn, hair, and chigoe dances, the last four of which do not occur in the other lists. David Cummings knew of cow and wolf dances, and Zach Cook of leaf and hinâta dances. My most complete account of the native dances being from the Alabama, the following descriptions will be based upon them.

535 When they dressed for the dances the Alabama men frequently
302 painted a large red spot on each cheek and a red line down the nose. The women put a smaller red spot on each cheek and omitted the line. Occasionally yellow was used instead of red, and in the times of which my informant had any remembrance the paints were obtained from stores. Charcoal was used to blacken the upper lip.

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These colors were for appearance only; they had no religious or other significance. The silver crowns and the pouches hung at the side and fastened by straps over the opposite shoulder were worn only at dances, except that the last were taken when traveling or going to town. New buckskin leggings were also worn at dances, but the handkerchief turbans were worn all of the time. The silver gorgets were generally assumed only for dances, but occasionally old ones were carried about at all times. While the hair was always made into four braids the beaded ornaments at the ends were for festivals or when the owner was going to town. 535 [302]

Two of these dances, the horned-owl dance and the snake dance, were never performed by the Alabama in June, July, or August, because in both they followed a serpentine course like that of a snake and people feared that those reptiles would be offended with them and bite them. The horned-owl dance is said to have been danced only in September. Every night, after these dances were over, the participants put their feet up to the fire so that the snakes could not see to bite them, and they warmed their hands and rubbed their eyes with them so that they themselves could see the snakes easily and would not step on them. The snake dance was danced a long time ago. All that I can add regarding it is Jackson Lewis's statement that it was danced entirely by women, and an implication on the part of Swan that the leader of this dance carried a wooden snake in his hands, but what Lewis said does not seem to be in agreement with what my Alabama informant had heard. [784]

The horned-owl dance was evidently a greater favorite and was danced more frequently, and it was connected with those feasts to which reference has already been made. To summon people to this dance a man went around on horseback—sometimes accompanied by a second—carrying in his hands a peculiar baton. This was made of a cane about 12 feet long, at the outer end of which was a hoop made of hickory, white oak, or some other suitable wood. About five deer tails, and sometimes a loaf of bread, were fastened to this. Bearing it, he visited every house to make the announcement. 535 574

The horned-owl dance was always in September. There was no drummer but one old man walked about perhaps 10 feet from the fire shaking a rattle and singing, while the men and women danced around the fire inside sinistrally. The rattler was also song leader; the men sang with him but the women did not sing. There was no definite order in which the men and women danced, except that one man did not immediately follow another. Each man held a handkerchief by one corner and a woman following held the opposite corner of the handkerchief. If another woman, or other women, danced beside her, they held her by the elbows. The dancers were

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When a man became sick at the stomach and vomited it was believed that a dead person had been eating out of the same dish with him. 753

Water from certain springs was also used as a remedy. There is a prairie in the Cherokee Nation formerly known as Medicine Spring Prairie (Gun ŏm gunâts) but now called Greenleaf Prairie (Tsu otol hăyăp). The medicine spring from which it was originally named is 4 miles east of Braggs and the water is good for rheumatism, fevers, backache, headache, pains in the breast or stomach, weak or sore eyes, and has especial value for children. The water makes one belch a great deal, and "when you first drink it you do not like it but after a time you get used to it and think it the finest water in the world." 757 3120

In the mountains 5 or 6 miles farther east is another spring with the very same kind of water, and a third 2 to 3 miles above Gore, on the bank of the Illinois River. A long time ago the Indians used to throw things into these.

To these may be added some mention of medicines by early writers. Adair speaks of an aquatic plant, probably a species of yellow flowered water lily (*Nymphaea*), the seeds of which were used as food. After noting this fact he continues: "It is a sort of marsh-mallows, and reckoned a speedy cure for burning maladies, either outward or inward—for the former, by an outward application of the leaf; and for the latter, by a decoction of it drank plentifully." He adds that the Choctaw called one of their head towns by its name.[a] 757

Swan says: "The cassia fistularius, or pod of the wild locust, which grows here in abundance, furnishes them late in autumn with a kind of sweetmeats, which they gather and bring home wherever they can find it; and it is esteemed a good antidote in the complaints of their children."[b] It is quite certain that this is in reality the honey locust (*Gleditsia triacanthos*).

After mentioning whooping cough and worms as diseases from which Creek children frequently suffered Bartram says: "But (besides their well-known remedy, *Spigelia anthelmintica*), to prevent the troublesome and fatal effects of this disease, they use a strong *lixivium* prepared from ashes of bean-stalks and other vegetables, in all their food prepared from corn (*zea*), which otherwise, they say, breeds worms in their stomachs."[c]

Below we read: "The vegetables which I discovered to be used as remedies, were generally very powerful cathartics. Of this class are several species of the *Iris*, viz, *Ir. versicolor*, *Ir. verna*. And for the same purpose they have a high estimation of a species of either *Croton* or *Styllingia*, I am in doubt which." He adds that this last

[a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 410. I have been unable to identify the name of the town.
[b] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[c] Bartram, Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. iii, p. 62.

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• 342 "The dwellings of the Upper Creeks [i. e., the Creeks proper, exclusive of the Seminole] consist of little squares, or rather of four dwelling-houses inclosing a square area, exactly on the plan of the Public Square. Every family, however, has not four of these houses; some have but three, others not more than two, and some but one, according to the circumstances of the individual, or the number of his family. Those who have four buildings have a particular use for each building. One serves as a cook room and winter lodging-house, another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors, and a third for a granary or provision house, etc. The last is commonly two stories high, and divided into two apartments,

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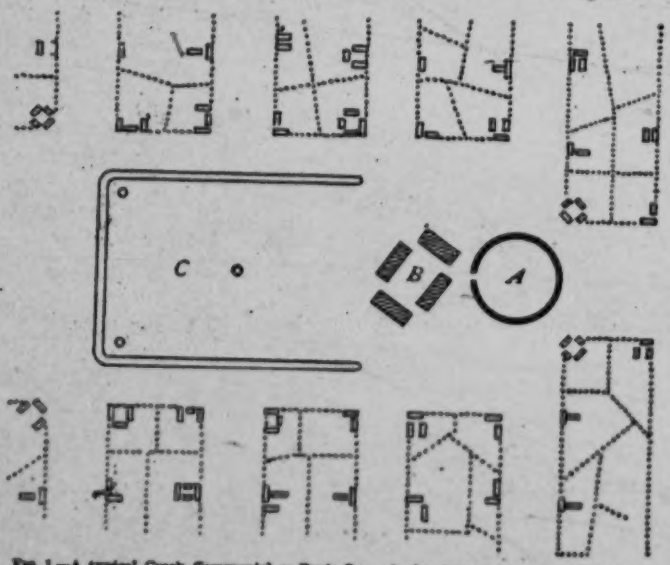

FIG. 1.—A typical Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground, showing its relation to the town. (After Bartram.)

transversely, the lower story of one end being a potato house, for keeping such other roots and fruits as require to be kept close, or defended from cold in winter. The chamber over it is the *council*. At the other end of this building, both upper and lower stories are open on their sides; the lower story serves for a shed for their saddles, pack-saddles, and gears, and other lumber; the loft over it is a very spacious, airy, pleasant pavilion, where the chief of the family reposes in the hot seasons, and receives his guests, etc. The fourth house (which completes the square) is a skin or ware-house, if the proprietor is a wealthy man, and engaged in trade or traffic, where he keeps his deer-skins, furs, merchandise, etc., and treats his customers. Smaller

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or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344 361 621

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks." [64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares." [65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177]

Among the Alabama the yard (tā'ăle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the household. [351 784]

[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, pp. 54-55.
[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 86.

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household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

"The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong."[66]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[66] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

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mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

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"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.
[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 120.
[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 88.
[70] Ibid., p. 103.
[71] Ibid., p. 23.
[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 56, 102.
[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 120.

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cabin made expressly for the purpose; each one places himself there in accordance with his rank, and has a right to speak in his turn according to his age, his capacity, his wisdom, and the service which he has rendered to the fatherland. 642 646

"The Grand Chief of the tribe opens the session in a speech which recounts the history or the tradition of their country; he recalls the military exploits of his ancestors who have signalized themselves in the defense of the fatherland, exhorting his subjects to imitate their virtues, by bearing patiently human wants and miseries, above everything in not murmuring at all against the Great Spirit, who is master of the life of all the beings here below; and in sustaining adversities with courage; finally in sacrificing all for love of the fatherland and liberty; it being a thousand times more glorious to die like a true man than to live as a vile slave.

"The chief having stopped speaking, the oldest noble old man rises, salutes his sovereign, and makes a speech, his body bare to the belt; the water runs from all parts of his body, on account of the heat and the action which he puts into his declamation, with natural gestures and metaphors which express his thought; he persuades his hearers to believe all that he says by the force and eloquence of his speech. Nothing is more instructive than these assemblies; one hears no chatter there, no indecency, no misplaced plaudits, nor immoderate laughter. The young people are very circumspect there, and attentive to listen with respect to the words of the old men, persuaded that it is for their good."[80]

Other evidence contradicts the statement that there was any one capital of the nation, and we know that the council house was nothing more than the tcokofa of the town in which the assembly happened to take place. Nevertheless Coweta and Tukabahchee, particularly the former, seem to have been favorite meeting places, facts indicated by Milfort in several places. The following description by him has particular reference to an assembly in Coweta:

"The assemblies of the nation usually take place in the principal town. In the center of this town is outlined a perfect and very extensive square; in each angle of this square are constructed three cabins of different sizes, forming in all twelve cabins. This square has four openings by which its center may be reached, and all of the cabins are so close together that from one of them one can see into all of the others. Each of them may hold from forty to sixty persons. 642 342 646

"That of the grand chief of the nation faces the rising sun, to indicate that he ought always to watch over the interests of the nation. At one side of this cabin, and in the same angle, is that called the grand cabin, where the general assemblies of the nation are held.

[80] Rouen, Nouv. Voy., vol. 2, pp. 70-72.

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642 "In the angle opposite are three other cabins; these belong to the
342 old men, and face the setting sun, to indicate that they are on the
646 decline, and that they must no longer march to battle. In the two other angles are the cabins of the different chiefs of the nation; they are larger or smaller according to the services they have rendered.

"All these cabins are painted red with the exception of the three facing the setting sun, which are always white, symbol of virtue and age.

"The cabins painted red are, in time of war, ornamented with many pieces of wood by way of decoration, which support a kind of chain made of wooden rings. This is a sign of sadness, informing the warriors that the motherland has need of them, and that they must be prepared to march at the first signal. In time of peace these links are replaced with garlands of ivy leaves.

"The three cabins of the old men are at all times ornamented with these garlands, mingled with flowers."

He adds that the square was very large, and then proceeds as follows:

642 "I have already said that the chiefs of the nation must assemble
646 every year in the month of May, and consider everything of importance to the nation, both internally and externally. When they are all at the rendezvous, called the grand cabin, of which I have just spoken, the assembly is called to order; and, when it is called to order (*formée*), none of those who compose it can go out from its compass until all of the business of the nation is concluded. The president alone may absent himself for some minutes; but he is obliged, like all of the others, to pass his days and nights in the assembly, and to be present at all of the deliberations.

"During the period of the assembly no one is allowed to approach the grand cabin nearer than twenty paces. Only the chiefs of the warriors are admitted there; the subordinate chiefs who are present are intended to serve the others, but they have no voice in the deliberations. The women are charged with the duty of preparing the necessary food and drink for the assembly; the subordinate chiefs go to fetch the provisions and place them in their turn in the grand cabin for the members of the assembly.

"In the center of the square formed by the cabin, a fire is lighted which burns continually. At sunset the young people of both sexes assemble, and come to dance around this fire until an appointed hour; during this time the assembly separates, and each member repairs, if he desires, to the cabin appropriate to the rank which he has received; or he remains in the grand cabin, and there enjoys the dance and the amusements of the young people; but without being allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, so long as the business is not entirely concluded. When the dances, which must

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In the Yuchi calendar recorded by Doctor Speck five months agree with those in Swan's list, with but slight variation, both in name and in the period of the year to which they were applied. It seems rather curious that these all belonged to the summer series.[54] 805 821

Adair says of the Indians of his acquaintance: "They pay great regard to the first appearance of every new moon, and, on the occasion, always repeat some joyful sounds, and stretch out their hands toward her—but at such times they offer no public sacrifice."[55] And in another place he remarks that they "annually observed their festivals . . . at a prefixed time of a certain moon."[56]

House building was a social affair and was distributed between the spring and fall. Adair gives a very lively account of the operation. 221 342

"While the memory of the bleak pinching winds lasts, and they are covered with their winter-blackened skins, they turn out early in the spring, to strip clap-boards and cypress-bark, for the covering of their houses: but in proportion as the sun advances, they usually desist from their undertaking during that favourable season; saying, 'that in the time of warm weather, they generally plant in the fields, or go to war; and that building houses in the troublesome hot summer, is a needless and foolish affair, as it occasions much sweating,'—which is the most offensive thing in life to every red warrior of manly principles. On this account, if we except the women chopping firewood for daily use, it is as rare to hear the sound of an ax in their countries, as if they lived under the inhospitable torrid zone; or were nearly related to the South-American animal Pigritia, that makes two or three days journey in going up a tree, and is as long in returning. When the cold weather approaches, they return to their work, and necessity forces them then to perform what a timely precaution might have executed with much more ease. When they build, the whole town, and frequently the nearest of their tribe in neighboring towns, assist one another, well knowing that many hands make speedy work of that, which would have discouraged any of them from ever attempting by himself. In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finish, a good commodious house.[57]

"They first trace the dimensions of the intended fabric and every one has his task prescribed him after the exactest manner."[58]

There was, of course, nothing like a week among them in olden times, though Bartram assures us that the Creeks at one of the towns through which he passed remained quietly in their houses on Sunday out of respect to the white people.[59] The Alabama have the following 512 805

[54] Speck, in Anthr. Publs. Univ. Mus., Univ. Pa., vol. i, p. 67.
[55] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 78.
[56] Ibid., pp. 99-100.
[57] But see p. 372.
[58] Adair, op. cit., p. 417.
[59] Bartram, Travels, p. 458.

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a. Drum

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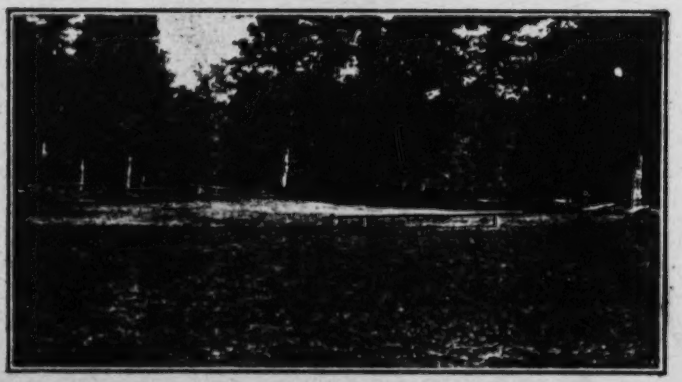

b. Ceremonial ground near Bragg, Okla., used by the Natchez, Creek, and Cherokee Indians

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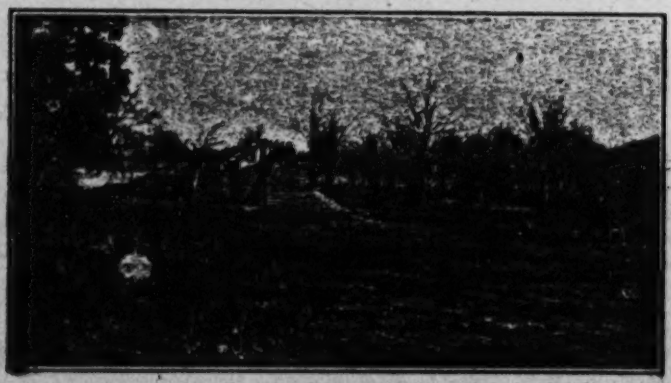

c. Home of the Kila or Prophet Yahola

THE CREEK AND NATCHEZ INDIANS

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cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[62] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

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The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[62] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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342 "The dwellings of the Upper Creeks [i. e., the Creeks proper, exclusive of the Seminole] consist of little squares, or rather of four dwelling-houses inclosing a square area, exactly on the plan of the Public Square. Every family, however, has not four of these houses; some have but three, others not more than two, and some but one, according to the circumstances of the individual, or the number of his family. Those who have four buildings have a particular use for each building. One serves as a cook room and winter lodging-house, another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors, and a third for a granary or provision house, etc. The last is commonly two stories high, and divided into two apartments,

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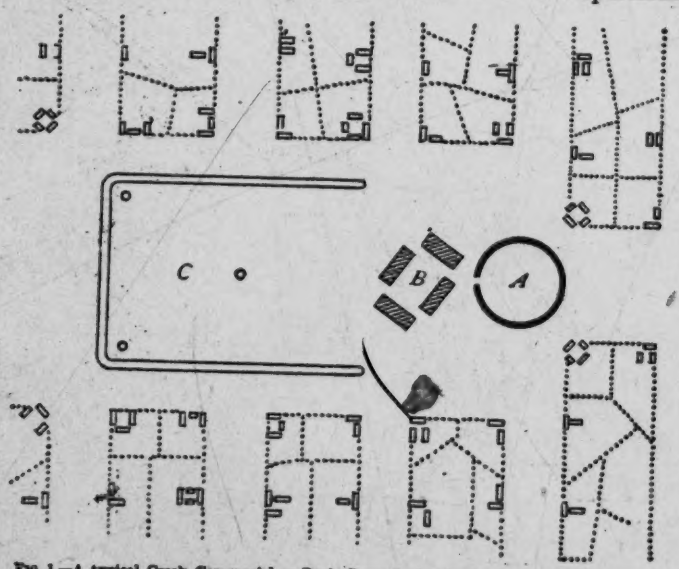

FIG. 1.—A typical Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground, showing its relation to the town. (After Bartram.)

transversely, the lower story of one end being a potato house, for keeping such other roots and fruits as require to be kept close, or defended from cold in winter. The chamber over it is the *council*. At the other end of this building, both upper and lower stories are open on their sides; the lower story serves for a shed for their saddles, pack-saddles, and gears, and other lumber; the loft over it is a very spacious, airy, pleasant pavilion, where the chief of the family reposes in the hot seasons, and receives his guests, etc. The fourth house (which completes the square) is a skin or ware-house, if the proprietor is a wealthy man, and engaged in trade or traffic, where he keeps his deer-skins, furs, merchandise, etc., and treats his customers. Smaller

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or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344. 361 621

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."[64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."[65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177]

Among the Alabama the yard (tā'ăle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the household. [351 784]

[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-55.
[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 86.

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342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house [592 owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of 606] the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

171 When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find 361 that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

342 "The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of •344 all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a 622 particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong."[66]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[66] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

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mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tacaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

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"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

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"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.
[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 120.
[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 88.
[70] Ibid., p. 105.
[71] Ibid., p. 22.
[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 56, 102.
[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 130.

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positions in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and the slave-posts."[74]

The use of the mound, while partly no doubt for defense and to add dignity to the structures placed upon it, was very often in order to protect the buildings from spring floods and the general dampness. Some earlier Spanish statements suggest that perhaps even in the sixteenth century not all public buildings were placed upon mounds. Yet by analogy with the Cherokee town house and the lower Mississippi temple we may consider it probable that the arrangement set forth by Bartram was actually a very ancient one. It would seem likely that the building called by Bartram the rotunda was once the most important element and that the public square was merely a summer substitute suggested by a southern climate. Such an evolution of the Creek public buildings would bring them into line with those known to have existed among the Cherokee and the tribes of the Mississippi. A later evolution changed the relative position of the elements here brought together and finally resulted in an almost complete elimination of the mounds. We will continue with Bartram's description of the later square (fig. 3) which remained essentially as he represents it almost to the present day.

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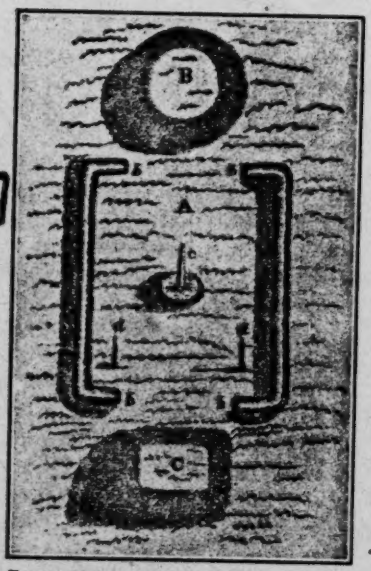

FIG. 2.—Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

"This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky-Yard Public Square, and Rotunda of the *modern* Creek towns.

"*A*, the Public Square or area.

"*B*, the Rotunda; *a*, the door opening towards the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; *c*, the great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house.

"*C*, part of the Chunky-Yard."[75]

[74] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 51-53.

[75] Ibid., p. 54.

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But however the arrangement, it is to be noticed that the public grounds of the Creeks included three elements, the *A*, *B*, and *C* of Bartram. As already stated, I believe the building which he calls the rotunda to be the oldest element of all, although it is the one which has disappeared most completely. In construction it was similar to the winter house of the individual Creek Indian, differing little except in size and the uses to which it was put. Adair says: 344•

"It is usually built on the top of a hill; and, in that separate and imperial state house, the old beloved men and head warriors meet on material business, or to divert themselves, and feast and dance with the rest of the people. They furnish the inside with genteel couches, either to sit or lie on, about seven feet wide, and a little more in length, with a descent towards the wall, to secure them from falling off when asleep. Every one takes his seat, according to his reputed merit; a worthless coxcomb dare not be guilty of the least intrusion—should he attempt it, he is ordered to his proper place, before the multitude, with the vilest disgrace, and bears their stinging laughter." [76] 344 623

FIG. 3.—Later pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

Swan describes it as follows:

"The hot-house is a perfect pyramid of about twenty-five feet high, on a circular base of the same diameter. The walls of it are of clay, about six feet high, and from thence drawn regularly to a point at the top, and covered round with tufts of bark. Inside of the hot-house is one broad circular seat made of canes, and attached to the walls all around. The fire is kindled in the center; and the house, having no ventilator, soon becomes intolerably hot; yet the savages, amidst all the smoke and dust raised from the earthen floor by their violent manner of dancing, bear it for hours together without the least apparent inconvenience." [77] 344

Hawkins names this house the "chooc-ofau thluc-co"—Tcokō'fa lā'ko, "house with a big room," as obtained by myself—and he goes on to give the following description:

"This is near the square and is constructed after the following manner: Eight posts are fixed in the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these, five or six logs are placed, of a side,

[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 421. [77] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 265-266.

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drawn in as they rise. On these, long poles or rafters, to suit the height of the building, are laid, the upper ends forming a point, and the lower ends projecting out six feet from the octagon, and resting on posts five feet high, placed in a circle round the octagon, with plates on them, to which the rafters are tied with splits. The rafters are near together, and fastened with splits. These are covered with clay, and that with pine bark; the wall, six feet from the octagon, is clayed up; they have a small door into a small portico, curved round for five or six feet, then into the house.

"The space between the octagon and the wall, is one entire sopha, where the visitors lie or sit at pleasure. It is covered with reed, mat or splits.

"In the centre of the room, on a small rise, the fire is made, of dry cane or dry old pine slabs, split fine, and laid in a spiral circle." [78]

The following account is from Bartram:

"The great council house or rotunda is appropriated to much the same purpose as the public square, but more private, and seems particularly dedicated to political affairs; women and youth are never admitted; and I suppose it is death for a female to presume to enter the door, or approach within its pale.[78a] It is a vast conical building or circular dome, capable of accommodating many hundred people; and constructed and furnished within, exactly in the same manner as those of the Cherokees already described, but much larger than any I had seen of them; there are people appointed to take care of it, to have it daily swept clean, and to provide canes for fuel, or to give light." [79]

Bartram's description of the Cherokee "rotunda," to which reference is made in the above account, is as follows:

"They first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at top, to receive into them from one to another, a range of beams or wall plates; within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at top, to receive another range of wall plates; and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but fewer in number, and standing at a greater distance from each other; and lastly, in the centre stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building, and to which the rafters centre at top; these rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed, and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all. There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light from without and the smoak to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small

[78] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 71-72.
[78a] This is erroneous; see Swan's statement on p. 182.
[79] Bartram, Travels, pp. 448-449.

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fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoak. All around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with mats or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year." [80]

This writer is the only one mentioning three concentric rows of posts in addition to the central pillar.

Contemporaneous with Bartram's description is that of Taitt:

"The hot house is generally built at the north west Corner of the Square having the door fronting the South East. The one in this Town [Tukabahchee] is a Square building about 30 feet diameter rounded a little at the Corners; the walls are about four feet high; from these walls the roof rises about twelve feet, terminating in a point at top. The door is the only Opening in this house for they have no window nor funnell for the smoke to go out, there is a small entry about ten feet long built at the out side of the door and turned a little round the side of the house to keep out the Cold and prevent the wind blowing the fire about the House; they make a Circle of pitch pine Split small; or in lieu of the pitch pine they use small dry Canes, leaving a small space of the Circle Open where the fire is lighted, still keeping some person Employed to add pitch pine of Canes to one part of the Circle while the fire Consumes the other. In this house the Indians consult about the affairs of their Nation in the Winter Season and in their Square in Summer." [81]

[623]

Hitchcock's notes contain a short description of the Tukabahchee tcokofa erected after the emigration of the Creeks to the banks of the Canadian. He calls this building "the Round house," and says:

"Considerable ingenuity has been employed in its erection.[81a] The main structure is supported upon *twelve* posts or pillars, one end sunk in the ground. They are disposed in a circle about 9 or 10 ft. apart, making a space within of about 120 ft. circumference, in the centre of which, upon the ground, is the sacred fire. The roof over this circle

[80] Bartram, Travels, pp. 366-367.

[81] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 303.

[81a] It seems that the architect was Tukabahchee mika, a well-known Upper Creek leader and at that time its leading medicine maker. After giving the dimensions of the building as "about 60 feet in diameter and 30 feet high," he says that Tukabahchee mike "cut sticks in miniature of every log required in the construction of the building, and distributed them proportionately among the residents of the town, whose duty it was to cut logs corresponding with their sticks, and deliver them upon the ground appropriated for the building, at a given time. At the raising of the house, not a log was cut or changed from its original destination; all came together in their appropriate places, as intended by the designer. During the planning of this building, which occupied him six days, he did not partake of the least particle of food."—Smithsn. Misc. Colls., no. 32, p. 12.

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is a cone terminating in a point over the fire some 20 odd feet high. The rafters extend down from the apex of the cone beyond the twelve pillars, which are about 8 ft. high, to within 4 or 5 ft. of the ground, which space, of 4 or 5 ft., is closed entirely with earth. Between the pillars and the extreme exterior, a space of several feet, are seats of mats, like those of the sheds [in the Square]. The manner of constructing the roof is very remarkable for Indian work. Upon the alternate couples of the 12 pillars are first placed horizontal pieces, then upon the ends of these are placed other horizontal pieces between the other couples of pillars, then another series of horizontal pieces resting upon the second set, but drawn within towards the centre of the circle a few inches. Upon these again are other pieces still more drawn in. There are 4 tiers of horizontal pieces thus placed upon each other (fig. 4).

"A, b, c, d, are four of the twelve pillars. Pieces are first laid upon ab and upon cd, then a piece upon these and between bc, etc., etc. These horizontal pieces are strongly bound together by leather thongs of green hide. They are only carried up to the number of 4 sufficient for giving a direction and a foundation for the rafters, which are laid upon these, extending up to a point in one direction and in the other direction over [the] outside nearly to the ground. The rafters are strongly bound by thongs and covered with ordinary rived boards for shingles. There is but one small entrance to the House which is next towards the angle of the square adjacent to which the Round House stands." [a]

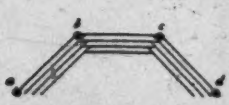

FIG. 4.—Structure of the roof of a Creek tookofa. (After Hitchcock)

[624]

He adds that certain persons were appointed to preserve the buildings and that they were obliged to take the black drink every morning.

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These descriptions, particularly that of Hawkins, agree with those I have myself obtained from old men who remember some of the hot houses that were built in Oklahoma. One had even heard that these buildings were anciently on mounds. In later times, however, the construction became much simpler. Some were made by resting poles on one end on an earthen wall and drawing the upper ends together at the center, the whole being covered with long boards. It is to be added that, although the seats ran all the way around this building on the inside, it was divided into separate "beds," maintaining the same general position as those in the "big house" out of doors. It was, as nearly as could be managed, an indoors version of the latter. During the Civil War most of these houses disappeared, and only one seems to have been built after that time, in this case by the people of Pakan tallahassee. One of the men who had participated

[a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. The overlapping of the horizontal pieces in the sketch is crudely indicated, suggesting an outward rather than an inward flare.

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in the erection of this particular structure told me that the boards were made, and the materials brought to the spot, set up and fastened together—with grapevines instead of nails—all in 10 days. This hot house was used by the Laksafáski,[89] who are the tástánagi—in this town equivalent to the Deer clan. It was afterwards burned to the ground and has never been replaced, though the foundation, including the location of the large center post and the circular outline, was traceable when I visited the Pakan tallahassee busk ground in 1912. At Tukabahchee its place is still theoretically marked, and a fire made for it annually, in a circular area about 50 feet in diameter northwest of the square ground.[89a]

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The outdoors council ground or "big house," as it is known to the Creeks, has also suffered degeneration, though not to such a marked degree as the tcokofa. The best early descriptions are by Bartram, Swan, and Hawkins, and they are confirmed by allusions on the part of Adair and other writers. Hawkins says:

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"Choo-co-thluc-co, (big house), the town house or public square, consists of four square buildings of one story, facing each other, forty by sixteen feet, eight feet pitch; the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame, supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed, up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise, into two seats; the front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed-mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot, and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats they lie or sit at pleasure."[90]

Swan's description is yet longer:

"The public squares, placed near the centre of each town, are formed by four buildings of equal size, facing inwards, and enclosing an area of about thirty feet on each side. These houses are made of the same materials as their dwelling-houses, but differ by having the front which faces the square left entirely open, and the walls of the back sides have an open space of two feet or more next to the eaves, to admit a circulation of air. Each of these houses is partitioned into three apartments, making twelve in all, which are called the cabins; the partitions which separate these cabins are made of clay, and only as high as a man's shoulders, when sitting. Each cabin has three seats, or rather platforms, being broad enough to sleep upon. The first is raised about two feet from the ground, the second is eight inches higher, and the third, or back seat, as much above the second. The whole of the seats are joined together by a covering of cane-mats, as large as carpets. It is a rule, to have a new covering to the seats every year, previous to the ceremony of the busk; therefore, as the

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[89] Said by some to be a chikasaw for the Tulukaqlagi; see p. 187.

[89a] Some further notes on the busk will be found on p. 26.

[90] Hawkins in Co. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, pp. 29-30.

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*344 old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[88] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [89] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[532 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
614] of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

"Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always
[621 been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the
531] posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[714] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[88] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[89] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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"Each square has a black-drink cook, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum." [27] 344 [272]

Hawkins probably had the square of Kasihta more particularly in mind and Swan that of Otciapofa. From Bartram we have two different descriptions, one more generalized, the other a particular account of the square of Atasi. The first and briefer of these runs as follows:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all the apparatus of the priests. None but the priests having the care of these articles are admitted; and it is said to be certain death for any other person to enter. [623] [778]

"Fronting this is another building, called the "Banqueting House;" and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike, and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment." [28]

His description of the Atasi square is much longer:

"The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre and highest part of the town: it consists of four-square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants: there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width: each building is constructed of a wooden frame fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay mortar; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air; the front or side next to the area is quite open like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the coun- 344 623

[27] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 264-265.
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. iii, pp. 62-64.

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344 [623] cilhouse where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide and rectify all grievances, complaints and contentions, arising betwixt the citizens; give audience to ambassadors, and strangers; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies or distant nations; consult about the particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens; or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three: it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded [778] place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary* dedicated to religion, or rather priest craft; for here are deposited all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs and other apparatus of conjurations; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail (Vultur sacra) curiously formed and displayed like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermillion. The piazza or front of this building, is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats or cabins stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sophas, and serve for a banqueting-house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females however are seldom or never seen in the public square.

344 532 "The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as an historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque or caricature, as men in variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kind of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front

* "Sanctorum or sacred temple; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war-chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night."—Bartram.

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or piazza of the council-house of the square, are ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled serpents, ascending upwards; the Ottasees being of the snake family or tribe." [86]

Taitt's description, referring particularly to Tukabahchee, is brief but to the point:

"The Square is formed by four houses about forty feet in Length and ten wide. Open in front and divided into three different Cabins each. The seats are made of Canes Split and worked together raised about three feet off the Ground; and half the width of the House, the back half being raised above the other about one foot; these Cabins serve for beds as well as seats in Summer." [87]

January 31, 1842, General Hitchcock visited the Tukabahchee Square, in what is now Oklahoma, and gives the following description:

"The *Square* consists of four shed roofs forming a rectangle 20 paces on a side within. Each roof is closed on three sides to the ground, the fourth or inner side being open for counsellors to sit in, where mats are spread made of cane for seats. The four sheds are separated on their angles 4 or 5 paces for entrance and egress and they are situated so that diagonals of the Square are nearly upon the meridian line and at right angles to it. The 3 sides of the sheds which are closed are closed with mud and are raised about 6 feet, the open front inside being a corresponding 6 feet. Each shed is divided into three parts by a partition raised only about elbow high to one in a sitting posture. Upon each partition there are two earth bowls about a foot in diameter in which live coals are placed during the council for the grave counsellors to light their pipes by.

"One of the sheds is appropriated, or two parts of the three into which it is divided, to the preservation of articles used in the preparation and drinking of the 'black drink.' The most curious part of the preparation at the Square is at the west angle a few feet from the angle outside." [88]

Another description, probably applying to the Coweta Square, is furnished by Milfort and will be found in the chapter on Creek government.[89] Still another is contained in the Creek origin myth related to Gatschet by Ispahihtca of Kasihta and refers to that town. The dimensions given are greater than those included in the descriptions of Hawkins, Taitt, and Hitchcock. Adair gives the size of the central section of the west bed as 9 by 7, which would indicate that the entire bed was not more than 30 feet long.

344 778

Attention should be called to the inclosed space behind the chief's bed mentioned by Hawkins and Bartram, and also by Adair who styles it "the holy of holies" and says regarding it: "As the Jews had

[86] Bartram, Travels, pp. 425-454.
[87] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 488.
[88] Hitchcock, Ms. Notes.
[89] See pp. 311-312.

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•344 778 a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, so have all the Indian nations; particularly, the Muskohge. It is partitioned off by a mud-wall about breast-high, behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red-painted war-seat; there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular damage to themselves, and general hurt to the people, from the supposed divinity of the place."[64] Later most of the objects which had been preserved here were put up under the roof as was the case in the square described by Hawkins. In old Okchai they were up under the roof at the north end of the west cabin, where the Wind clan sat. In recent years, perhaps to protect them from desecration by the whites, they have in some towns built a small house about 4 feet each way in which the pots used at that time are stored. There is one at Eufaula just back of the chief's bed, one at Alabama southeast of the square, and one at Chiaha Seminole in the same relative position. Tukabahchee, where the busk vessels and appurtenances are kept in a small inclosed space just back of the center of the chief's bed, is the only town to preserve a relic of the more ancient custom.

[177 346] 344 In olden times there was in front of each front post in every bed a stick tapering to a point at the top, leaning outward, and provided on the outer side with two notches. The butt ends of the wands on which the feathers were tied used in the tcitahaia dance were stuck into the ground at these same points. The sticks were called atásá, like the smaller ones carried by the leaders of the women in the women's dance and the small ones given to youths when they were named, and in all cases they evidently refer to the old-fashioned war club (atásá or atásu). This description applies particularly to Tukabahchee. Other towns are said to have had sticks in the shape of axes instead of war clubs. Besides these sticks I am told that on the front of each post on the right-hand side of the center of each bed as you face the bed notches were cut called (i)ná'tásá ha'ki, "made like the atásá," and only men of great importance who could call councils sat next to these posts.

Jackson Lewis agreed with Hawkins in stating that in the old days when cane seats were employed there were generally only two tiers, but it is evident that the practice was different in different towns. Aside from the plan given by Swan the only attempt to represent any part of the square graphically was by a French artist who sketched what is probably the west bed of the Alabama ground in the early part of the eighteenth century. (Fig. 5.) This differs from all other illustrations and descriptions in showing four sections instead of three.

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[64] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 80.

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From these descriptions it appears that the buildings of the square were anciently constructed somewhat after the fashion of a native house with a long porch. In Oklahoma they degenerated rapidly, especially after the Civil War. While I have seen one square in which the cabins were provided with a shingle roof, they are almost universally simple brush arbors. In those which retain the original idea most fully there are eight posts marking out the three ancient subdivisions, but in many grounds these have become reduced to six and in still others to four. Often, however, the tripartite division is theoretically maintained. The posts are forked at the top and bear a brush roof that is renewed every year at the time of the busk. The seats are usually of logs split in halves, laid with the flat surface uppermost. Two or three rows from front to back are made of these, but as a matter of fact many Indians, especially the principal

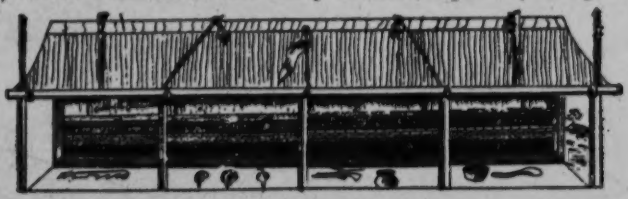

FIG. 5.—One of the beds in the Alabama Square Ground as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century. From a contemporary sketch. Medicine pots and spoons to right, on ground; gourd rattles to left; flag over the center pole; notched pole or atásá at either end and another pair some distance in from either end; a pole carrying a scalp at the top of each intermediate post; two full-length cane seats below. Near the left end, under the front of roof, are written the words "Caban de Conseille." (From an article entitled "Documents concernant l'Histoire des Indiens," by the Baron Marc de Villiers, in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s. vol. xiv, 1922, p. 136.)

men, now use wooden chairs brought from their camps. The well-nigh universal statement, on the part of earlier white writers and the modern Indians, is to the effect that the cabins, arbors, or "beds," as the Creeks themselves call them, should be laid out toward the four cardinal points, and this holds for almost all of the modern squares. Jackson Lewis said that they used the north star as a guide in placing them. On the other hand the great square of Tukabahchee is somewhat askew, and one of my interpreters, who had formerly been the miko of that town, asserted that it was intended that the entrances should lie toward the cardinal points. This is confirmed by Hitchcock.[94a] Whether this was an established custom of some or all of the Creek towns it would now be impossible to say, but I am of the opinion that it was never universal. A change has also come about in the number of arbors. Anciently there appear to have been four without exception. At least there is no early mention of a smaller number among the Creeks proper.[95]

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[94a] See p. 185.

[95] For the Seminole, however, see Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 58.

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177 With a falling off in population, however, and the conversion of many Indians to Christianity, it was found unnecessary to put up so many, and also too laborious for the workers available. Where four were preserved one or more came to be assigned to the women and children, although anciently they did not have seats on the square ground. We therefore find in many towns only three arbors, and in a few, like Alabama, only two. The ones dropped off were those which had been occupied by the boys, the visitors, and the less important officials. Łiwahali Seminole presents an extreme stage in the decline of the busk, each arbor being represented by only a single split log entirely uncovered (pl. 5, *c*). The last relic of the public ground to survive, however, was the chunkey yard, which we have yet to consider.

344 Not so much attention is paid to this chunkey yard by our early authorities, Hawkins practically disregarding it, while Swan merely refers to "a May-pole, with a large circular beaten yard around it, at the southwest corner, which is called the chunkey yard."[96] Bartram gives the fullest description of the ground to be found among older writers. Following is his account in full:

"The *Chunky-Yard* of the Creeks, so called by the traders, is a cubiform area, generally in the centre of the town, because the Public Square and the Rotunda, or great winter Council-house, stand at the two opposite corners of it. It is generally very extensive, especially in the large old towns,[97] is exactly level, and sunk two, sometimes three, feet below the banks or terraces surrounding it, which are sometimes two, one above and behind the other, and are formed of earth cast out of the area at the time of its formation; these banks or terraces serve the purposes of seats for the spectators. In the centre of the yard there is a low circular mount or eminence, in the centre of which stands erect the *chunky-pole*, which is a high obelisk, or four square pillars declining upwards to an obtuse point, in shape and proportion much resembling the Egyptian obelisk. This is of wood, the heart or inward resinous part of the sound pine-tree, and is very durable; it is generally from thirty to forty feet high, and to the top of this is fastened some object to shoot at with bows and arrows, the rifle, etc., at certain times appointed. Near each corner of the lower and further end of the yard stands erect a less pillar or pole, about twelve feet high: these are called the *slave-posts*, because to them are bound the captives condemned to be burnt, and these posts are usually decorated with the scalps of their slain enemies; the scalps with the hair on them, and strained on a little hoop, usually five or six inches in

[96] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 265.

[97] "The chunky yards are of different sizes, according to the largeness and fame of the town they belong to; some are 200 or 300 yards in length, and of proportionable breadth."—Bartram.

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width, are suspended by a string six or seven inches in length round about the top of the pole, where they remain as long as they last. I have seen some that have been there so long as to lose all the hair, and the skin remaining white as parchment or paper. The pole is usually crowned with the white dry skull of an enemy. In some of these towns I have counted six or eight scalps fluttering on one pole in these yards. Thus it appears evidently enough that this area is designed for a public place of exhibition of shows and games, and formerly some of the scenes were of the most tragical and barbarous nature, as torturing the miserable captives with fire in various ways, and causing or forcing them to run the gauntlet naked, chunked and beat almost to death with burning chunks and fire-brands, and at last burnt to ashes.

"Inquired of the traders for what reason this area was called the *Chunky-Yard;* they were in general ignorant, yet they all seemed to agree in a lame story of its originating from its being the place where the Indians formerly put to death and tortured their captives—or from the Indian name for it, which bears such a signification.

"The Indians do not now torture their captives after that cruel manner as formerly; but there are some old traders who have been present at the burning of captives.

"I observed no Chunky-Yards, chunky-pole, or slave-posts in use in any of the Cherokee towns: and when I have mentioned in my journal, chunky-yards in the Cherokee country, it must be understood that I have seen the remains or vestiges of them in the ancient ruins of towns; for in the present Cherokee towns that I visited, though there were the ancient mounts and signs of the yard adjoining, yet the yard was either built upon or turned into a garden spot or the like.

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"Indeed, I am convinced that the Chunky-Yards now, or lately, in use amongst the Creeks, are of very ancient date—not the formation of the present Indians. But in most towns they are cleaned out and kept in repair, being swept clean every day, and the poles kept up and decorated in the manner I have mentioned."[86]

A footnote by Squier gives the true origin of the term chunkey, viz, from the name of a game to be explained elsewhere and common throughout the Southern States in primitive times.[86a] Bartram seems to have seen a chunkey-pole compounded of four pieces, an unusually elaborate construction. Nothing of the kind is known at the present day.

After describing the Atasi square in his Travels, Bartram goes on to tell us that "in the midst of a large oblong square adjoining this town (which was surrounded with a low bank or terrace) is standing a high pillar, round like a pin or needle; it is about forty feet in

[86] Bartram, in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. iii, pp. 34-36. [86a] See p. 402.

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height, and between two and three feet in diameter at the earth, gradually tapering upwards to a point; it is one piece of pine wood, and arises from the centre of a low, circular, artificial hill, but it leans a little to one side."[*] He adds that the Indian traders knew nothing about this and the Indians themselves claimed to have found it in that same situation when their ancestors arrived in the country.[*] There can be no doubt, however, that this was nothing more than a chunk yard with its ball post, although it is possible that it belonged to an older town and was not in use in Bartram's time. It is at least interesting to note that according to our author's statement there was no pine of the kind used for this post then growing within 12 or 15 miles of the place.

The pole (Muskogee pokàbi) is a simple straight stick, tapering to the top and about 30 feet high, at the summit of which is hung the skull of a cow or horse. In the Fish Pond towns a wooden fish is used, the idea being derived from the town name, and in Eufaula there is a wooden bird. The last is said not to have any particular significance unless it be that it is the American national emblem. The slave posts are barely remembered by the oldest people, but it is believed that they were made in the shape of atàsà or "war clubs." The chunkey game is played no longer. Except during the busk this ground is employed by the Indians mainly in playing a game between the men and women which will be described later. During the busk, however, its bounds are within the sacred area, and some of the dances take place there. The Okchai town has two pokàbis, one to the east and one to the west. At Hilibi there are two, one, the pokàbi proper, within the prescribed bounds and the other beyond, to the south. The latter is used for purely social purposes, the situation of the former not being so well suited to the game. The fact that the latter is maintained distinct shows that there was a sacred character appertaining to the chunkey-yard and also that it was considered proper that it occupy a certain position. The ridges of earth to which Bartram refers as furnishing seats for spectators were made by successive cleanings, or rather scrapings, of the surface of the yard. At the present day these ridges (tàdjo) are difficult to distinguish in some grounds, but in a few, such as those of Tukabahchee and Okchai, they have almost the appearance of earthworks. In some an inner and an outer tàdjo may be distinguished, the former just outside of the four beds that form the square. This feature is, however, said to be purely accidental, due to cleaning out under the beds. Piles of trash are also left about the roots of trees and other obstructions.

Around the edges of each busk ground were a number of camps occupied by the families participating in the ceremony during the period of its continuance. The permanent parts of two of these are shown in Plates 4, *a*, and 6, *c*.

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[*] Bartram, Travels, p. 448.

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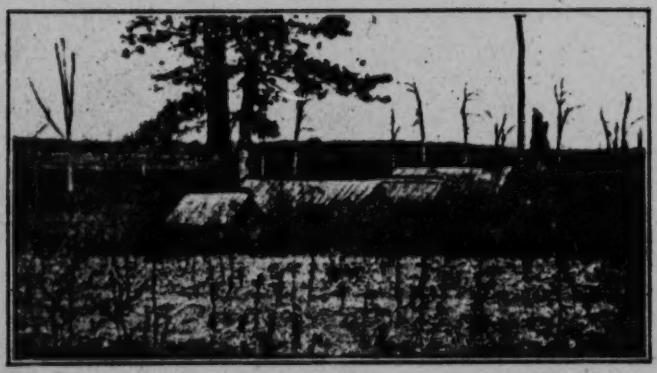

CREEK CHURCHES AND BURIALS

[facing p. 190]

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•344 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have
346 been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

177 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks
171 have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those
344 above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

344 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa),
554 usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The
621 names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikâlgi or mikâgi intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tâstânâgâlgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibânâgâlgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihâs' bed (henihâlgi intupa) and was known

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 302.

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344 554 621 to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihâlgi always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[a] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the mikâlgi or chiefs, and the henihâlgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tástánágâlgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

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Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Talladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[3]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-testi	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Lutcapoga	do	Bird [4] (Beaver, second chief).
Okfuskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tentoksofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutcî	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutassi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee	(1) Aktayatci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis).	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktayatci	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Lâlogâiga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [6]	Bear or Wind.[3]
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[3]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 267.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tcîloki clan, perhaps the Aktayatci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasihta yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

[a] See pp. 235-235

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and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łapłàko, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łapłàko, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck. 614 622

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[3] teokofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable. 344 554 [614] 621

[3] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. 500.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Talladega	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka-in-the-West	W	E	S	N (for visitors).
Kan-tcati	W	S (west end)	E (north end)	N (wanting).
Otciapofa	W	E	N	S (wanting).
according to Swan	W [1]	S	N	E.[3]
Tulsa Little River	W	N	S	E (for visitors).
Tulsa Canadian (?)	W	S [2]	S [2]	N.
Lutcapoga	W	N [2] (S)	S [2] (N)	E.
Okfuskee	N	W	E	S.
Tcatoksofka	W	E [2]	E [2]	N and S.
Abihkutci	N	W	E	S.
Nuyaka	N	W	E	S.
Talmutcasi	N	E	W	S.
Pakan tallahassee	N	W	S	E (wanting).
Wiogufki (1)	W	S	(wanting)	E.
(2)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Tukpafka	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Asilanabi	W	N	S	E.
Okchai	W	N	S	E.
Łálogálga	W	N	S	E.
Wiwohka (1)	W	E	N	S (wanting).
(2)	W		S	N (wanting).
Tuskegee	W	E [4]	N [4]	S.
Koasati No. 1	S	E(?)	?	?.
Koasati No. 2	W	N	S [5]	N (wanting).
Tukabahchee	SW	NW	SE	NE.
Atasi (1)	N	W	E	S.
(2)	N	S	E	W.
Kealedji	W	N	E(?)	S(?).
Łapłíko	W	N	S	E.
Łiwahá'li	E	S	?	?.
Hilibi	W	S(?)	E(?)	N.
Upper Eufaula	N	S	E	W (wanting).
Alabama	E	W	S(?) [6]	N(?).[6]
Kasihta [7]	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Hitchiti	W	N	E	S.
Okmulgee	W	N	S	E.
Apalachicola	W	N	E	S.
Yuchi	W	N and S [8]		

[1] Actually Swan transposes these two but, as I have already said (p. 127), I think we may fairly assume a mistake in the notes or in the transcription made from them.

[2] The warriors and the henihas occupied different parts of the same bed. There was no East bed in Tulsa Canadian.

[3] According to two informants.

[4] Speck, on the authority of Leslie Cloud, places the warriors in both the North and East beds, and it is true that the imala or warriors of the second class sat in the North bed.

[5] In modern times the henihas actually sat with the chiefs in the West bed.

[6] These two beds are now entirely wanting.

[7] All authorities, including Hawkins, agree.

[8] There was no East bed.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Coweta (1)	W	E	N	S.
(2)	W	S	N	E.
Łikatcka	W	S (east end)	S (west end)	E.[9]
Eufaula Hobayi	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha (1)	S	N	W	E.
(2)[10]	W	S	N	E.
Osochi [10]	W	N	S	E.
Ochesee	W	N	S	E.
Okfuskee Seminole	W	N	S	E.
Tallahasutci	W	N	S	E.
Hitchiti Seminole	W	N	S	E(?).
Eufaula Seminole	W	N (?)	S (?)	E (wanting).
Łiwahali Seminole	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha Seminole	W	S (?)	N (?)	E.
Mikasuki	W	N	S (?)	E.

[9] There was no name for the North bed. [10] According to two informants.

The chiefs' bed we find almost always to the west, and, excepting in one case, always to the west among the Lower Creeks and the Seminole. The town square which Adair describes, whether it was Creek or Chickasaw, also had the chiefs' bed to the west, and he tells us specifically that it lay to the west in the old town of Coosa which has long since vanished. The exceptions are in the cases of the Okfuskee towns,[9a] Pakan tallahassee, Atasi, and Upper Eufaula, in which it was north; Łiwahali and Alabama in which it was east; and "Koasati No. 1" and the early Chiaha square in which it was south. I do not feel thorough confidence in the data from Atasi, Łiwahali, and Koasati No. 1, but the cases for the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, Upper Eufaula, and Alabama are proved by the existing squares. Chiaha and Koasati No. 1 may perhaps be explained by Tukabahchee in which the bed lies southwest and is said sometimes to lie west and again to lie south. Possibly the peculiar reverse arrangement among the Alabama is due to the fact that the Alabama were at one time adopted by the Okchai who told them that they might "sit on the other side of their fire." At that time, therefore, their chiefs may have occupied the east cabin, and they may have retained the same position after separating from the Okchai. In the case of the Okfuskee I can only say that, as their towns lay well to the north and east, they may have desired to face somewhat inward toward the rest of the nation. But this is purely conjecture. Turning to the warriors' bed we find that in about 23 cases it was to the north, in 12 to 16 south, 6 to 11 east, and 5 or 6 west. In Hawkins's description of

[9a] Tenlokasha, which seems to constitute an exception, has long been abandoned and information regarding it is somewhat doubtful.

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a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihas is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihas' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihas themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihas, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihas' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

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The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihas, warriors, or youths.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Abihka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Abihka-in-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kar-tosti	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tulsa Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutcapoga	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Tustoknofka	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutci	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka	E(h)	N(c)				
Taimutcasi	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wiwuftci	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka	S(h)					W(c)
Asilanabi	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Ziloglga	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S(h))
Tuskegee	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c)(E(w))	N(h), W(c)(—)	
Koasati No. 1	S(c)	S(c)(?)	?	?	?	?
Koasati No. 2	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabahchee	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h)(S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&(E(h))	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kaleči	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Łapiłko	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Ziwahali						
Hilibi	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)	?	W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)		E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w)(N(w)	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W(c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Ziketcha	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha	(W(c))	W(h)(S(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N?(h))
Osochi	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochese	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Oktuskee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahassee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)(?)		N(w)
Eufaula	S(h)					N(w)
Ziwhali	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktaystci	Snake	Potato	Tâmi
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-testi	S(w)	E(h)				
Otciapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tulsa Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Lutcapoga	(N(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S (h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Oktuskee	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tcstokofka	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Talmutcesi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wiogufki	S(w)W(c)	E (y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W (c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asilanabi	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Zalogâga		W(c)				
Wiwohka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h))	E(w)(—)	W(c)	E(w)	N(h)
Tuskegee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))	(E(w))	N(h)(E(w))		N(h)	
Koasati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Koasati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukabahchee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kealedji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Zapâko	S(h)	S(h)	W(c) (S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Ziwahali	E(c)					
Hilibi		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobayi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))		(N(h))	
Alabama			E(c)			
Kasihta	N(w)	S(h)(and N (w))	N(w)(and S (h))		S(h)	N(w)(S (h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w) (W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Likatcka	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Osochi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Oktuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahassee	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Ziwahali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Turkey	Pahosa	Kapitca	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Talladega						
Abihka						
Abihka-in-the-West						
Kan-tosti						
Otciapofa		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Lutcapoga						
Okfuskee	S(y)					
Tostoksofka	N, S					
Abihkutci				S(y)		
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(c)		
Wiogufki	S(w) W(c)					
Tulpofka						
Asilanobi	S(h)					
Okchai						
Łaiogaiga						
Wiwohka		W(c)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Kosati No. 1						
Kosati No. 2						
Tukabatchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kealedji	S(h)				E(h)	
Łapitko	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Łiwahali						
Hilibi	W(c)					
Upper Eufaula	E(h)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kasihta				N(w)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(c)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(h)(W(c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta						
Łikatcka						
Chiaha					(S(w))	
Coosada			(N(w))	N(w)(S(h))	N(w)(S(h))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ocheese			S(h)		W(c)	
Oktuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahassutci	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(c)			
Łiwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chiaha						
Mikasuki						

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Skunk	Fox	Eagle	Wakai	Miscellaneous
Talladega					
Abihka					
Abihka-in-the-West					
Kan-tosti					
Otciapofa					
Tulsa Little River			S(h)		
Lotcapoga			S(w)		N(h) (Tcowasta)
Okfuskee					
Tcatoksofka			W(c)		
Abihkutci	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka					
Talmutcasi					
Pakan tallahassee					
Wiogufki					
Tukpafka					
Asilanabi					
Okchai					
Łłogółga					
Wiwohka	N(h)				
Tuskegee					
Koasati No. 1					
Koasati No. 2					
Tukabahchee	W(c)(?)				
Atasi					
Kealedji		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Łidjkinl)
Łapłiko					
Łiwahali					
Hilibi					
Upper Eufaula					
Eufaula Hobayi		(N(h))			
Alabama		N(w)			(W(c)(B(h))) (Fish)
Kasihta					
Hitchiti					
Okmulgee		S(h)			
Apalachicola					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi [1]					
Coweta					
Łikatcka					
Chiaha	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Osotci		W(c)(—)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Ochesee					S(h) (Otter)
Okfuskee					
Tallahasutci					
Hitchiti					S(h) (Toad and Tcokota)
Eufaula					
Łiwahali					
Chiaha					
Mikasuki					W(c) (Otter)

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

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number of different informants; in others we are dependent upon the testimony of only one or two of the oldest people and not much reliance can be placed upon it. I give the Lower Creek square first, then the Upper Creek squares, and finally the Seminole squares, the squares in White towns having precedence in each case. Names of White clans have been underlined when the native responsible for the plan in question furnished information on the subject.

The first plan (fig. 6) gives the square of Talladega.

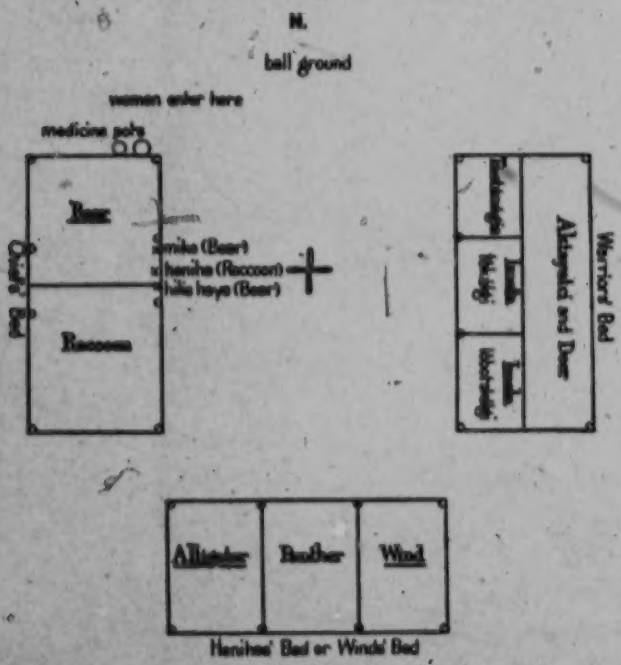

FIG. 6.—Plan of the Talladega Square Ground

This represents the proper theoretical arrangement. Actually the Bear and Raccoon people were mixed somewhat indiscriminately in the west bed. Although the Raccoon people are now the henihâlgi it is understood that those of the Wind clan should fill that office, not only here but in every other town. The hilis-haya should be a Bear, as represented above, but in practice any qualified man might be selected, regardless of clan.

One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja, the other a mixture consisting of may-apple roots, wormseed, totka djuk-hisi ("fire-bed moss"), wio'fa fá'ki saigi'ngi ("dirt snatched up"), tcato hátkutci ("little white [granite] rocks"), and totka hi'liswa ("fire medicine").

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These were for the ordinary stomp dances. At the busk a pot of pass was added. There were about three i'sti átca'gági in each bed. There was no head man among the tástánágis; all were called in council by the miko when it was necessary to remodel the ground or undertake any other matter of the sort. The accompanying plan of the entire Talladega ground (fig. 7) was made by the writer in 1912.

Figure 8 shows the old Abihka ground near Eufaula, Okla. The chieftainship in this town alternated between the Raccoon and Bear clans, the second chief being of the Bear when the head chief was from the Raccoon and vice versa. When the head chief died, the second chief took his place. This square ground was given up when my informant was a boy. He stated that here, or possibly at one of the other Abihka grounds, there was a tcokofa toward the east.

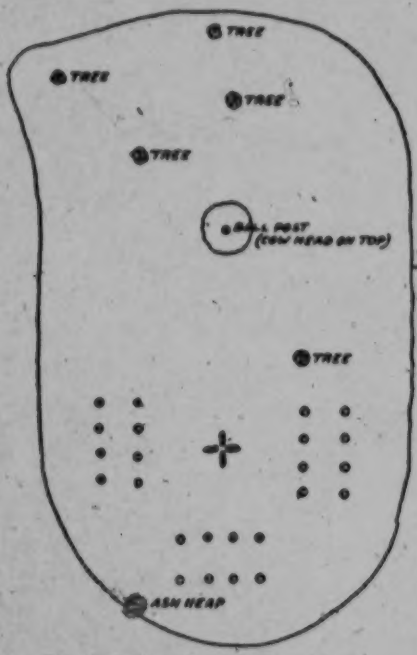

FIG. 7.—Talladega Ceremonial Ground (Stomping Square) in 1912

Figure 9 gives Abihka-in-the-West. There were two pots of medicine, one containing 10 different ingredients. The cold medicine was left just where it was first prepared; the other was moved over to the north side of the fire. There were three or four i'sti átca'gági in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the Winds' bed. The i'sti átca'gági decided where and when a ball game was to be played. The tástánágis and imalas, at least the big imalas, had their own chiefs distinct from the i'sti átca'gági. There were no tcukolaidji, male managers of the women's dance.

Figure 10 is Kan-tcati.

The only information we have regarding the square ground of the ancient Coosa town is given by Adair, who says in a footnote: "I remember, in Koosah, the uppermost western town of the Muskohge, which was a place of refuge, their supposed holiest consisted of a neat house, in the centre of the western square, and the door of it was in the south gable-end close to the white cabbin, each

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on a direct line, north and south."[8] The passage to which this is appended contains the description of a square ground so generalized that it is impossible to say to what town or towns it applied specifically. Possibly it gives the old order of the Chickasaw square, but it is probable, in any case, that the Coosa square agreed with it, since that was one of those with which Adair was most familiar. It lay upon the trail between Augusta, Ga., and the Chickasaw country. His remarks are as follows: "Those of them [the American aborigines] who yet retain a supposed most holy place, contrary to the usage of

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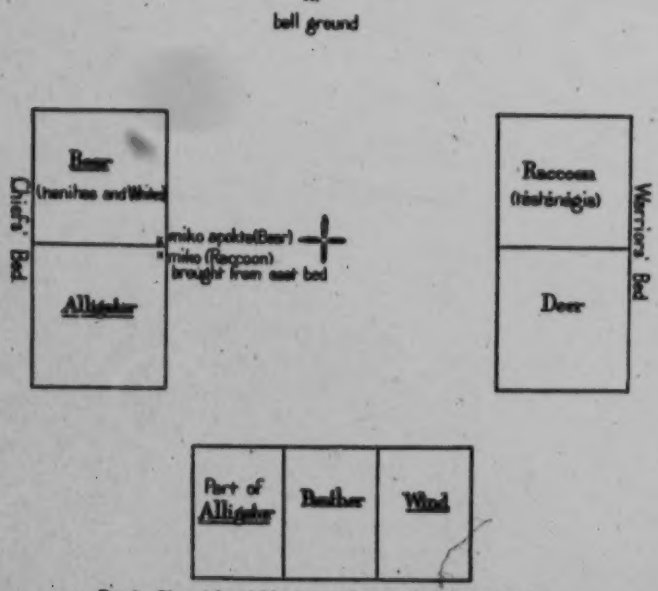

FIG. 8.—Plan of the Abihka Square Ground (near Eufaula, Okla.)

the old heathen world, have it standing at the west end of the holy quadrangular ground: and they always appoint those of the meanest rank, to sit on the seats of the eastern square, so that their backs are to the east, and faces to the west. The red square looks north; and the second men's cabbin, as the traders term the other square, of course looks south." It is to be noted that Adair uses the word "square" for each cabin or bed. Accepting this as the arrangement at Coosa, the square would be about as in Figure 11.

It is possible that Adair means by "looks north" and "looks south," "lies north" and "lies south," in which case the relative positions of the henihas' and warriors' beds would have to be trans-

[8] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 112.

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posed. Be that as it may, the description shows that the Coosa square was very similar to those of the Coweta and Kasihta, the other principal towns of pure Muskogee stock, and it seems to be confirmed by what we know of the daughter town Otciapofa. The inclosed place where the sacred vessels and other objects were kept may not have extended to the very front of the west bed as I have represented, but such a position is plainly indicated by the wording in Adair.

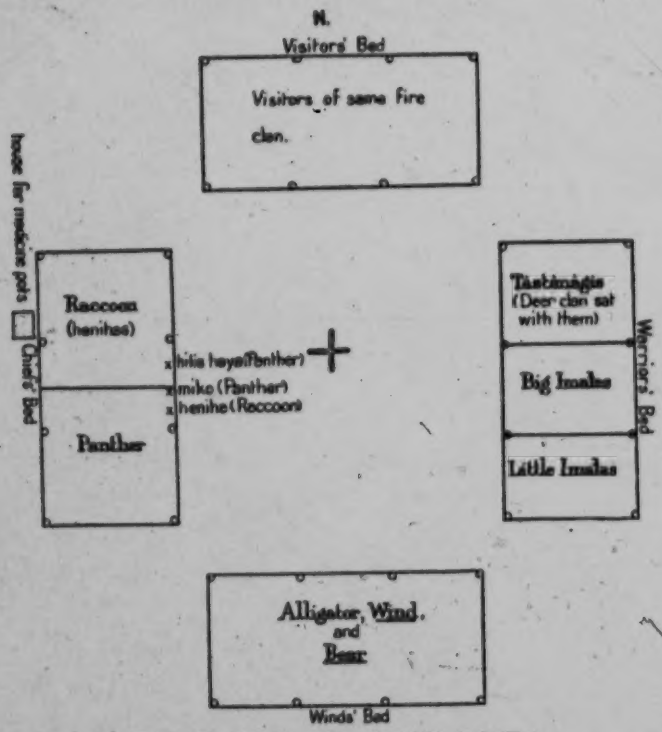

FIG. 9.—Plan of the Square Ground of Abihka-in-the-West

In Figure 12 is what is probably the Otciapofa ground, reproduced from Swan. Figure 13 shows the later plan of Otciapofa as described to me personally. Four isti átcagágis sat in each of these three beds; there was no south bed as far back as my informant could remember. The plan of the Otciapofa busk ground (fig. 14) was made by the writer in 1912.

In Figure 15 is shown the Tulsa Little River square.

There were very few of the Panther clan in this town, and but one or two belonging to the Kapitca. The old tcokofa is said to

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have lain to the west, probably in the same situation as that of Lutcapoga.

Figure 16 shows the square as it existed in 1911.

Figure 17 is from a rough native description of Tulsa Canadian.

Figures 18 and 19 show the arrangement of Lutcapoga according to two different authorities. The data for the first were given me by Legus Perryman, except that the east bed and the tcokofa are added on the authority of his brother. The latter also stated that

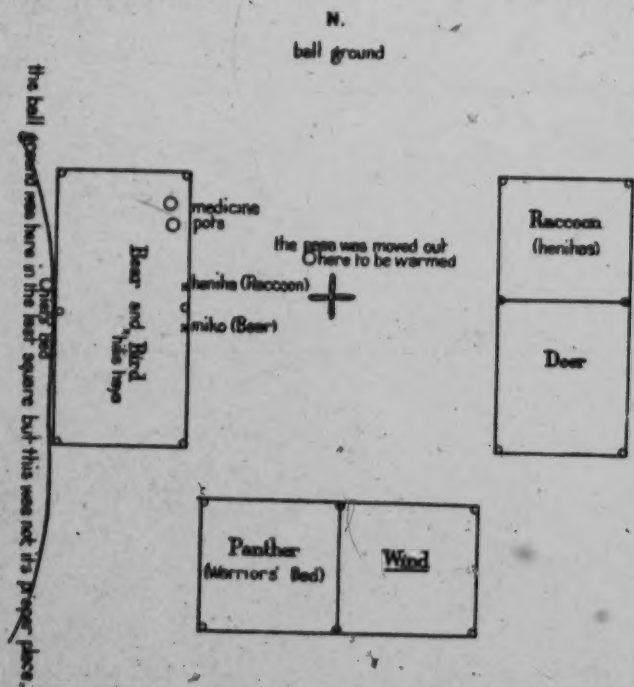

FIG. 18.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kan-tasti

the Aktayatci were the tástánágis here, and that the hilis-haya sat in the front seat in the Bear's bed.

This town was founded because the Tulsa people had become so numerous that their square was overcrowded. The tástánági was speaker for the miko, and the words "he says so and so" occurred over and over in his discourses. The itálwa miko was assistant to the miko. The táski heniha was a leader in the women's dance, a "white dance" called itcha obánga.[36] There was another women's dance at the end of the ceremony which was a war dance danced by the Potato

[36] See p. 659 in following paper. Originally it seems to have been a war dance.

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people (Ahalâgi). The Aktayatci had charge of and distributed the medicine, although the hilis-haya himself could belong to any clan.

The old tcokofa was provided on the east side with a special seat for the women. It had a smoke hole.

The chief of Lutcapoga about 1852 was a man named Hadji yâhola, who was succeeded by Tciyâha. This man died about 1857 and was followed by Tâlsi fiksiko, who died in the winter of 1862.

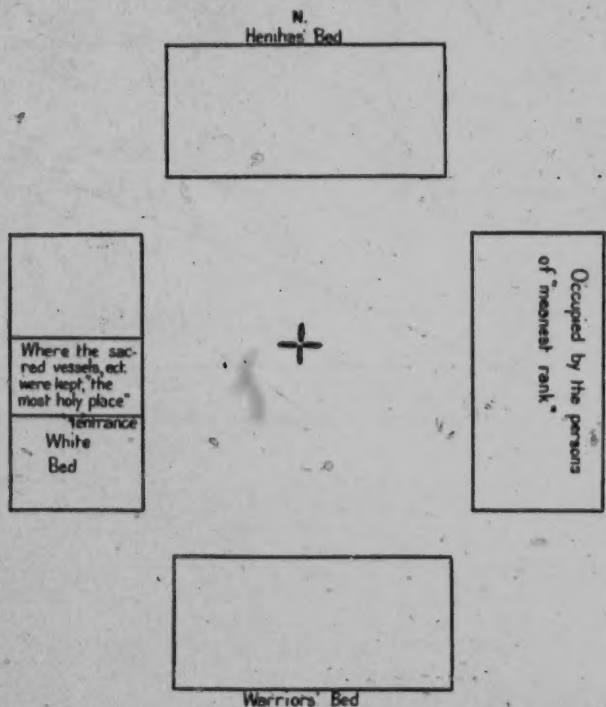

FIG. 11.—Conjectural arrangement of the Coosa Square Ground

Next came in succession Miko fiksiko and Itchâswa (Beaver). The last was living in 1912.

Figure 20 is Nuyaka. My informant stated that there were only two individuals belonging to the Panther clan in this town, and that no especial place was provided for the Deer clan. Figure 21 is a plan of the entire busk ground as it appeared in 1912.

Figure 22 is from a native description of Okfuskee.

There were very few in this town belonging to the Potato and Raccoon clans and they probably sat in the south bed. Besides the two isti âtcagâgi in the east bed there was one in each of the others.

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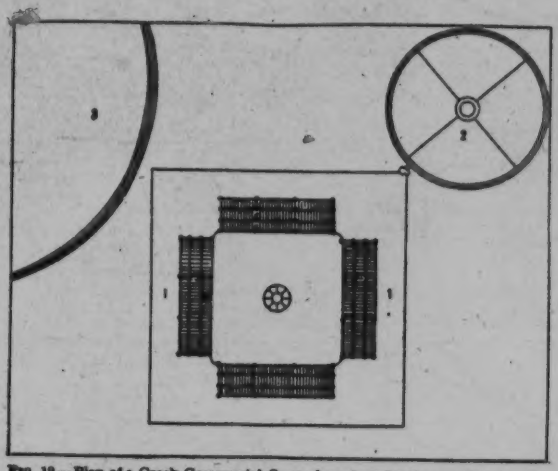

FIG. 12.—Plan of a Creek Ceremonial Ground as given by Swan. The top of this illustration is west instead of north. 1, Square; 2, Teokofa; 3, Chunkey yard

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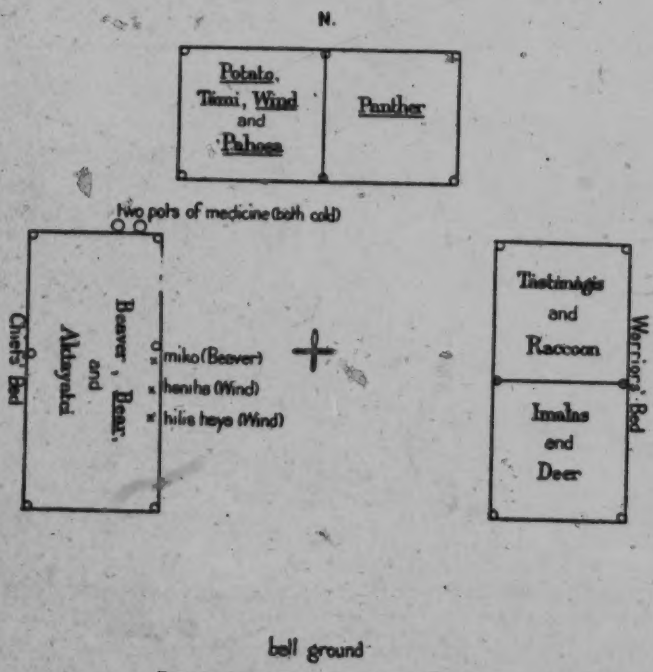

FIG. 13.—Plan of the Otciapofa Square Ground

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a. General view of the Busk Ground of Chiaha Seminole, Seminole County, Okla., in 1912

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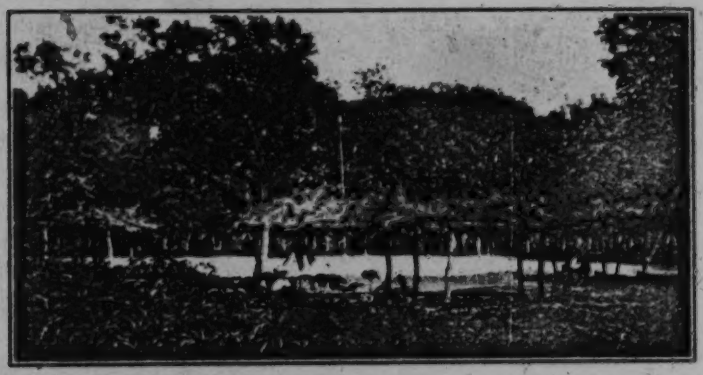

b. The Square Ground of Pakan tallahassee near Hanna, Okla., in 1912

c. The North or Chiefs' Bed of Pakan tallahassee

CREEK CEREMONIAL OR BUSK GROUNDS

[facing p. 212]

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In the adiloga medicine they used maypop root (obaha), totka hiliswa, wilana (wormseed), and totka djukhisi (fire bed moss). The miko hoyanidja did not go in with these.

Figure 23 is Abihkutci and Figure 24 contains all of the information I could obtain regarding Talmutcasi.

The younger brother of the woman from whom this information came gave a different description of the square, but it was so close to that of Tukabahchee that I believe it can not be relied upon, and that it was a deduction from the belief that all of the other squares were modeled on that of Tukabahchee.

The next (fig. 25) shows Tcatoksofka. The rank of clans in the west bed is said to have been as follows: Bear, Beaver, Bird. Visiting chiefs were seated in the same beds as the chiefs of the town, visiting warriors in the same beds as the warriors, and so on. The occupants of the Chiefs' bed took their medicine first, then those in the east bed, and finally those in the north and south beds. The two common medicines, miko hoyanidja and pasa, were used.

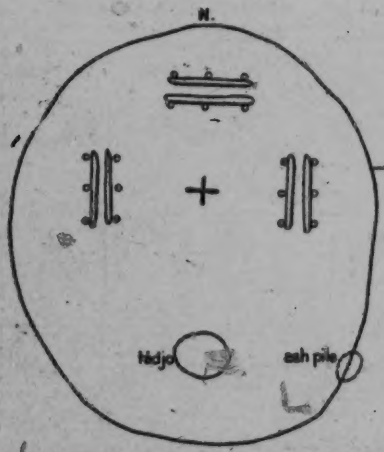

FIG. 14.—Otciapofa Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figures 26 and 27 give the plan of Pakan tallahassee as recorded from two different informants. The numbers back of the beds indicate the order in which their occupants came out to take the medicine. According to one informant the third and fourth chiefs belonged to the Bear clan instead of the Panther clan as here given; another stated that the Panther people were not confined to a particular part of the Chiefs' bed but could sit anywhere. The bearers of the medicine consisted of two of the Bird clan, one of the Deer, and one of the Bear. The four leaders of the women were taken, one each, from the Wind, Deer, Bear, and Bird clans. They took their medicine at the northeast corner and fasted one day and one night.

My authority for the second plan stated that the people of the Bird clan were called isti àtcagàgi, and that imalas are not used any more.

The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 28) is from data obtained in 1912.

Plate 2 is shown the Pakan tallahassee busk ground looking east (*b*) and the north or Chiefs' bed (*c*) as they appeared in the summer of 1912.

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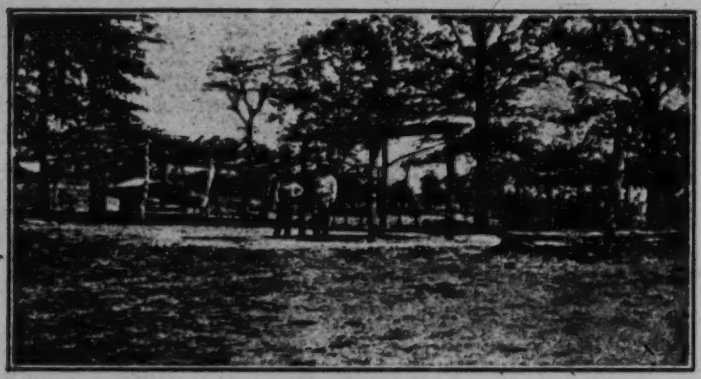

a. The Square Ground of Eufaula (1912)

b. The south (or southeast) bed of Tukabatchee

c. Tukabatchee Square Ground from the west entrance

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

[facing p. 213]

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Figures 29 and 30 show the organization of Wiogufki according to two different informants. In later times the Alligator people became first henihas and then mikos. There is now but one tástánągi, who is seated as indicated in the first plan. When the former hilis-haya was about to die he taught the proper formulae to a boy of the Deer clan who happened to be the best fitted for this office. There were no isti átcagągi in recent times, the tástánągi being used as a "choice man." In this town a new seat was made for the hilis-haya every year.

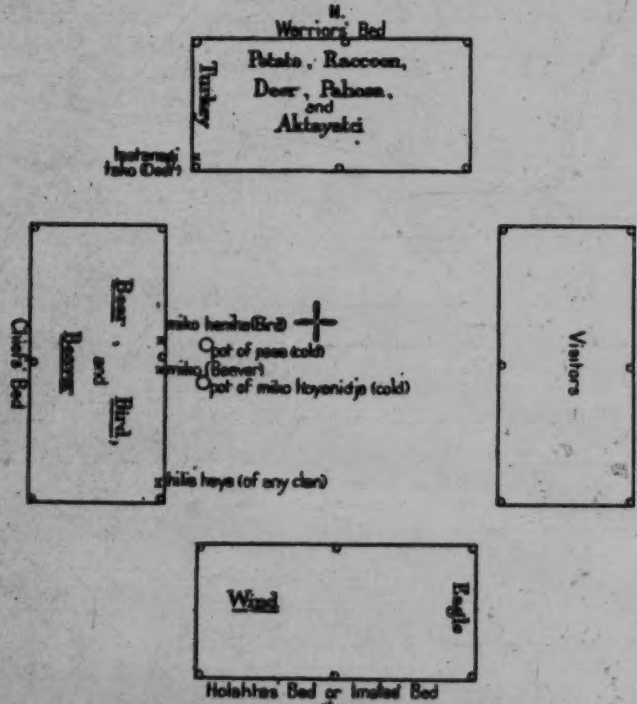

FIG. 31.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Little River

The subjoined plan of the Wiogufki square ground (fig. 31) is from data gathered in 1912.

The next sketch (fig. 32) contains all that the old men could remember of Tukpafka. This square ground was given up many years ago. My two informants agreed very well regarding most of the details of the plan, except that one of them thought the medicine pots were placed at the north end of the west bed and the other believed they were at the south end.

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Besides the clans enumerated above there were some Raccoon and Potato and in ancient times some Beaver. There were never any Alligator, Bear, or Bird. Two men sang for the women when they danced, one man carrying a white gourd rattle, the other a blue one.

Figure 33 is a rough diagram based on a study of the site of the last Tukpafka square ground. We now come to the Fish Pond Towns. Figure 34 shows Asilanabi.

Besides the clans given there were a few individuals belonging to the Aktayatci clan, but these sat anywhere. The Raccoon clan were leaders of the Tcilokis and were followed in order of rank by

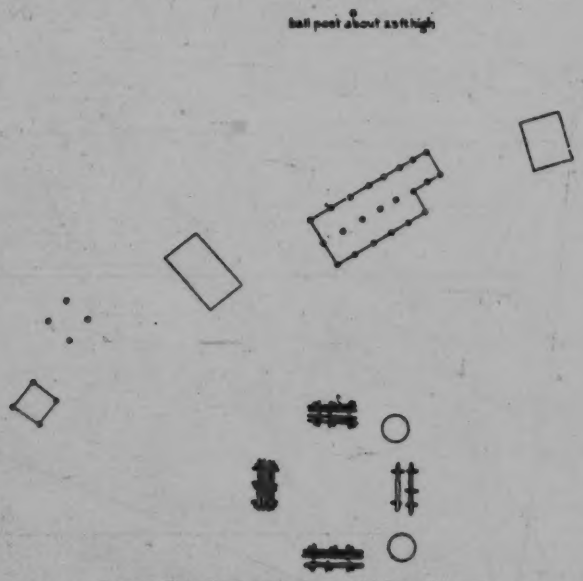

FIG. 16.—Tulsa Little River Ceremonial Ground in 1911

the Panther, Deer, Beaver, Aktayatci, and Alligator in succession. The old tcokofa was placed as in the plan, to the northwest of the square, but after they returned at the conclusion of the Civil War, an old man who had preserved ashes from the tcokofa throughout that contest said that it would not be good to use the old place again, so he deposited the ashes just east of the east bed. It does not appear, however, that a new tcokofa was erected over them. It is said that in reality there ought to be three beds, each having eight posts, instead of the four with six posts. The one left out was probably that on the east. The accompanying plan of this square (fig. 35) is from data gathered in 1912 by the author.

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Figure 36 is Okchai. According to my informant, the Wind clan were known as isti àtcagàgi. He stated that the tàstànàgis could overrule the miko sometimes on the ground that a thing was unconstitutional.

The plan shown in Figure 37 represents the square ground as it existed in 1911–12.

Figure 38 is Łàlogàlga or Fish Pond proper. According to another informant—in whom I do not, however, place unlimited confidence—the east bed was used for visitors, and the north bed occupied throughout by the Deer clan. He placed the Aktayatci and Tàmi in the northern compartment of the west bed, the Pahosa and Potato in the middle section, and "old people" in the southern. The medicine pots were at the north end of the same bed, and the pot of medicine for the women and children was at the south end of this bed; the women also entered to dance at the latter place. In the south bed were the rest of the clans, the henihas being in the easternmost section. In Figure 39 is a plan of the Łàlogàlga square as it existed in 1912.

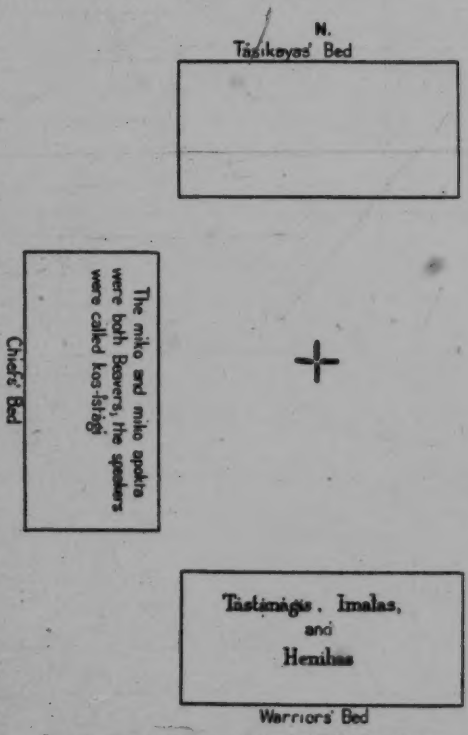

FIG. 37.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Canadian

Figures 40 and 41 show Wiwohka. The essential differences between these two plans of the square may be explained if we suppose that the second informant, or my interpreter, misunderstood the location of the north bed and placed it on the south side. The correctness of the first plan is confirmed by a third account which in other respects is inferior to either of those given. The only other discrepancy is in the position of the Wind clan which the first informant placed in the north bed and the second in the west bed. This was perhaps due to an assumption on the part of the second informant

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that the henihas would be seated in the same bed as the miko's heniha. My third informant also committed an evident blunder in placing the Chief's bed to the east instead of the west. All three agreed in giving the Panther clan as that of the chiefs and the Wind clan that of the henihas.

In Figure 42 is a plan of Tuskegee by one of its former chiefs. One informant thought that the Potato were the henihas, but I

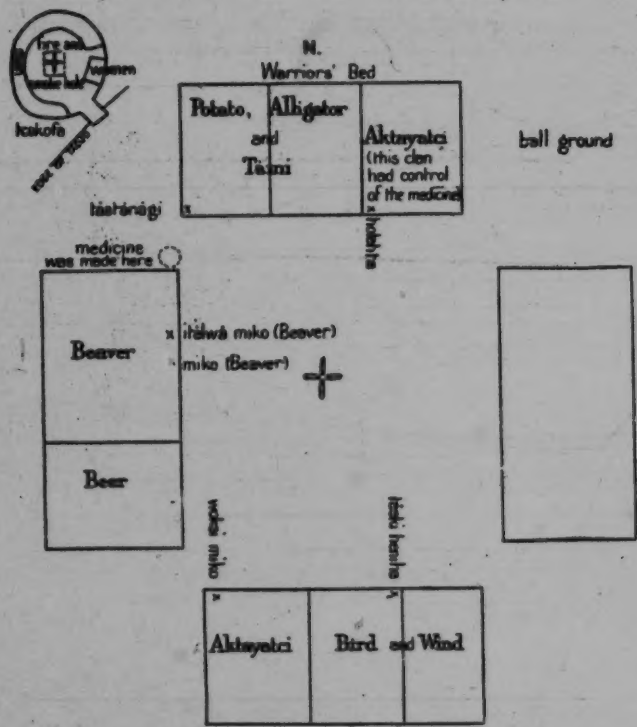

FIG. 42.—Plan of the Lutespoga Square Ground (I)

believe this to have been a mistake. It is probable that the Wind clan originally constituted the henihas but subsequently came to furnish the chiefs.

Figure 43 is the square ground of the same town as remembered by another informant. The plan given by Doctor Speck on the authority of Laslie Cloud confirms both of the preceding in the main in regard to the uses to which the various beds were put, and it confirms that of the first informant, Silas Jefferson, in regard to the position occupied by the medicine pots.[4]

[4] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

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There were two groups of Koasati Indians in Oklahoma, each with its own square ground. The square of the first, called Koasati No. 1, was given up so long ago that not much can be recalled regarding it. David Cummings, who attended the busks at this ground when he was a boy, although he was not a Koasati himself, stated that there were four beds, and that the open space between them was entirely covered with an arbor. The Chief's bed, as he remembered, was on the south, and the miko himself of either the

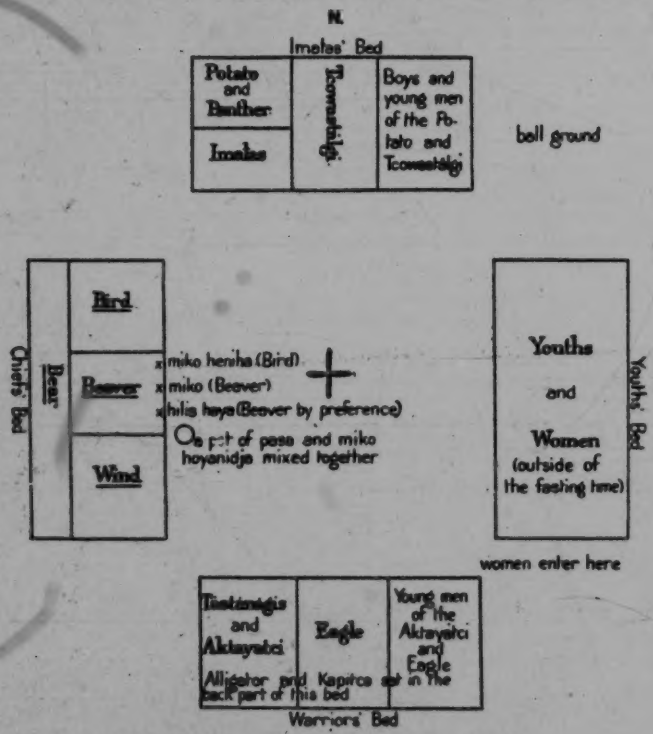

FIG. 10.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (II)

Bear or the Panther clan. The Wind clan sat at the east end of the Chief's bed and were probably the henihas, though of this he was not certain. The ball ground was on the east and the women entered at the southeast corner. The Warriors' bed was probably on the east.

The later square, Koasati No. 2, is shown in Figure 44.

Figures 45–47 are plans of the Tukabahchee square ground from as many different informants. The first said that if it were possible the hilis-haya was selected from the Raccoon clan; if that position is

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filled from any other clan, the man so chosen is seated at the west end of the north bed. The tcunuk hadjo and the holahta in the Youths' section are the only officers who do not have henihas. One of the tástánágis was known as Kosa Tástánági. He belonged to the Wind clan, and his mate was a Raccoon called Tukabahchee Tástánági. The Youths prepared the feather wands for the feather dance just back of the central portion of the Chiefs' bed.

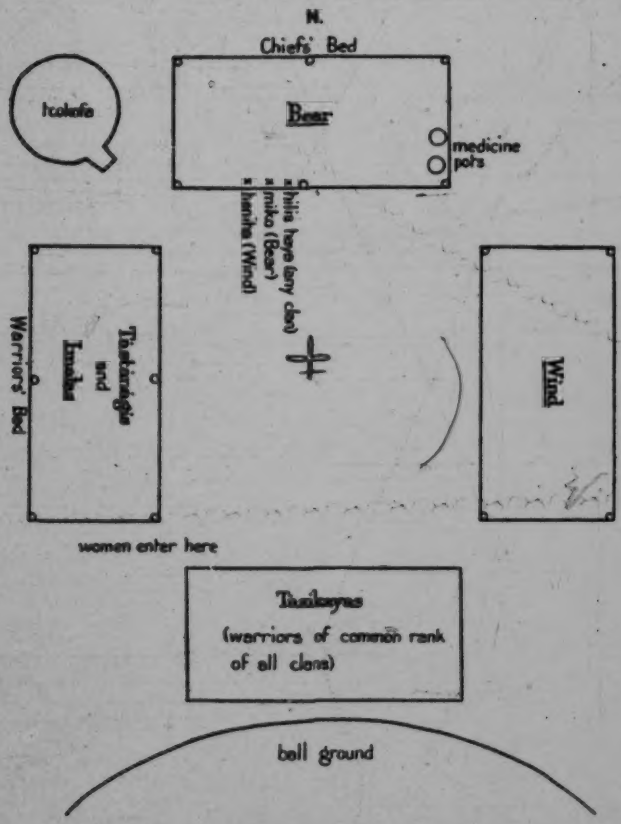

FIG. 20.—Plan of the Nuyaka Square Ground

According to the second informant the clans might change their positions in a bed but not the bed itself, and according to the third all of the clans in the north, east, and south beds were Tcilokis.

Figure 48 is a plan of the busk ground made in 1912.

Figure 49 gives the arrangement of the old busk ground near Melette, Okla., as nearly as it could be made out in 1912–1914. Plate

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3, *b*, shows the south or southeast bed of Tukabahchee and Plate 3, *c*, the square looking through the western entrance, between the beds of the Chiefs and Warriors. Plate 5, *a*, shows the mound where the buffalo and war dances were performed.

Figures 50 and 51 are based on the recollections of two of the oldest and best informed Atasi Indians. The father of the man who furnished me with the information on which the first is based was chief of Atasi; his war name was Fus hâtci miko.

Still another informant said that the Chiefs' bed was in the west and the Warriors' bed in the north, and that the medicine pots were

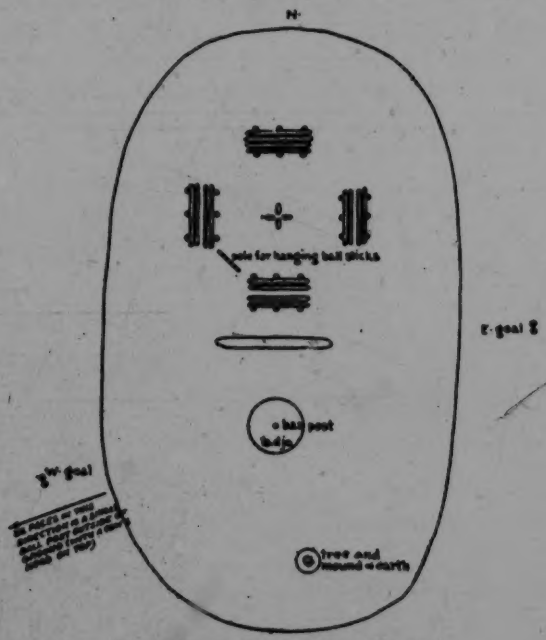

FIG. 21.—Nuyaka Ceremonial Ground in 1912

at the north end of the former. The details given thus agree exactly with the arrangement of Tukabahchee with which I believe the informant had confused it, since Atasi is supposed to have been a branch of that town. He said that the medicines were like those used at Tukabahchee, and that the last chief was of the Bird clan, the one before him of the Bear clan. According to another informant the last chief was a Raccoon, the one before probably a Bear; and he added that the last chief's heniha was a Bear, the one before a Deer.

Figures 52 and 53 embody two descriptions of the square of Kealedji. The isti âtcagâgi sulga sat at the south end of the Chief's bed.

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Accompanying is a rough sketch (fig. 54) of the first square ground used by the people of this town after they moved across the Mississippi River as it appeared in 1912 after having been abandoned a great many years.

The Łapłáko square is shown in Figures 55 and 56. There were a few isti átcagągi in the west bed.

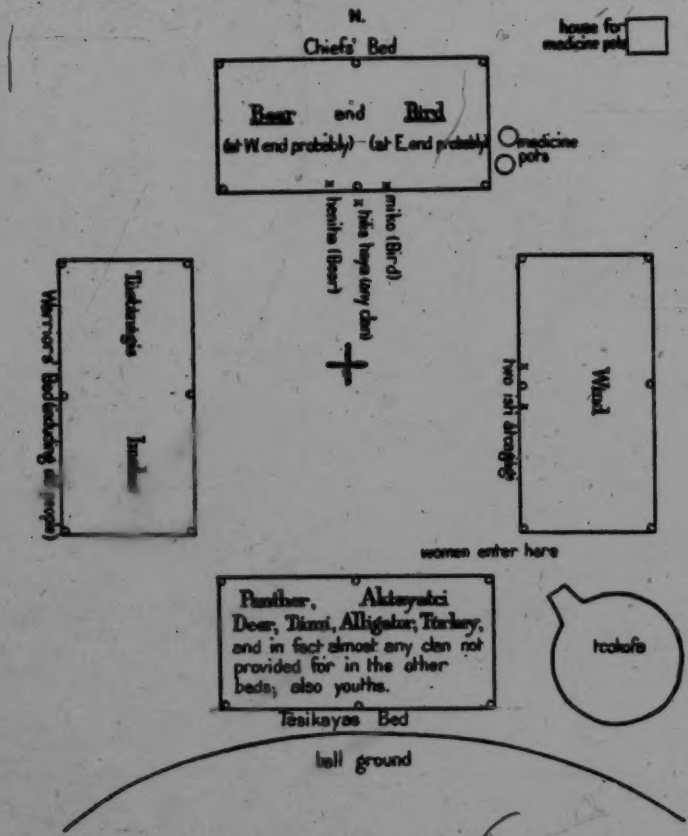

FIG. 22.—Plan of the Okfuskee Square Ground

According to my second informant eight men belonging to the Wind and Raccoon clans were appointed to procure the medicines and bring the water.

The discrepancies between these two plans may be accounted for largely by the fact that my second informant was a Tukabahchee who seems to have confused the Łapłáko square with that of his own town to some extent. However, the arrangement of the Tukabah-

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chee square was considered "standard" by many people, and it is probable that that of Łapłáko was modified in later times to agree with it. The second informant also stated that the Chiefs' bed was on the south, again in agreement with the Tukabahchee plan, although in fact the latter is rather southwest, the entrances between the beds being directed toward the cardinal points. Accompanying (fig. 57) is a rough plan of the ground where the people of this town met before a ball game.

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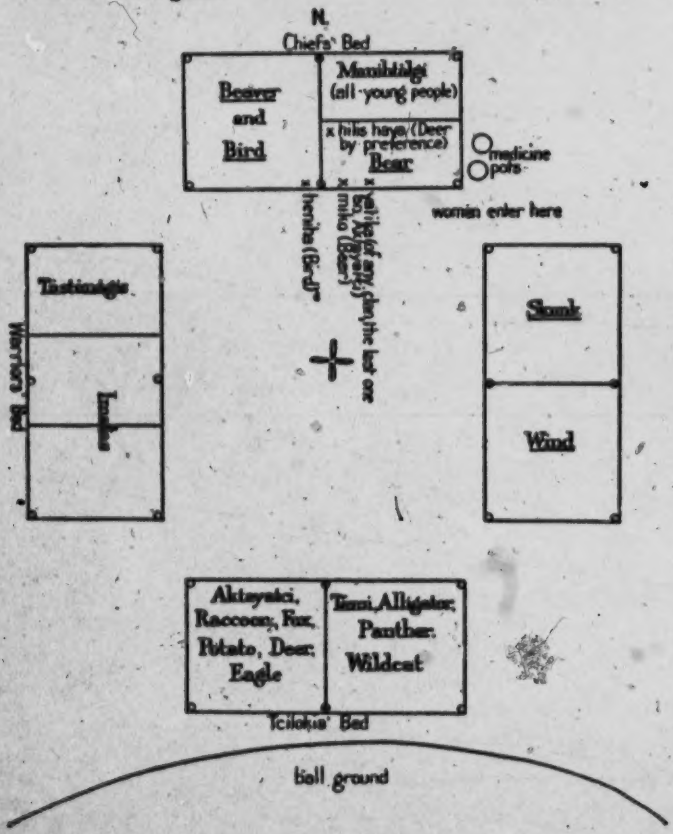

FIG. 58.—Plan of the Abihintci Square Ground

Figure 58 shows the last organization of the Łiwahali square just before it petered out. The hilis-haya was always of the Deer clan and sat with his own people. This ground, as here represented, was in the last stage of decline, and not much can be inferred from it. The old man who furnished me with the best data regarding Łapłáko,

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a comparatively late offshoot from Łiwahali, stated that the latter ground was originally identical with that of Łapłáko except that the miko was a Panther and the heniha a Deer.

This town used several squares in succession before the Civil War, and two afterwards. My informant stated that the tástánágis were appointed from any clans occupying the south bed. If the miko had to leave the square for any reason the miko apokta took charge.

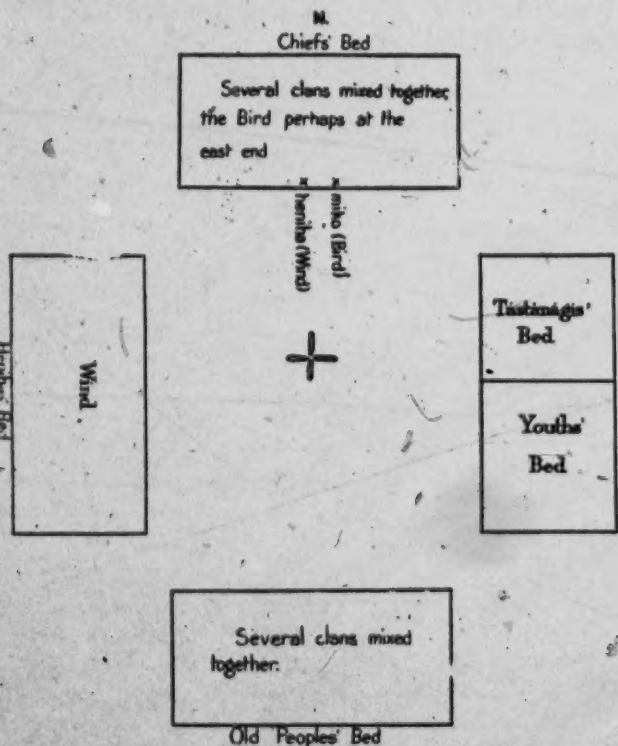

FIG. 24.—Plan of the Tulmutcasi Square Ground

The ball ground was not close to the square but at some distance from it. He stated that the clans ranked thus: Deer, Aktayatci, Panther, Bird, Bear, Wind, Alligator. There was only one individual of the Wind clan and there were but few of the Bird, Bear, and Alligator.

The Hilibi square is given in Figure 59. Anciently there were eight posts to the bed instead of six. When I first visited the Hilibi square the north bed had not been built; it was put up last. The old men who sing for the women during their dance sit at the west

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end of the Raccoon's section of the south bed. In taking medicine the west bed goes first, then the south, and then the east, but some men in the back part of all the beds go last of all. The accompanying plan (fig. 60) is from data collected by the writer in the winter of 1912 before the north bed was erected.

There were some eight camps about this ground. It was too new to have developed a tádjo of any size, but that of the ground occu-

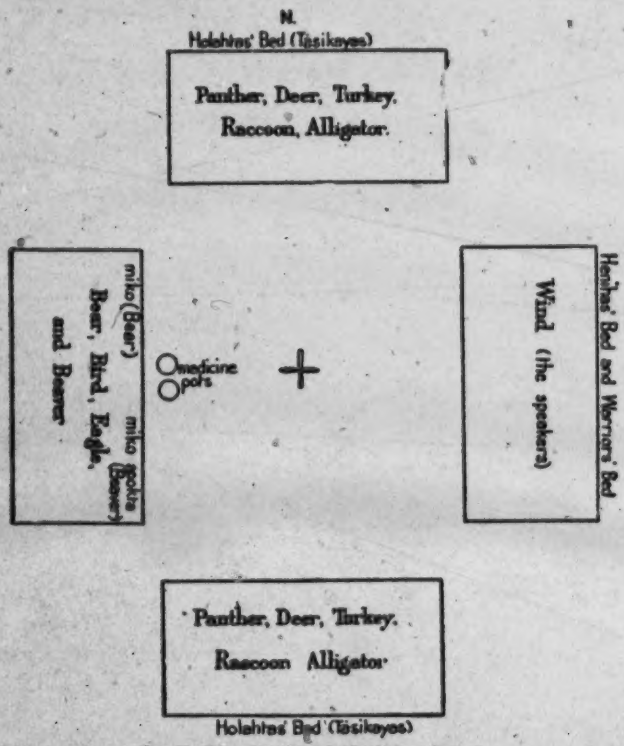

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Tustokofka Square Ground

pied immediately before this was about 220 paces in circuit. If a tcokofa were to be erected it would be toward the east. Plate 4, *b*, shows the Chiefs' bed in 1912.

Figure 61 represents the Eufaula (or Upper Eufaula) square as it is supposed to have appeared anciently, my authority being Jackson Lewis.

Figure 62 shows the actual arrangement in modern times as explained by the hilis-haya.

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There were said to be only seven Tàmi and three Turkey people in this town. The imalas should be of the Raccoon clan but there never were any in Eufaula, according to the second informant. He probably meant that there had been none there within his recollection. The Hathagálgi included the Wind, Bear, Bird, Turkey, and Tàmi. There is one of the isti átcagági belonging to the Bear clan in the north bed, one belonging to the Deer clan in the east bed, and one belonging to the Aktayatci in the south bed. These men give new

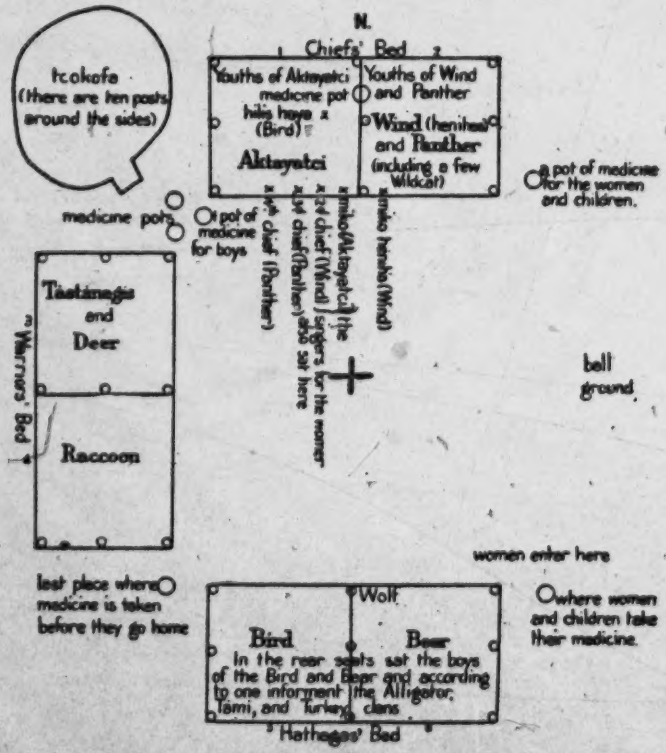

FIG. 28.—Plan of the Pákan tallahassee Square Ground (I)

names to boys. A different authority from any of the above stated that the Eufaula chief was anciently taken from the Eagle clan. This might well have been, since the Eagle was reckoned a branch of the Raccoon which, as appears from these plans, sat in the bed of the chiefs. The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 63) represents it as it existed in 1912.

Plate 3, *a*, gives a general view of the ground, looking from the southwest, and Plate 4, *c*, is a nearer view of the small house in which the implements used in the annual ceremony were stored.

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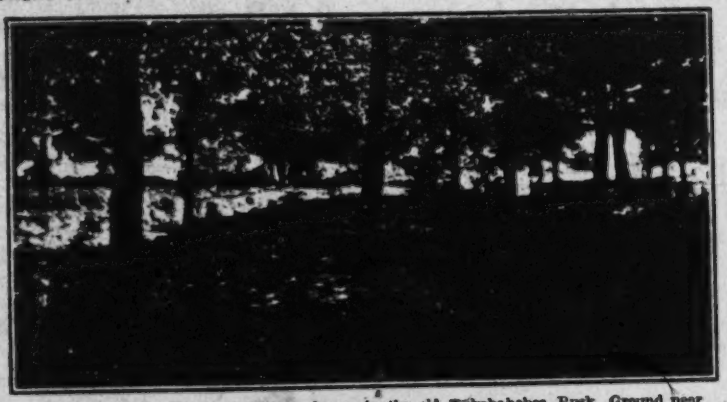

a. Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabahchee Pusk Ground near Melette, Okla.

b. The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912, looking northwest

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c. The Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole in 1912, looking northeast

CREEK CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

[facing p. 224]

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Figures 64–66 illustrate three descriptions of the Alabama square ground. There were no isti àtcagàgi, the tàstànàgis taking their places. The medicine pots were kept outside of the grounds; ten different medicines were put into one of them.

The accompanying outline of the Alabama busk ground (fig. 67) was made from data collected in 1912.

In Plate 5, *b*, the Alabama square is shown looking from the southeast.

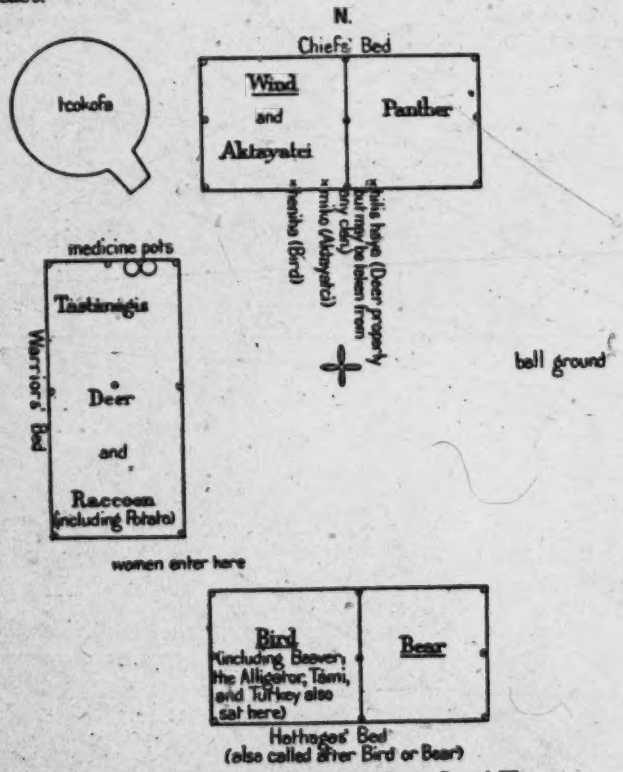

FIG. 27.—Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (II)

Figures 68–71 show the Kasihta square on the authority of Hawkins, Gatschet, and two of my own informants. Gatschet's informant was probably the Kasihta chief, Ispahihtca. In the origin legend which Ispahihtca related to Doctor Gatschet he calls the west bed Mikàlgi intcuka, Chiefs' House, the east bed Hoktàgi intcuka, Women's House, and the north bed Tàstànàgàlgi intcuka, Warriors' House. Those who sat in the south bed he calls Hàtki iputcagi, "the owners of the white."[66]

[66] See p. 80.

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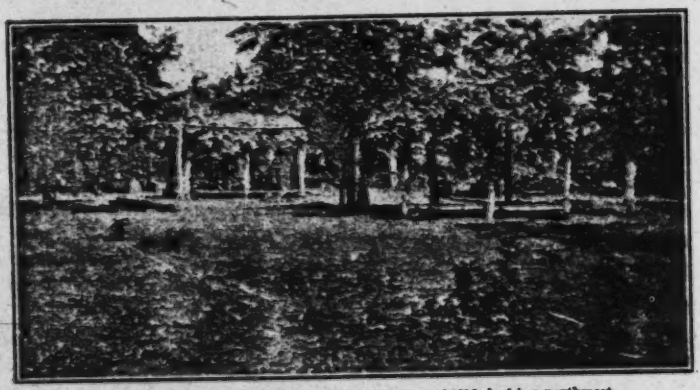
a. Mound for the War and Buffalo dances in the old Tukabahchee Busk Ground near Melette, Okla.



b. The Alabama Square Ground in the summer of 1912, looking northwest

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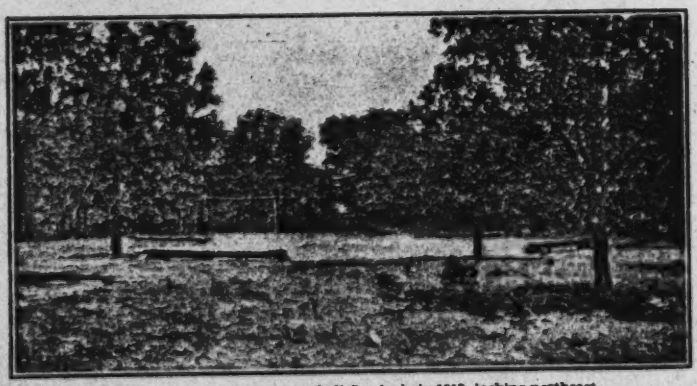

c. The Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole in 1912, looking northeast

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[facing p. 225]

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The seat of the hilis-haya was not fixed; he sat with his clan. The two bearers of the medicine belonged to the Alligator clan. The official called halisi tástánągi made arrangements for the ball games.

The plan of Okmulgee (fig. 72) is from information furnished by Judge James R. Gregory. He added that there were two rows of seats in each bed. Legus Perryman remembered some facts regarding this town which agree for the most part with those here given. He thought, however, that there were only three beds, and that the ball ground was to the northwest. The speechmaker (yatika ?), a man of the Aktayatci clan called Woksi miko, sat at the northwest corner of the south bed.

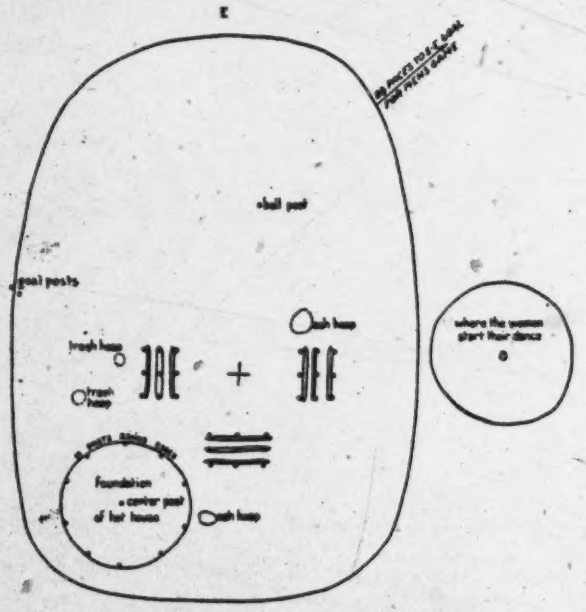

FIG. 72.—Pakan tallahassee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figure 73 gives the oldest remembered organization of Apalachicola. My informant, one of the oldest women of this town, added that the Alligator and Beaver shifted about somewhat from one bed to another, while individuals made imałas or tástánągis moved into the Warriors' bed if they were not already there. She asserted that this was the "original foundation" (or plan) of Hitchiti, Sawokli, and the Lower Creek Hátci tcábá, as well as of Apalachicola.

In Figure 74 appears the last organization of this town.

Figure 75 is Hitchiti. In an emergency the Deer heniha could be made miko and the Bird miko heniha. This was the last Hitchiti

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square, and the plan was furnished to the Indians by my oftmentioned informant Jackson Lewis. The Deer and Bird clans were actually mixed together considerably, although the theoretical arrangement was as above. There were no women's dances on this particular ground. One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja; the other wîlânà (wormseed) and "oktcun utcka," the last perhaps a Hitchiti term. The pots were not removed from the place indicated, though one might have been heated there. The tàstânàgis and imalas were used instead of isti àtcagàgi.

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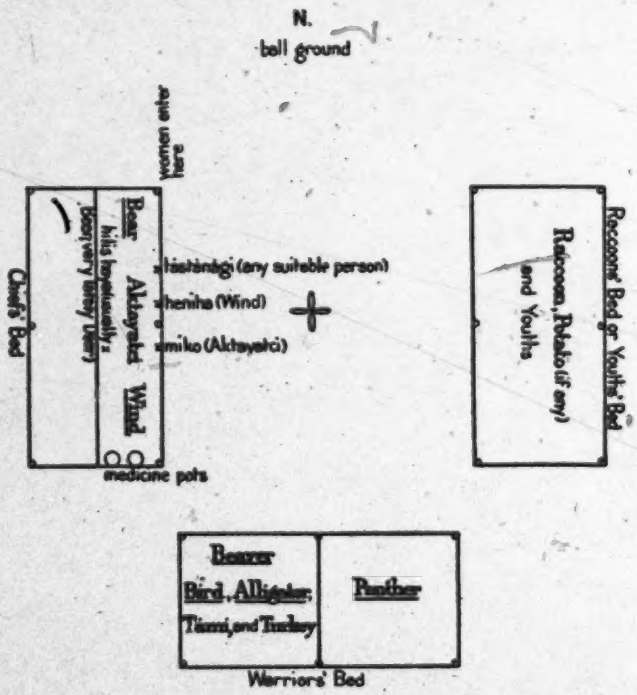

FIG. 76.—Plan of the Wiogufid Square Ground (1)

Figure 76 gives the Yuchi ground as described by Dr. Frank G. Speck.

The information which I myself obtained agreed in almost every particular with that of Doctor Speck. Seats passed from father to son and in consequence the clans were mixed up in these beds indiscriminately. My informant added that the bearers of the medicine sat at the south end of the west bed, and that on the ball post were two cow skulls at different heights, the lower as a target for the women. He said that if there was no person in the west bed fitted to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

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000 to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

344 621 Figures 77 and 78 give plans of Coweta, the second in this case probably representing the older organization. The main outlines of the first were confirmed by another old man. He added that two of the medicine bearers were selected from the Hathagas and two from the Tcilokis; they were usually two Bears and two Panthers. That the Panther was an important clan in this town is vouched for by another informant, who declared it was the "leading clan." To it, it may be remarked, the late Creek chief, G. W. Grayson, belonged.

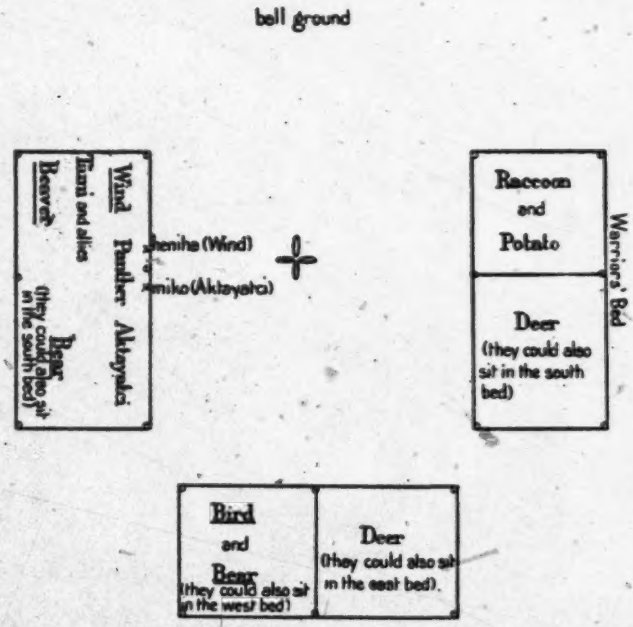

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Wiaguki Square Ground (II)

According to the Indian through whom I obtained the second plan the duty of the Holahta was to see that the bearers prepared and distributed the medicines.

The leader of the henihas was known as the Heniha lako. The three officials in the north bed attended to the medicines and other matters connected with the square. When visitors came they went over to the beds occupied by their respective clans and left the north bed vacant for the strangers. One of the two pots of medicine was warmed, the other cold. The former contained both pasa and miko hoyanidja, the other only pasa.

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In one place Milfort gives a description of a square which he represents as that in which the great assemblies of the nation were held, and this would probably be Coweta or Tukabahchee, but from the context it would appear rather to have been the former. What he has to say concerns the grand council of the nation more than the town council of Coweta and it will be inserted when we come to speak of that.[5] It is of interest to know, however, that the cabins on the west, north, and south were painted red, indicating a Red town like Coweta and Tukabahchee. That on the east was painted white, which seems rather surprising if my first informant is right in stating that it was occupied by the tástánágis. Milfort, however, gives this as the cabin of the old men, and it is possible that it was set aside for the isti átcagágí, particularly since we know that some of the functions of these officials were later taken over by the tástánágis. Milfort appears to locate the tcokofa just where my informant indicated that it should be.

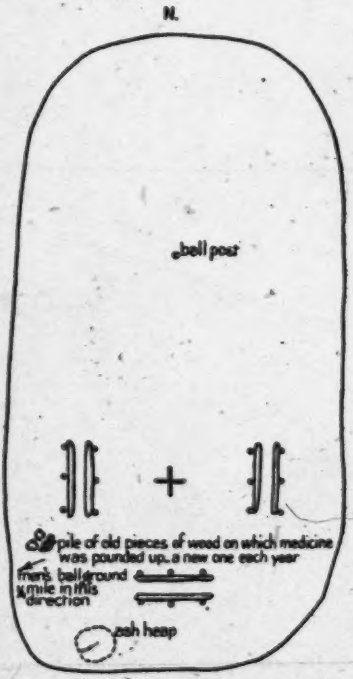

FIG. 81.—Wiogufki Ceremonial Ground in 1912

The square ground of Łákatcka or Broken Arrow is given in Figure 79. The hilis-haya was chosen from the Wind clan and his tenure was for life. The medicine was carried around by three persons, one of whom was chosen from each of the beds, omitting that on the east. There were officials named Holahta and Táski heniha like those in Coweta. In practice games of ball the Bear and Deer took opposite sides and the others joined one or the other of these clans as they chose. Probably this was a very late arrangement.

Figures 80 and 81 show the Square of Eufaula Hobayi (Lower Eufaula). This town branched out from the town of that name above given. It is said that the Wind clan and those who sat in the north bed were considered the same as tástánágis.

The older plan of Chiaha is given in Figure 82. According to another informant "old Chiaha was just like Coweta." It had a tcokofa before the removal west but not afterwards. The Deer clan was classed as Hathaga because it was considered almost the same as the Bird.

[5] See pp. 211-212.

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Figure 83 is from a description by Ellis Childers, who explained that the town organization as he gave it was the last and was made when a man of the Bird clan named Pibi'ska was miko, although later the miko was taken from the Wind clan as here shown. The reorganization was effected under the direction of Ayima'ha, an Osochi born in Alabama. At that time at least a part of the Osochi busked with the Chiahá, though the towns had separate officials. There was some controversy over the right of the Bird clan to a

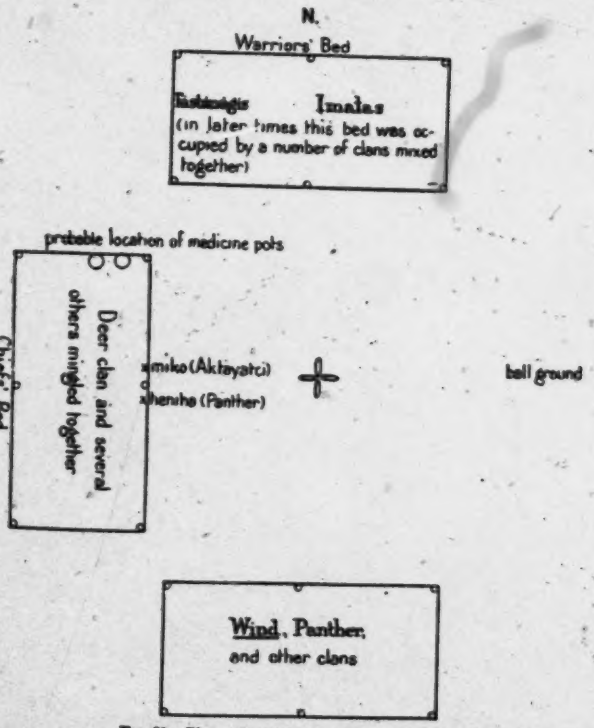

FIG. 22.—Plan of the Tukpafka Square Ground

position in the west bed, but Ayima'ha ruled that it should sit there, and he also placed the Skunk and Fish there. All of the clans in the north bed are said to be henihas except perhaps the Deer. Anciently this town had the same three officials as those who sat in the north bed of Coweta, but on the reorganization they were dropped. The holahta is said to have made arrangements for ball games, and he and the táski heniha together took up a challenge to play (apai'h-kita).

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Muskogee 231
Osochi
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In its main outlines this arrangement was confirmed by another informant. However, he stated that the miko and his heniha were both of the Bear clan, that the young boys were in the north bed, that the various clans were mixed together in the south and west beds, that the women entered at the southwest corner instead of the southeast, and that there was a shelter over the fire. The first of these statements may be explained only by supposing that this man meant the yatika or miko apokta instead of the heniha or that the organization was broken down.

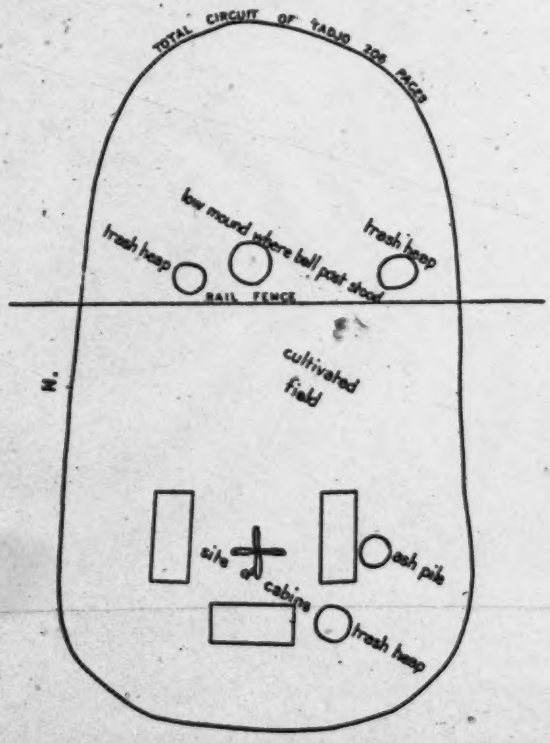

FIG. 84.—The old Tukpafka Ceremonial Ground as it appeared in 1912

Figure 84 gives what was probably the older organization of Osochi. There were also some representatives of the Beaver clan in this town but my informant did not know where they sat, and he was unable to tell which clans were reckoned as Hathagas and which as Tcilokis.

The plan given in Figure 85 shows the arrangement of the square ground before it was moved from the Verdigris. The clans were scattered through the various beds, the latter not being divided

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi; Alabama
Seminole NN16

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into sections, but my informant affirmed that the Wind and Deer "always went together," which would be in line with the classification of the Deer as a Hathaga clan at Chiaha.

We now come to the Seminole squares.

Ochesee Seminole, a square which has now been given up, is shown in Figure 86. There was formerly a tcokofa, but my informant had

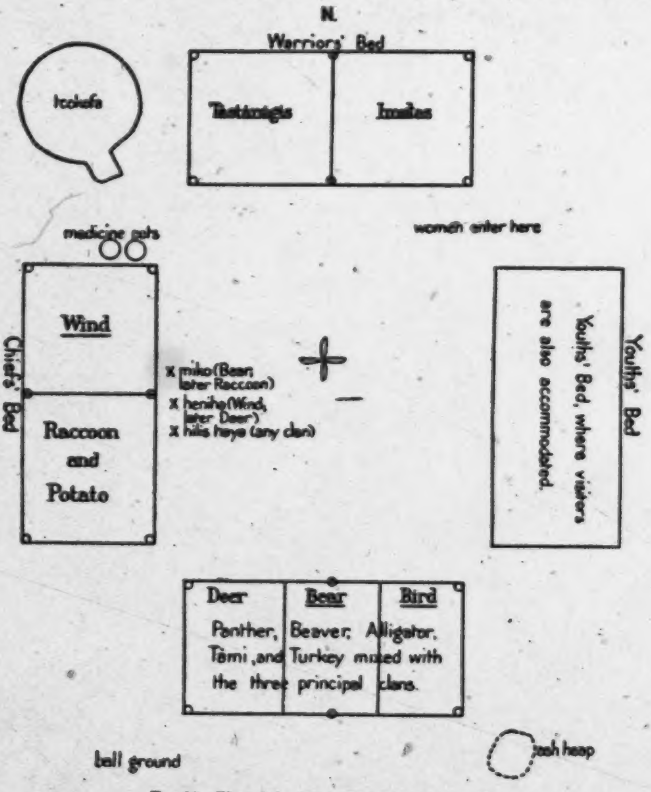

FIG. 34.—Plan of the Square Ground of Asilanahi

forgotten its location. Most of the warriors were in the north bed, and the hilis-haya sat with his own clan. The ashes were not removed from the center of the ground as was customary in the Creek squares.

Figure 87 is Okfuskee Seminole. The ball ground was located wherever it was most convenient, and the women danced into the square from any corner.

Figure 88 is a plan of the square made in 1912.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama
Seminole NN16

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The next plan (fig. 89) is of Tallahasutci. On the death of the miko the miko apokta took his place and a new miko apokta was appointed from the clan of the former miko.

The data for the accompanying sketch of this square (fig. 90) was obtained in the winter of 1911–12.

Figure 91 represents the square of Hitchiti Seminole, now abandoned. My informants stated that Toad and Tcokote were two names for one and the same clan. They added that the name of

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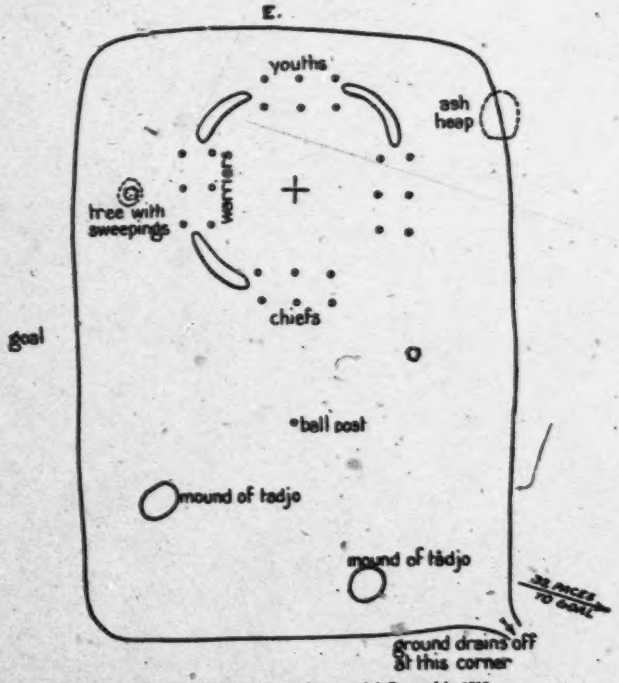

FIG. 91.—The Asilanabi Ceremonial Ground in 1913

the last miko of this town was Nokobâgi, and the name of his heniha Holahtâgi.

Figure 92 is Eufaula Seminole. The clans are not kept separate in the different beds. There were a few people of the Bird clan and one man belonging to the Bear who sat wherever they chose. There was also one of the Pahosa who sat with the Deer clan. There were no Beaver. It is said that the Wind clan is the only one which retains the taboo against endogamous marriages, but in the ball games each clan still hangs together. The distinction between the Hathagas and Tcilokis is no longer remembered.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Seminole NN16

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The accompanying sketch of the square ground (fig. 93) was made in 1912.

Figures 94 and 95 give Łiwahali Seminole. This square ground is said to be kept up merely for the medicine. The leaders were from Łiwahali, but the bulk of the people are said to have been drawn from the Upper Creek towns of Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki which migrated into Florida practically entire.

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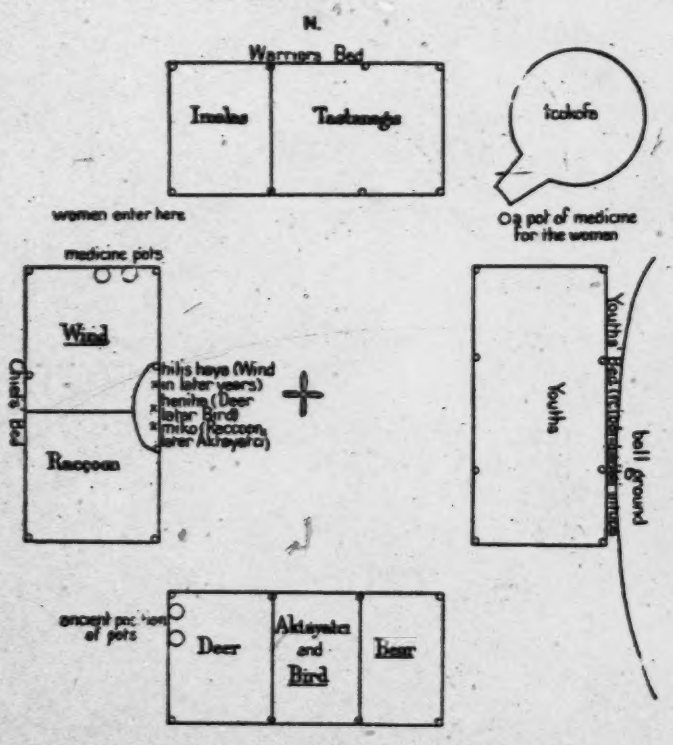

FIG. 96.—Plan of the Okchai Square Ground

Accompanying is a sketch of the Łiwahali ground (fig. 96), the data for which was obtained in 1912.

Plate 5, *c*, is a view of this ground taken from the west side and looking northeast.

Figure 97 shows Chiaha Seminole. The officials given in the plan had served in their several capacities for a very long time. The present (1912) hilis-haya sits with the rest of his clan, the Potato, in the north bed. At the corners of the square logs were laid down for the accommodation of the women.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Seminole NN16

Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

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Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the east, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

C. [344 621]

Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.[6] Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.[7] He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,[8] and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

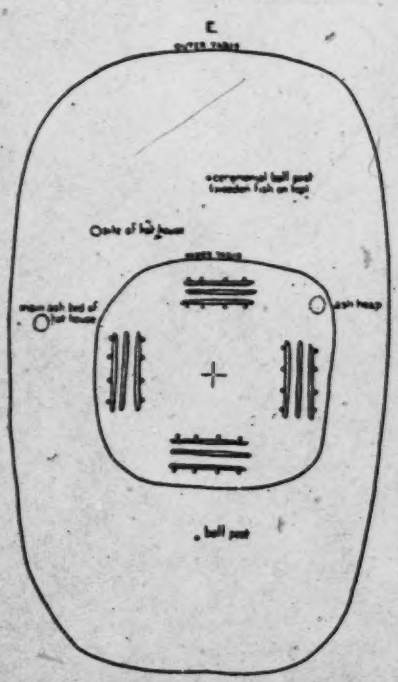

FIG. 27.—Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

[6] See p. 182. [7] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18. [8] Ibid., p. 181.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy

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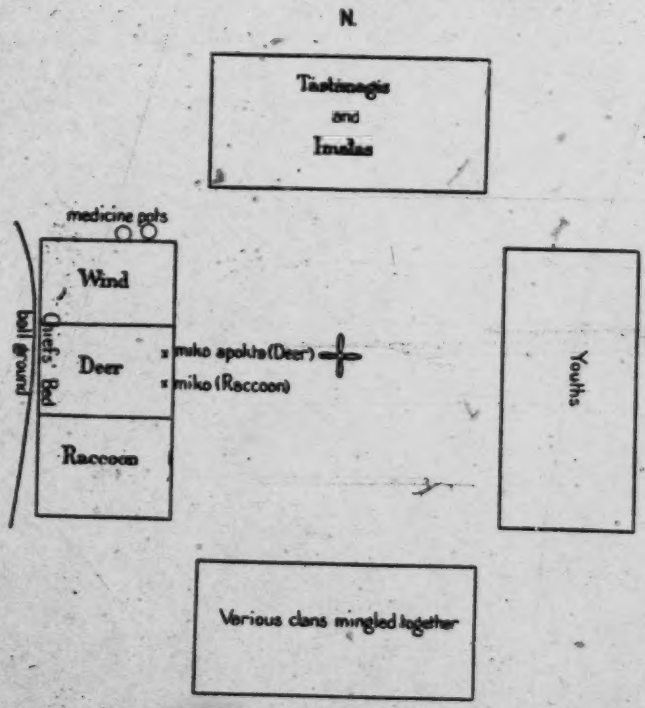

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Łáloglígs Square Ground

ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Ye Ye*, etc. . . .

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 30-31.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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We will now summarize the seatings of each clan:

Clan	Chiefs' bed	Henihas' bed	Warriors' bed	Youths' bed
Wind	22	20	4	1
Bear	30	11	8	1
Bird	22	12	6	1
Beaver	17	10	5	1
Alligator	11	18	5	5
Deer	10	11	15	3
Panther	10	12	16	3
Raccoon	13	8	11	1
Aktayatci	8	18	8	2
Snake	1	6	1	
Potato	9	9	8	4
Tàmi	2	10	3	4
Turkey	1	4	3	3
Pahosa	1	2	2	2
Kapitca	2	4	4	
Wildcat	3	2	3	1
Wolf	3	2	3	1
Mole	1	2		
Skunk	2	2		
Fox	2	3	2	1
Eagle	1	2		1
Woksi		1		
Tcowasta			1	
Fish	2	1		
Toad		1	1	
Otter	1	1		
Tcokote		1		
Reed (Cane)			1	
Lidjámi			1	

The distribution of the smaller clans in the above table agrees very well with that of the larger ones with which they are linked. The principal discrepancies are due to the fact that when the chief was selected from a certain clan that clan moved over in a body into the Chief's bed, and therefore in some cases, in the Raccoon group for instance, the leading clan appears to have been seated in the Chief's bed many more times proportionately than most of the other clans of the phratry.

Turning to the nine first clans, which are representative of the leading Creek phratries, we find that the White clans are found oftenest in the Chief's bed, and next in frequency in the bed of the Henihas, while comparatively seldom are they seated in the beds of the Warriors or Youths. It is to be observed that both the Chiefs' bed and that of the Henihas are frequently spoken of as "White beds," but the former is occupied by White clans more often than the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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latter. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great reduction in numbers which the towns have suffered and the practical abandonment of the Youths' bed, making it necessary to find seats for all of the clans in the three remaining beds. The Warriors' bed, too, does not appear to have been occupied anciently by clans as such, except perhaps the rear rows. In front were the tástánágálgi and imalálgi, who originally owed their positions to exploits in war and were drawn from various clans. In later times these dignities became to a certain extent hereditary, associated with certain clans, and the bed was occupied by clans in the same way as the other beds. It may be said, speaking generally, that the clan of the chief sat in the Chiefs' bed, and when a chief was selected from a new clan that clan moved over into that bed. There are a few cases to the contrary but this is what usually took place. The natural position of a clan is therefore best determined by studying its position when the chief belonged to some other clan. Bearing this in mind an inspection of the arrangement of the square grounds shows plainly that the proper position of the White clans is usually held to be in the beds of the Chiefs and the Henihas. And it is worthy of remark that most of those towns in which these clans appear in the Warriors' bed were of the Hitchiti group, indicating that a somewhat different arrangement obtained there. The Beaver clan is usually identified with, and seated with, the Bird everywhere except in Otciapofa and the Tulsa towns where it was generally the clan of the chief. The Alligator and Aktayatci occur more often in the Henihas' bed than anywhere else. The former is sometimes White, which perhaps accounts in part for its presence here and in the Chiefs' bed; the Aktayatci, however, is always Tciloki and is so much associated with war that the clan is considered—probably as a later development—identical with the tástánágálgi, in Łikatcka and Łutcapoga. This accounts for some

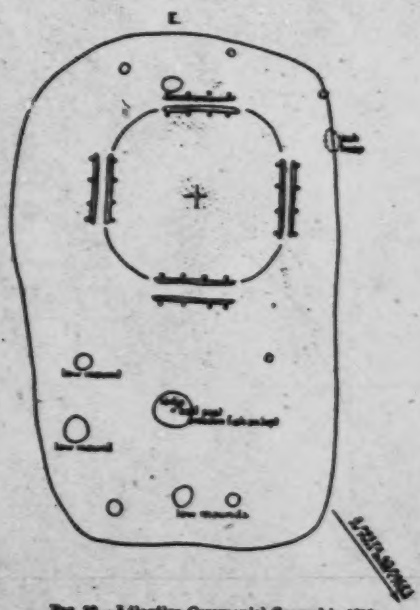

FIG. 10.—Łikatcka Ceremonial Ground in 1912

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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of the times when it appears in the Warriors' bed. It appears in the Chiefs' bed several times because the chiefs of the Eufaula towns, Hilibi, Wiogufki, and perhaps Pakan tallahassee, were taken from it.

The Alligator also appears many times in the Chiefs' bed. It is to be noted that when the Aktayatci were chiefs the Alligator were frequently henihas, and in consequence were sometimes taken into the Chiefs' bed. The Alligator were also henihas in Kasihta and were there taken into the Chiefs' bed for the same reason. In some other towns they were partly in the Chiefs' bed and partly in that of

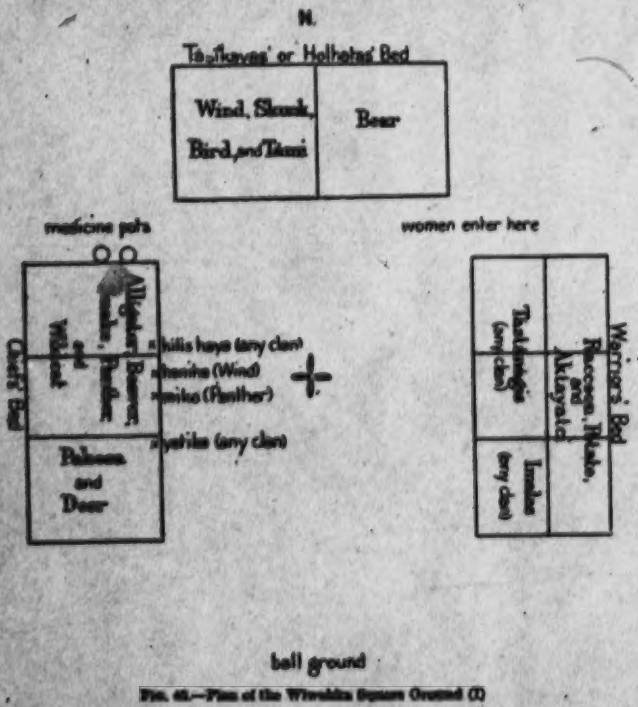

FIG. 48.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (I)

the Henihas. The Raccoon clan is the only Tciloki clan found more often in the Chiefs' bed than in any other. This position it occupies in Tukabatchee, Kealedji, the Okchai towns, Upper Eufaula, two Seminole towns, Koasati, two Abihka towns, and, according to two informants, in Chiaha and Oeochi. Its position in the last two was probably due to the fact that it is identified with the Potato and Fox, to which the town chiefs there belonged. The others are all Upper Creek towns, constituting two geographical groups, the Abihka and the towns on Tallapoosa River. These Raccoon people are

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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found more often in the Warriors' bed than in that of the Henihas or Youths, and that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clan is Red. In one or two cases it is said that the Raccoon clan were the tástánagis. They were in the Warriors' bed particularly in the Abihka and Tulsa towns. The only clans found oftener in the Warriors' bed than in any other are the Deer and Panther, rather singular companions one would think, but perhaps explacable on psychological grounds already given,[16] although it is more likely that the association has a

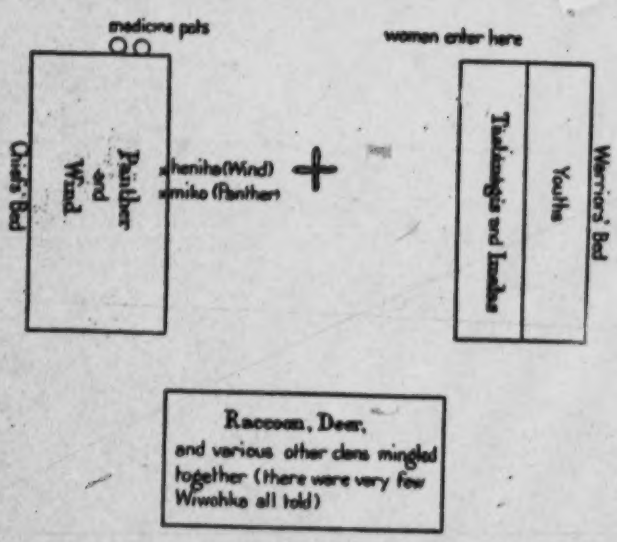

FIG. 41.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II)

historic basis now long forgotten. As in other cases the Panther and Deer sometimes furnish chiefs or henihas and are consequently found in the Chiefs' bed. They occur in the Henihas' bed more often. In the Okfuskee towns they are squeezed into the Youths' bed, owing to the large size of the White clans. In the Abihka towns, where the Warriors' bed is to the east, the Deer are uniformly placed there, while the Panther appear in the Henihas' bed. In Pakan tallahassee the Deer are again in the Warriors' bed and are specifically called tástánágálgi, while the Panther is taken into the

[16] See p. 140.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Tuskegee

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Chiefs' bed. In the Okchai towns, Tukpafka, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Koasati, Kealedji, and Hilibi these clans are found, however, either in the Chiefs' bed or in the bed of the Henihas. Often they are separated and sometimes one is placed in the Youths' bed. The separation occurs more often, however, when the Deer is placed in the Chiefs' bed, the Panther being in the Henihas' bed. The Deer are said to have been taken into the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee

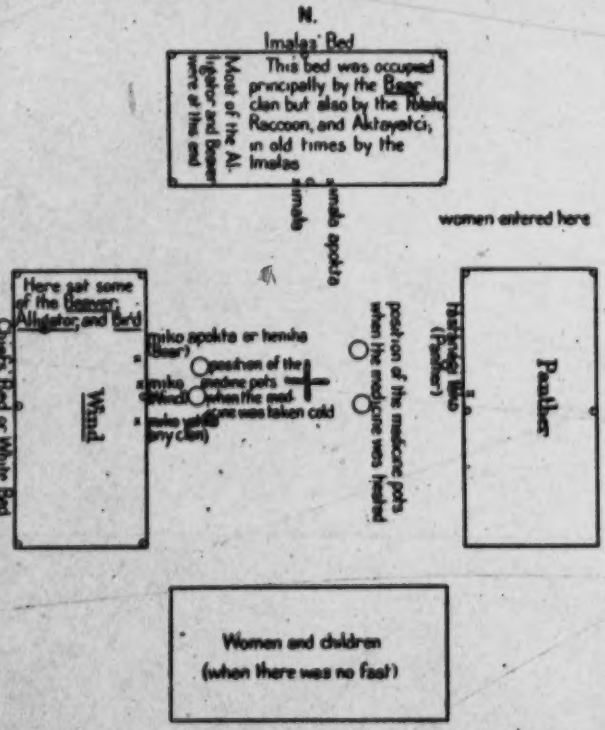

Fig. 42.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (I)

because they formed "a choice clan." In Seminole towns the Panther and Deer are almost always placed in the bed of the Warriors.

The important points regarding the nine leading clans brought out by this table are that the White clans—Wind, Bear, Bird, and Beaver—were seated most often in the Chiefs' bed and next to that most frequently in the bed of the Henihas; the Raccoon clan was seated oftenest in the Chiefs' bed and next to that in the Warriors bed; the Alligator and Aktayatci clans were seated most often in the Henihas' bed; and the Panther and Deer clans most often in the Warriors' bed.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Tuskegee

The Town

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Although the word tálwa is employed rather loosely for both a town and a tribe, its proper signification seems to have been rather tribal, a town or city in our sense of the term, a center of population, being indicated by the word talofa. A tálwa appears to have consisted of a body of people who had their own square ground and

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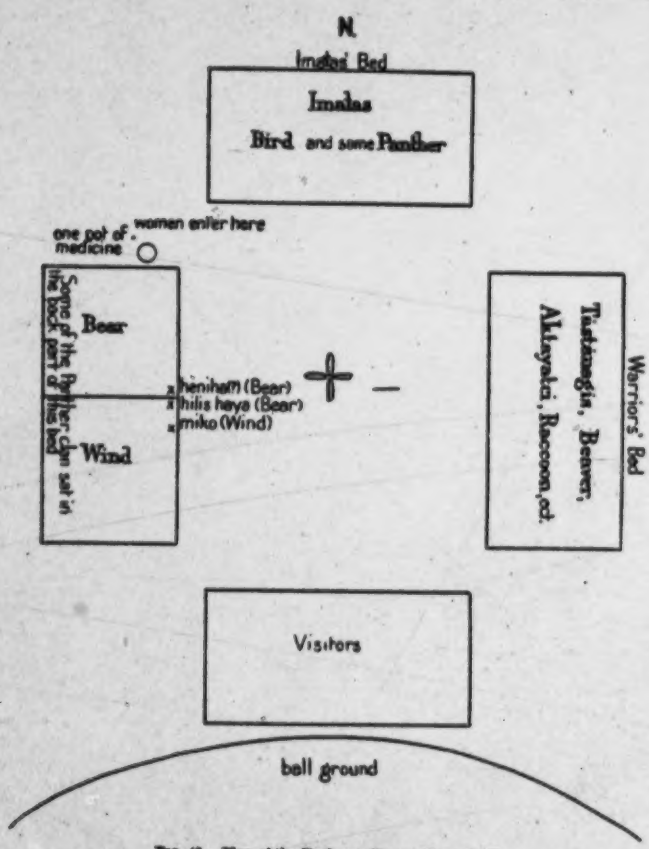

Fig. 43.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)

actually formed a little state. In later times many such tálwa were formed by segmentation and they were closely related, but the farther back we go the more distinct do the differences between the various tálwa appear to be. These tálwa might, of course, consist of a number of distinct villages, but, except that they were usually composed of knots of clan relatives, no permanence and no particular coherence attached to these latter.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each tálwa, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the miko's seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the

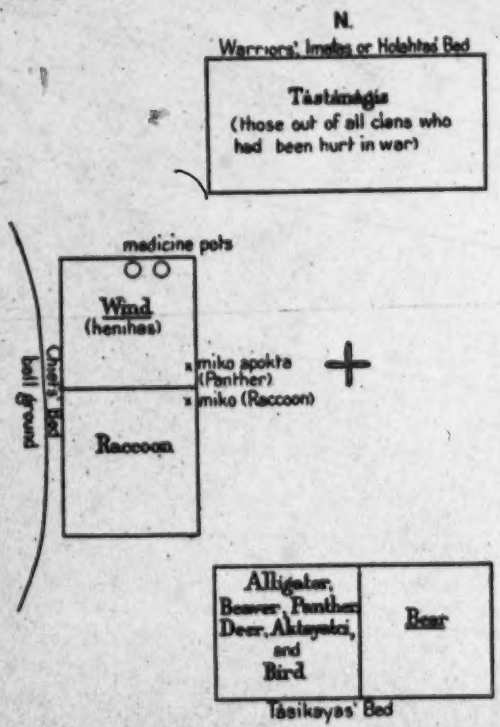

FIG. 64.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kossati No. 2

four front posts of the miko's bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Kossati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the miko's bed in the Kossati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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This is both interesting and important, and it is in line with what we know regarding the tribes living along both the lower and the upper courses of the Mississippi River. At the same time I have so far been unable to obtain confirmation of this from other Creeks. Of course, Bartram tells us that in his day the posts of the Chiefs' bed at Atasi were carved to resemble snakes, but this can not be accepted as confirmatory evidence because Judge Gregory was perfectly familiar with the writings of Bartram and other early authors. The Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas claimed some particular right

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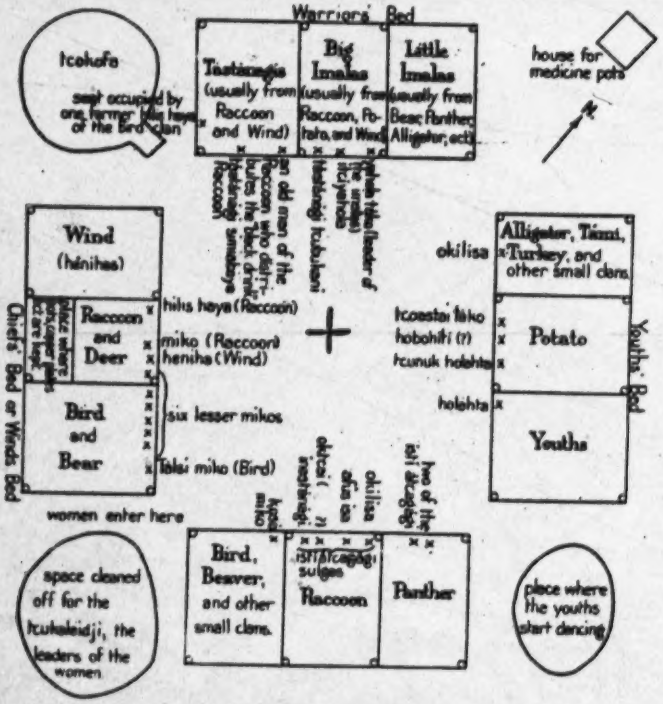

FIG. 4h.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (I)

to the garfish, but I have not secured sufficient evidence regarding this to be sure of the nature of their claim. On a previous page I have had occasion to note that the Indians of the Fish Pond towns place wooden fish at the tops of their ball posts, but according to their own explanation this mark is merely suggested to them by the town name. The Eufaula Indians have a wooden eagle in the same place, but they say that this is because the eagle is emblematic of the United States. The other towns all use skulls of horses or cows, which are said to be without significance of any kind.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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In line with the wooden eagle of Coweta mentioned by Judge Gregory is the wooden statue of a human being which Adair informs us existed in his day in "the head war town of the upper Muskohge country." Tukabahchee is the head war town of the Upper Creeks to-day, but in Adair's time it may have been Łiwahali or Atasi. Adair's words are as follows:

"There is a carved human statue of wood, to which, however, they pay no religious homage. It belongs to the head war town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed

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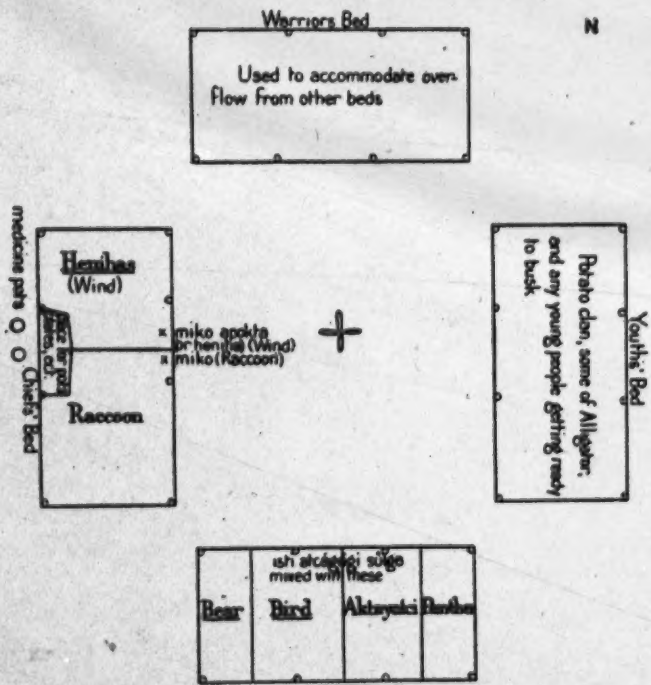

—FIG. 46.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (II)

to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero, who deserved well of his country; for, when their *cusseena*, or bitter, black drink is about to be drank in the synhedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his coadjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

621 view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders
532 who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist." [11]

[302] According to some informants the people of each tâlwa formerly had distinctive face paintings, and there were men in every town particularly skilled in applying these. The design for Tuskegee was as shown in the cut (fig. 102).

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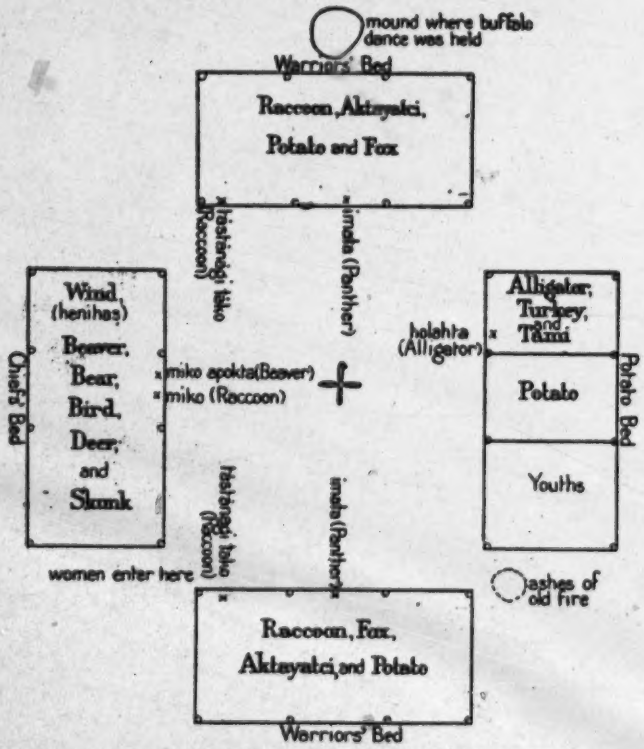

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Tuksabahee Square Ground (III)

621 A word may be quoted from Stiggins regarding the feeling of unity which subsisted within each town.

"The towns people were frequently assembled at their town house or square in order to keep them united, for the harmony subsisting among the people of a town is noted and seems to be cemented by an affection as strong towards each other as the sons of Jacob of old in their association. As the usages and customs of every town are similar and the men all know the unity and sympathy of a town

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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people, the men of one town will approach another town with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated, and as such is their practice in this their more enlightened time, their approaches toward each other's towns and towards strangers must have been with extreme timidity and caution in their natural and more savage state."[13]

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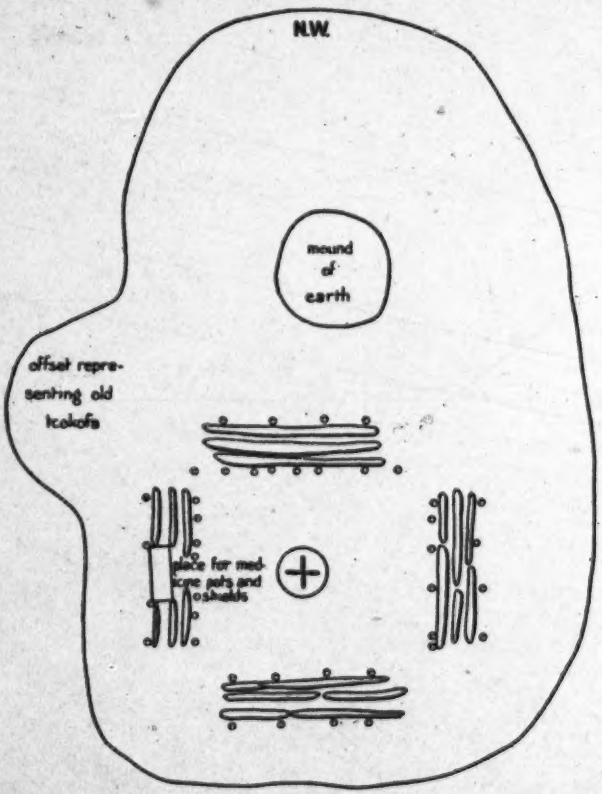

FIG. 48.—Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

In my historical account of the Creek Indians and their neighbors I have taken up in detail the various tribes which constituted the confederacy and the position occupied by each.[13a] It will not be necessary to go over this ground again, except to insert a classification of the tâlwa which of itself will serve to recapitulate the points there brought out.

[13] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 19.

[13a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

NATURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CREEK TOWNS

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Muskogee tribes: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa (including (a) the Tulsa group and (b) the Okfuskee group), Abihka, Holiwahali (or Liwahali), Hilibi, Eufaula, Wakokai, several Muskogee tribes whose connection with the rest is uncertain, including Atasi, Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Fushatchee, Wiwohka, Kealedji, and tribes such as the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee, which seem not to have been constituted parts of the original body.

•[3/4]

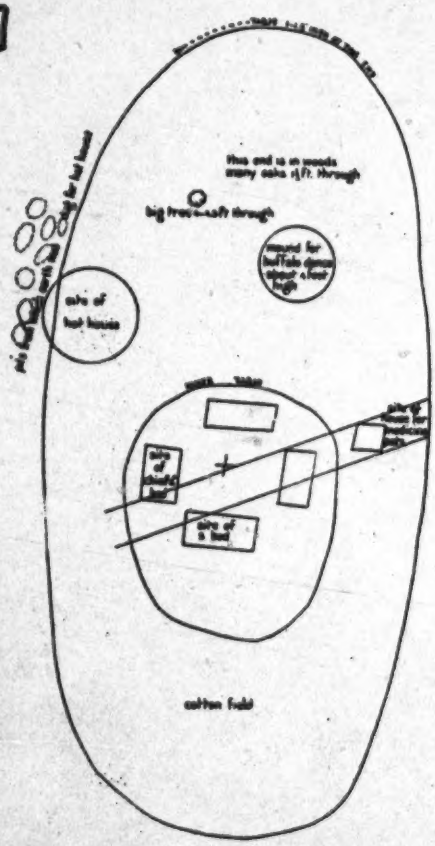

FIG. 49.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Mabetta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912-14

Atcik hata (Hitchiti speaking tribes): Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Tamali, Chiaha.

Alabama.

Muklasa.

Koasati.

Tuskegee.

Yuchi.

Natchez.

Shawnee.

Tribes of uncertain connection: Osochi.

To these might almost be added the Chickasaw, since one band of Chickasaw lived with the Creeks for several years and they were all held to be of one fire with the Kasihta. According to the traditions given above the Kasihta and Coweta resulted from the segmentation of one original body, and it is probable that these and the next five towns in the above list were the original Muskogee speaking peoples in the confederacy. It seems likely that the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee were Muskogee in language but were late in uniting with the others. The Koasati were closely related by language with the Alabama, as was probably the case

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13] 101 621

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace, 621 616 619 [344].

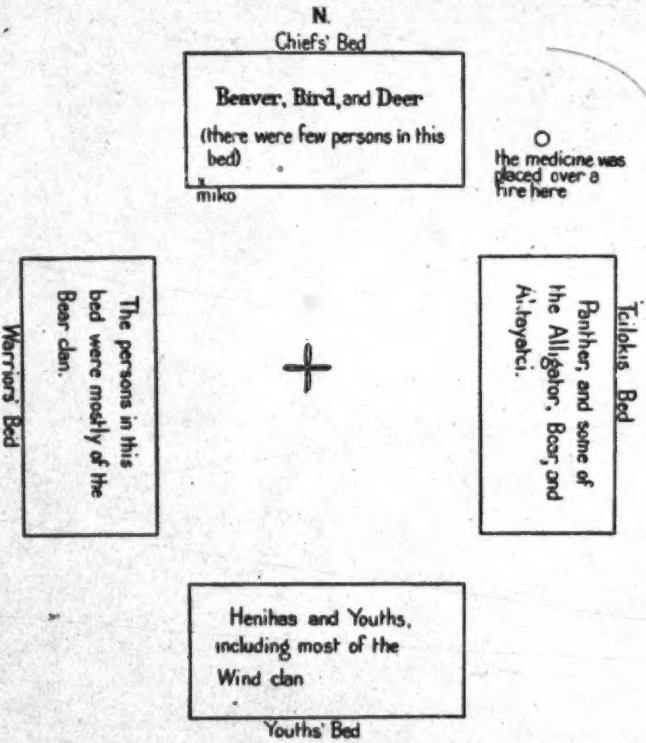

FIG. 50.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to [614] 621 619 177

[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26. [13a] See pp. 196-197.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

621 one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was
619 used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate
177 an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choc-
[609] taw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[14] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable

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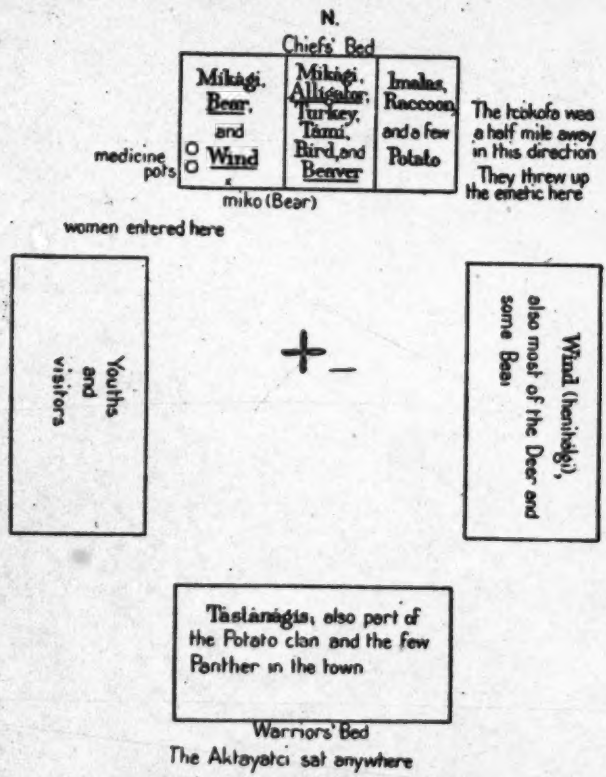

FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

621 Jackson Lewis used the name Tâlwa mikâgi for the White towns
619 and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 229.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also, in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfus-

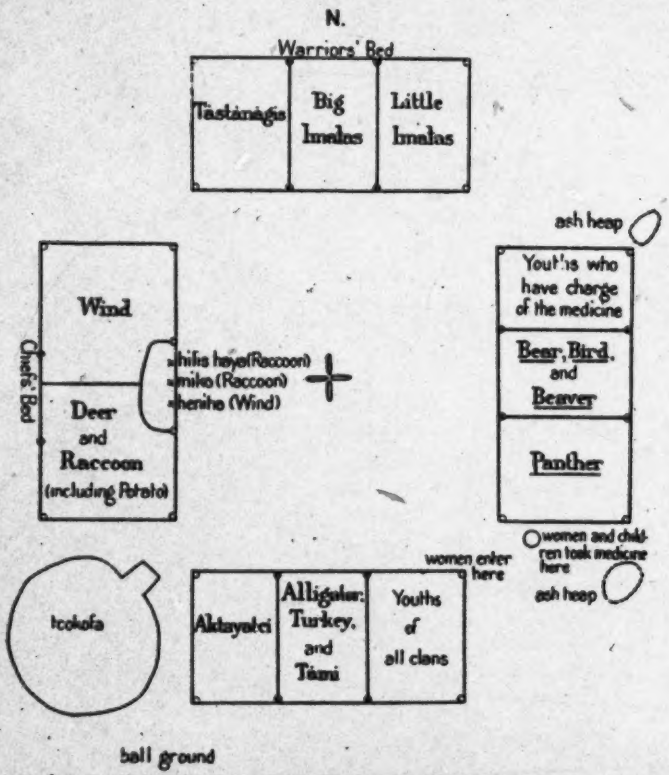

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (I)

kee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered into against each other and their antithetical peace and war functions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

609 was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite
619 those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually
calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such
621 invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent.
Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

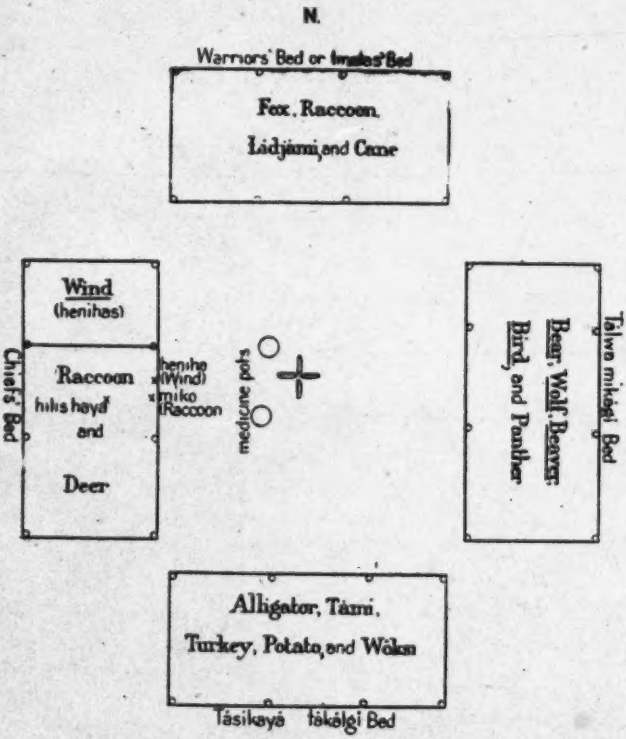

FIG. 53.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

609 Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were
619 known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bar-
621 tram,[17] and Adair [18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that
778 human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until
an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who
had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 387.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[18a] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

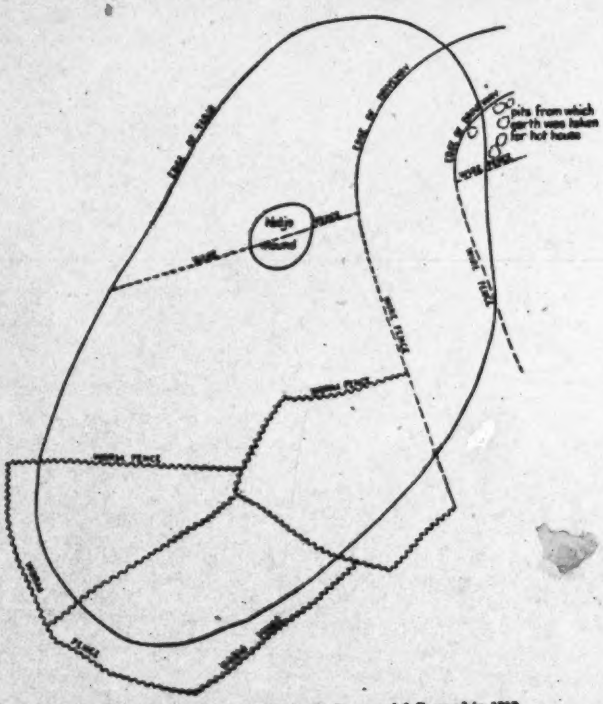

FIG. 34.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly." [19]

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[18a] Bartram, Travels, pp. 367–368.

[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 150.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

619 621 [526] The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

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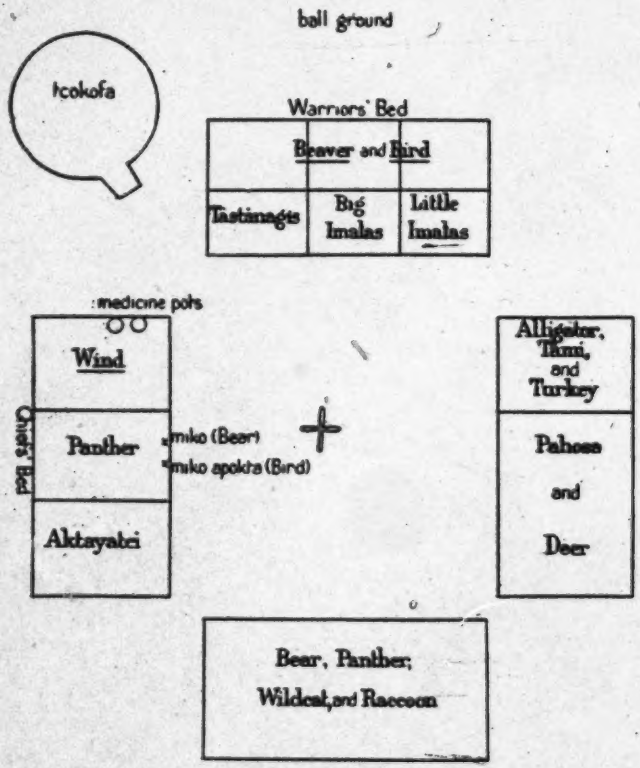

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łapiłko Square Ground (I)

619 101 Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.
Apalachicola.
Hitchiti.
Sawokli.
Okmulgee.
Kawaigi.
Okitiyagana.
Yuchi.[20]
Coosa.
Otciapofa.
Tulsa Little River.
Tulsa Canadian.
Lutcapoga.
Okfuskee.
Tcatokaofka.
Abihkutci.
Nuyaka.
Abihka.
Abihka-in-the-West.
Talladega.
Kan-tcati.
Wakokai.
Wiogufki.
Tukpafka.
Wiwohka.
Pakan tallahassee.
Okchai.
Łałogalga.
Asilanabi.
Koacati (1 and 2).
Tuskegee.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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RED

Coweta.	Eufaula Hobayi.	Łapłáko.
Likatcka.	Tukabahchee.	Hilibi.
Chiaha.[80]	Kealedji.	Kitcopataki.
Osochi.	Hatchee tcaba.	Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Hotalgihuyana.	Atasi.	Talmutcasi.
Eufaula.	Holiwahali.	Alabama.

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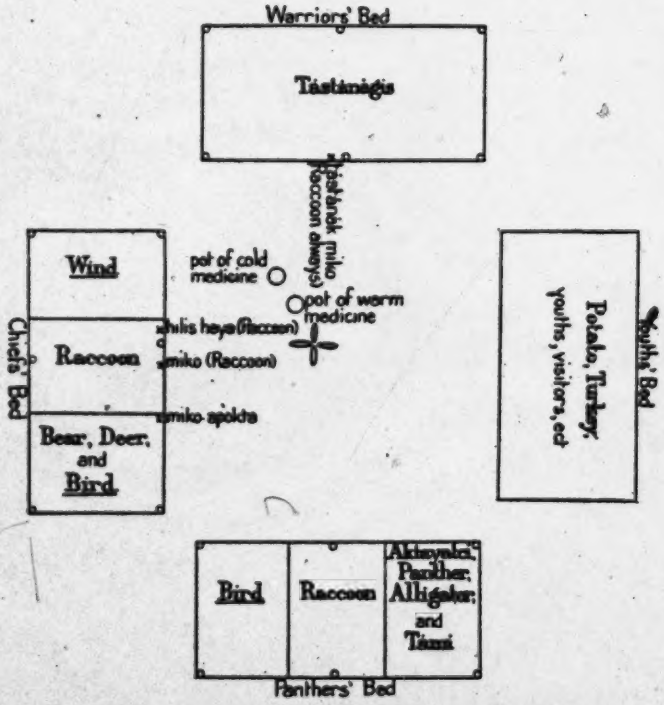

FIG. 56.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (II)

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This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Koasati was a Red town, a conclusion which

[80] The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Taitt who mentions a ball game May 3, 1772, in which the former defeated the latter (Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p 533).

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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may have been deduced from the fact that in recent years the related Alabama town was on the Red side. From the evidence which I collected, however, it would seem that it is Alabama which has changed, and that only in late times owing to some difference with the Okchai Indians with whom the Alabama people had formerly been allied. Jackson Lewis in fact placed Alabama on the White side, but on the other hand he thought that Wiogufki and Tukpafka were Red.[21] Such a classification of these last two towns was concurred in by some other informants, and Eufaula hadjo told me that Wiogufki had formerly been Red and had become a White town very recently. As Tukpafka was a branch, or at any rate a coordinate part, of Wiogufki, it was probably classed with it. This shift was perhaps responsible for the confusion regarding Wiogufki in the mind of one old man who said that he believed Wiogufki played on both sides. Eufaula hadjo's statement was, however, confirmed by Big Jack of Hilibi who affirmed that at one time Wiogufki, Tukpafka, Wakokai, Sakapadai, Talmutcasi, and Pakan tallahassee were of the same fire clan as Coweta and Łapłàko but had gotten changed. I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this in so far as it applies to the last two towns. Possibly the social and political upheavals which accompanied the Civil War may have been responsible for some of the confusion. One of my best informants among the Okchai Indians thought that Wiogufki was really a White town, but that it probably had some agreement with Hilibi and Eufaula that, as good friends and neighbors, they would never play against each other. While Eufaula hadjo and Big Jack are probably right this is interesting as showing that agreements of the sort were not unknown, or at least not inconceivable. I am inclined to think that Talmutcasi was originally White, because it seems to have been a branch of the well-known White town of Okfuskee. An old Coweta Indian stated that some of the Abihka Indians were claimed by Coweta and some by Kasihta, but this confusion, as in the case of Wiwohka, was very likely due to marriages outside. The standing of Abihka on the White side was not questioned by anyone else.

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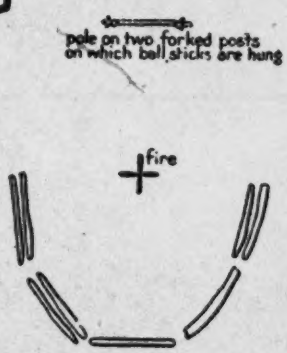

FIG. 57.—The Łapłàko "rallying ground" used before ball games, as it appeared in 1912

[21] The original position of Alabama as a White town is also indicated by what Bossu says regarding it: "The Alibamons have called their country the white ground, or country of peace, and rest on their mats, that is to say attack no one. A kind of allegory through which they seem to announce to all the nations of the earth, that the bloody hatchet is buried, and people can come and trade in all safety."—Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 47.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Seminole NN16

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According to Silas Jefferson the Chiaha were the chief opponents of the Tuskegee after they had removed to Oklahoma, but the latter played frequently with the Wiwohka, and sometimes with the Hilibi, and, in the old country, against the Alabama. The Hitchiti and Apalachicola were usually matched against the Atasi.

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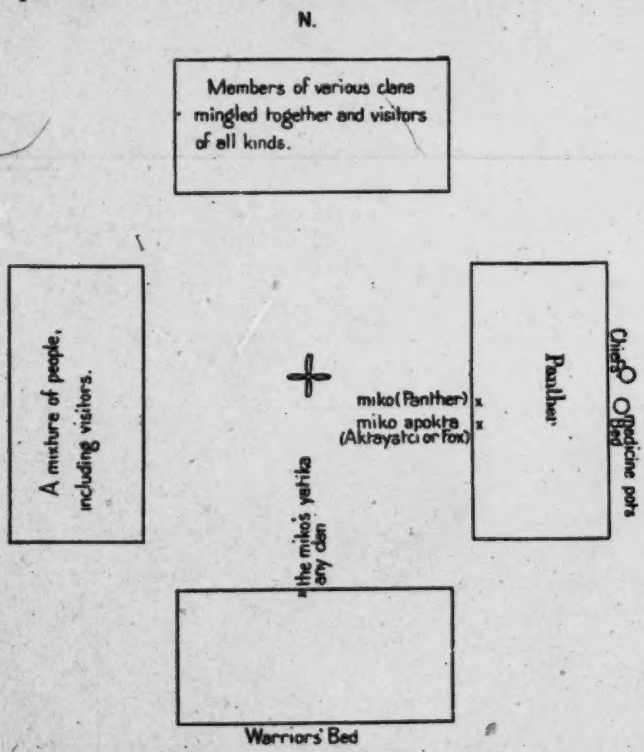

FIG. 28.—Plan of the Liwahali Square Ground

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The corresponding division among the Seminole in Oklahoma is said to have been as follows:

White	Red
Okfuskee	Eufaula.
Tallahasutci	Liwahali (including the Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki).
Ochesee	Chiaha.
Hitchiti	Mikasuki.

This agrees perfectly with the alignment among the Creeks if, as I now suspect, the Mikasuki were a branch of the Chiaha Indians instead of the Hitchiti proper.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opilłáko, and Łálogálga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

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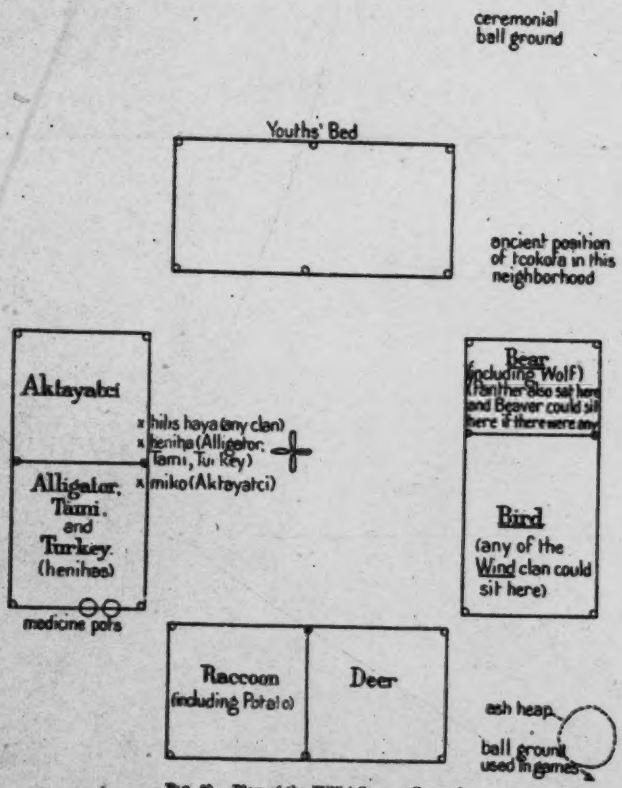

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Holiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

9. Okchaiyutci, Koasati, Kan-tcati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga. 619

Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potcas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opillàko in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."[22] In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

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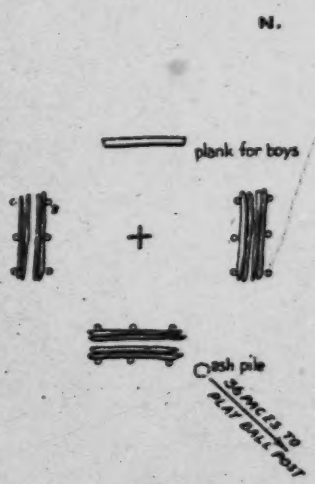

FIG. 60.—Hilbi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Evolution of the Creek Confederacy

Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts. 173 642

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 262.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN1: Creek NN11
Muskogee

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Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names

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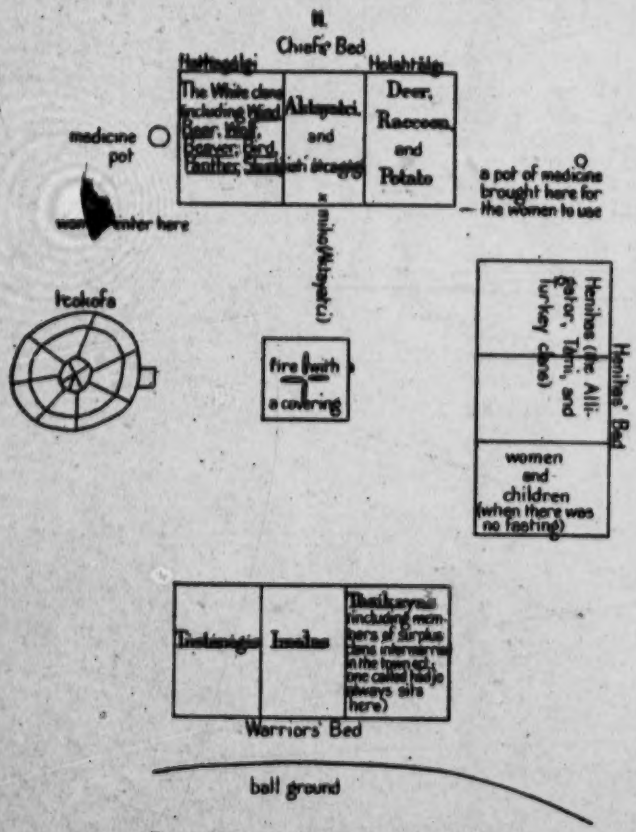

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)

of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe; that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

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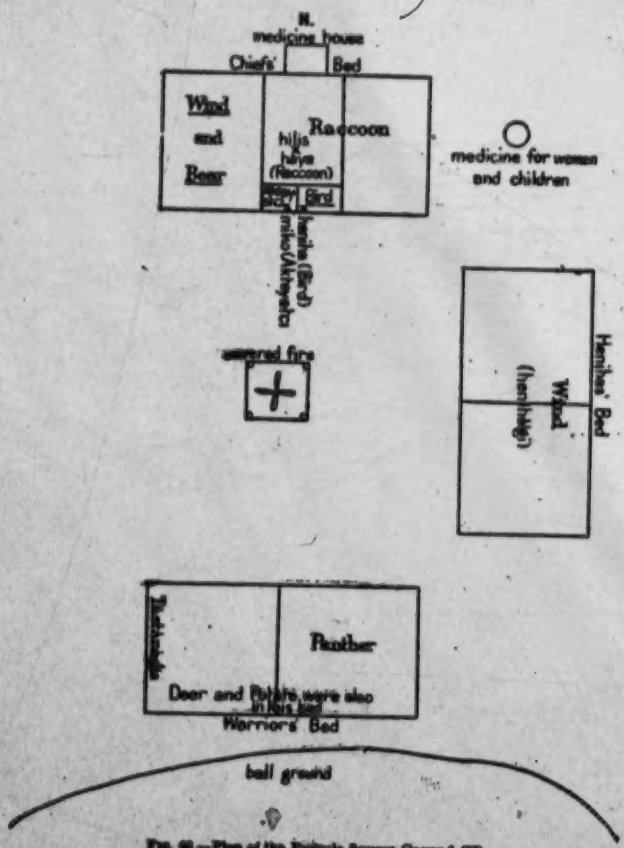

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (II)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Milfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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no tribe is except the Coosa and its later divisions. If we consider the traditions by themselves, then, we seem to find that one body of Muskogee came from the west and subsequently divided into two parts which came to be known as Kasihta and Coweta, and that they were early associated with another tribe, probably also Muskhogean, the Abihka. The Coosa, on the other hand, came from the west independently, and had no subdivisions until much later. The explanation of the two divisions of towns or "fires" is given in Judge Gregory's story, and there is reason to believe that they did actually originate with the division of the easternmost band of Creeks into Kasihta and Coweta, although the specific account of it is, of course, entirely mythic. This now seems plausible because, in the first place, these two towns are the only pair seemingly sprung from one stem, which are conspicuously set over against each other as leaders of the opposing sides, there being no such pairing of the Upper Creek leading towns. Moreover, Bartram records a traditional belief that the Creek confederacy had originated at the old town of Okmulgee on the river of that name—i. e., among the Lower Creeks. The later Okmulgee town was a Hitchiti settlement, but Muskogee lived along Ocmulgee River at an early date. In De Soto's time the people of Cofitachequi, which we have identified as Kasihta, knew Coosa well, and it is not improbable that the basis of the confederacy had already been laid. It is likely that it was in existence before the Tukabahchee united with the other towns, in spite of the later prominence of the former and in spite of the fact that some Creeks will tell you that the busk fire originated with the Tukabahchee and was by them distributed to the rest.

[344]

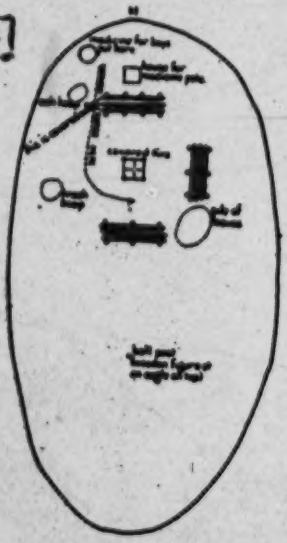

FIG. 68.—Eufaula Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Woodward says it was a matter of dispute among the Creeks whether Kasihta or Tukabahchee was settled first, but it was generally conceded that Kasihta was first settled.[28] Unfortunately we have no record, mythic or otherwise, as to how the friendship between Kasihta, Abihka, and Coosa grew up other than the references in the stories already given, and these do not explain why the friendship was between Abihka, Coosa, and Kasihta, rather than Abihka,

[28] Woodward, Reminiscences, p. 22.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama

Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probaby Łiwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Łiwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that

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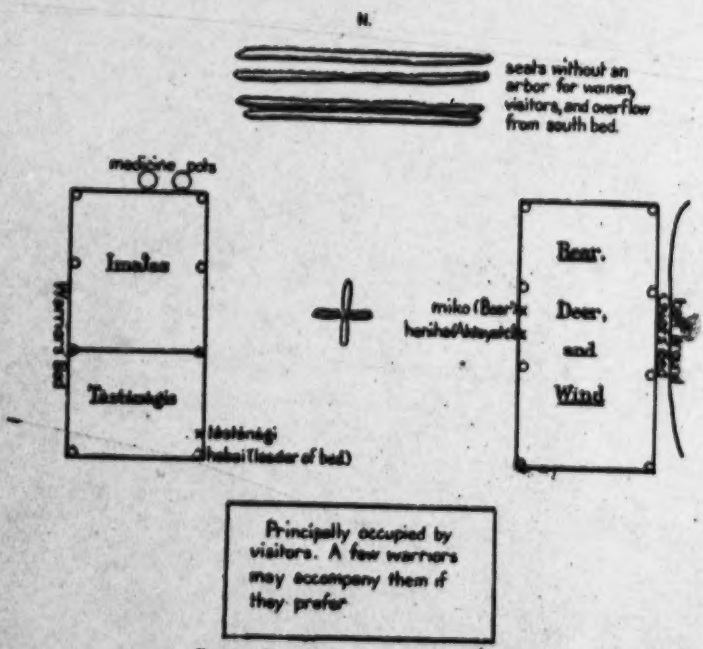

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FIG. 64.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I)

the first was already a friend of Coweta, Łiwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.[24] From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hillibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Łikatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee tcaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

[24] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 224-225.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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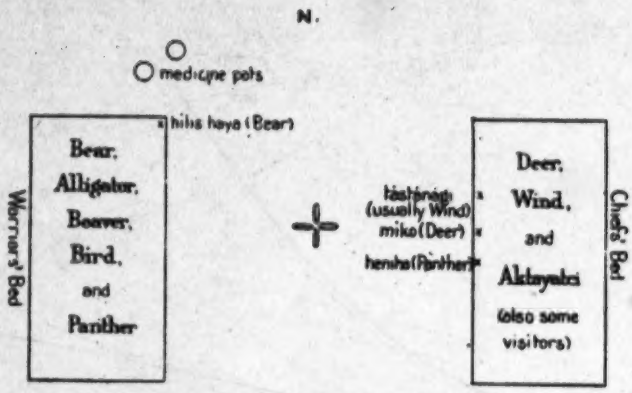

FIG. 65.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (II)

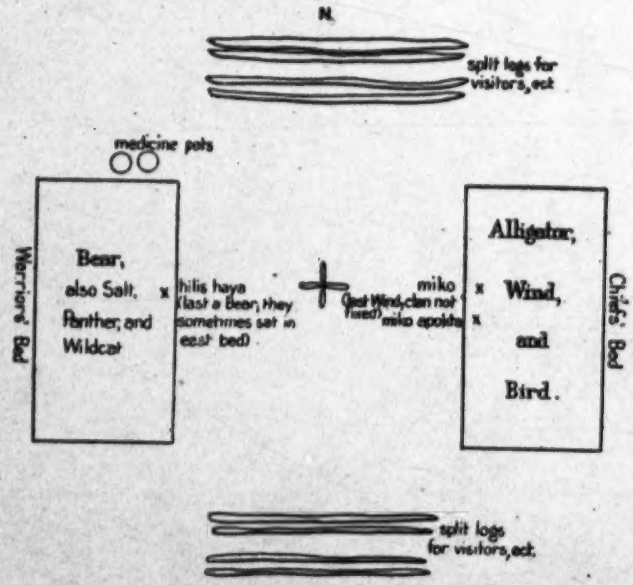

FIG. 66.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (III)

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Alabama
Muskogee

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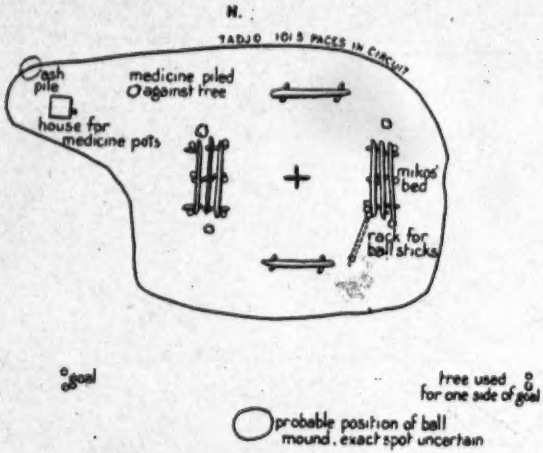

FIG. 67.—The Alabama Ceremonial Ground in 1912

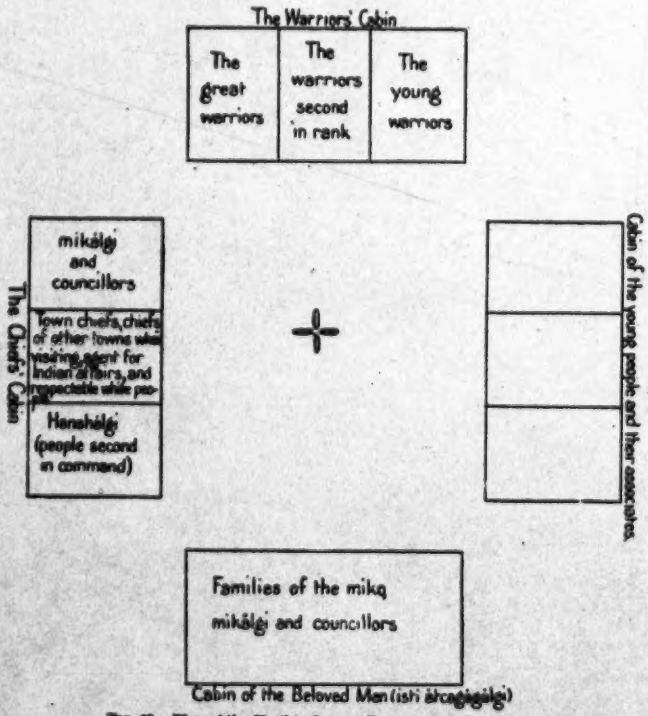

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Hawkins)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

173 groups. And with the exception of Tukabáhchee and its associates,
642 which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy

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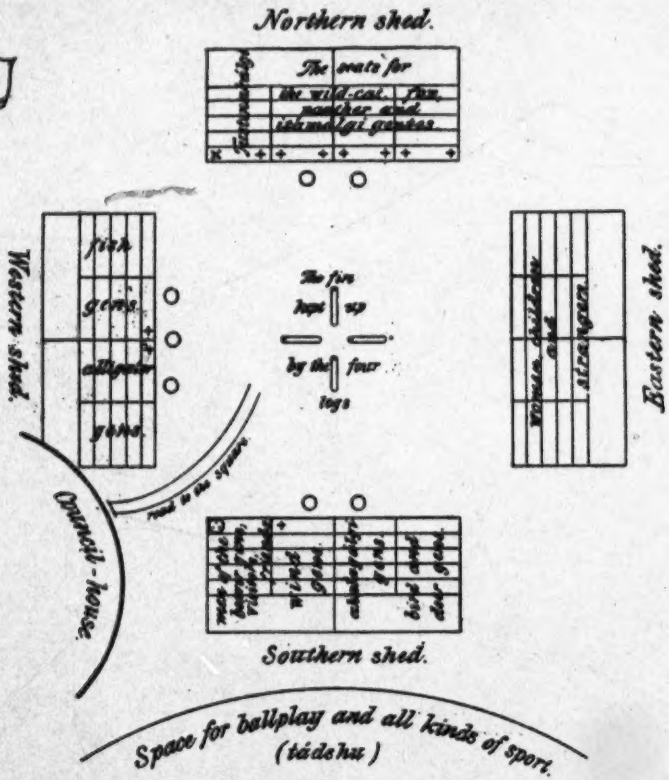

FIG. 69.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,[25] was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with

[25] See p. 254.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and

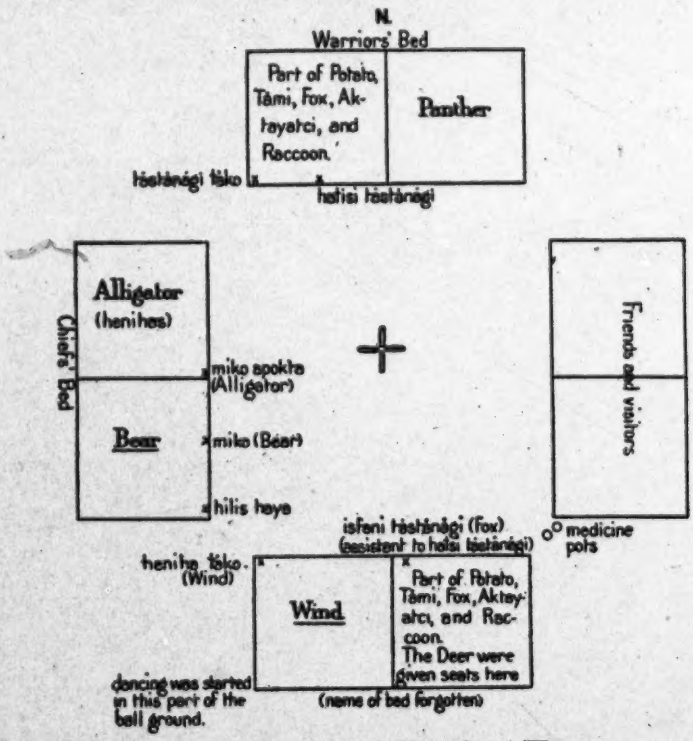

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Tcokote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitca and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Łidjami with the Tukabahchee and related towns and

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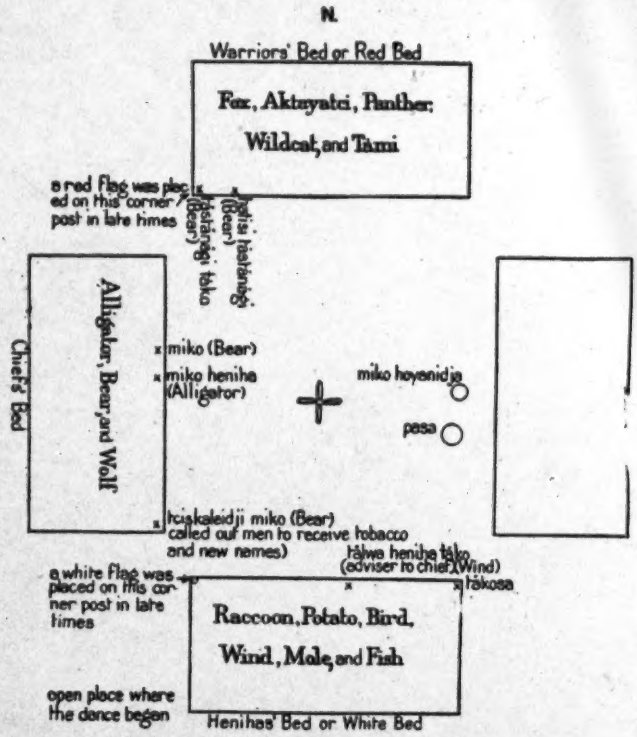

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

the Raccoon with the Tukabahchee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatci is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
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factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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C. 344 621

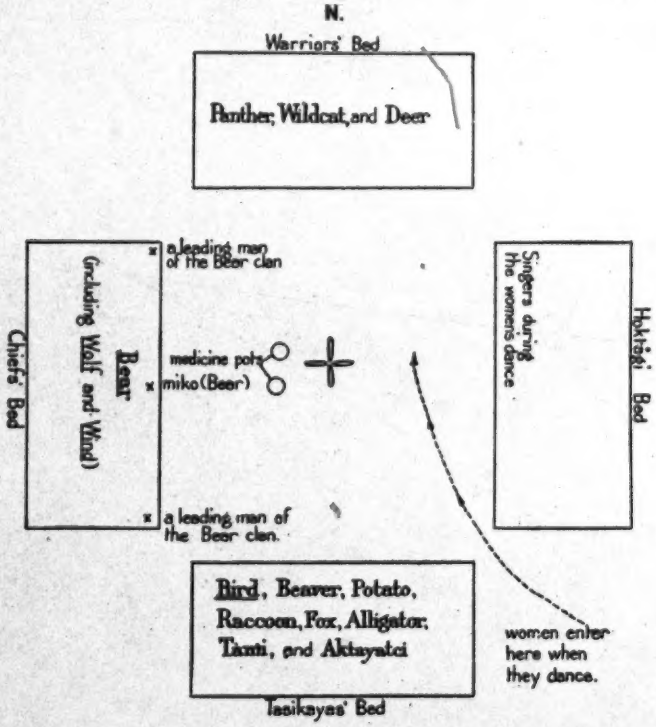

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

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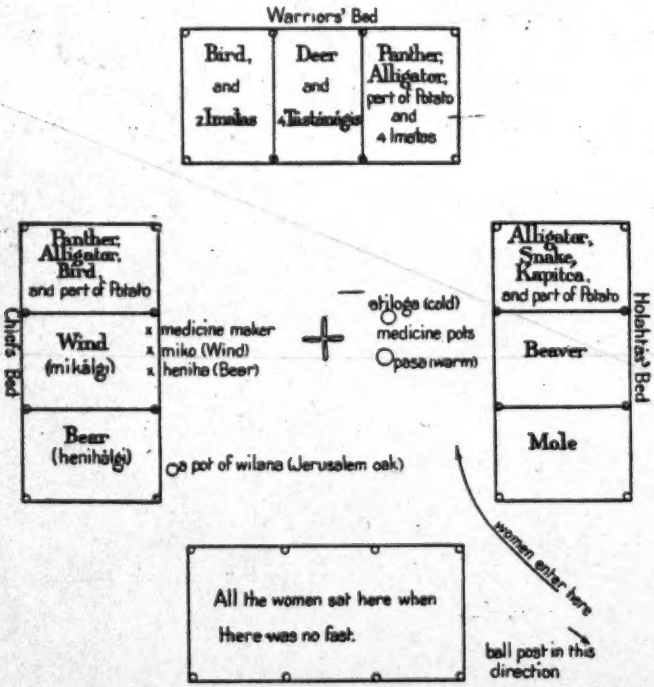

FIG. 73.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa ákc) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important

C. [344 621]

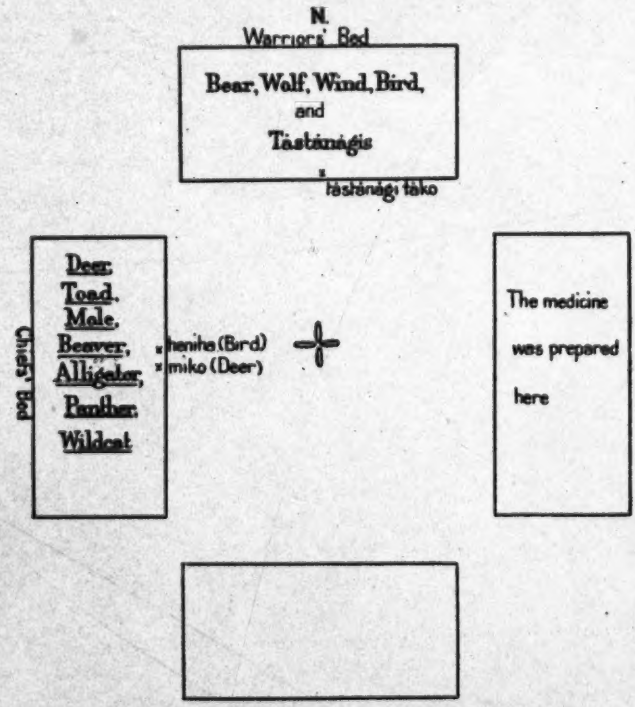

FIG. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa Iáko) (II)

part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Southeastern Indians
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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

C. [344 621]

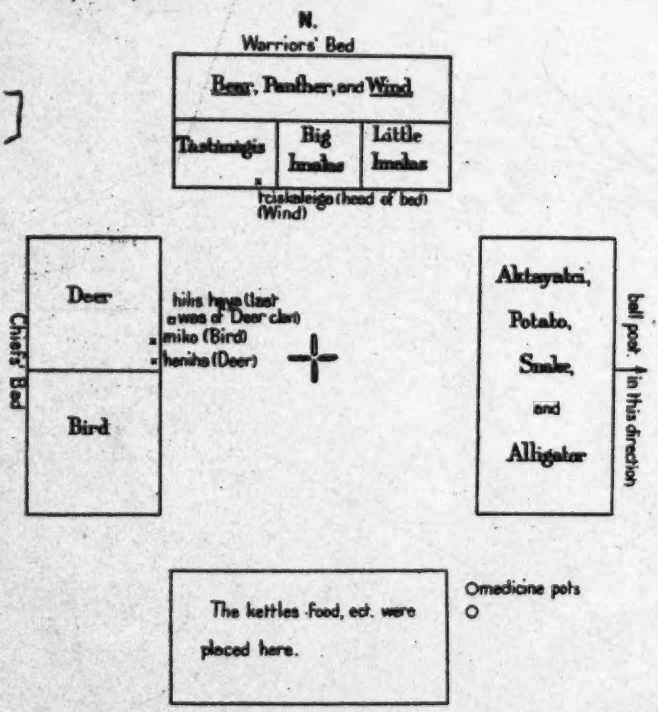

FIG. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

1: Swanton E.5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Southeastern Indians NN3

C. 171 614 S. 614

on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

C. [344 621]

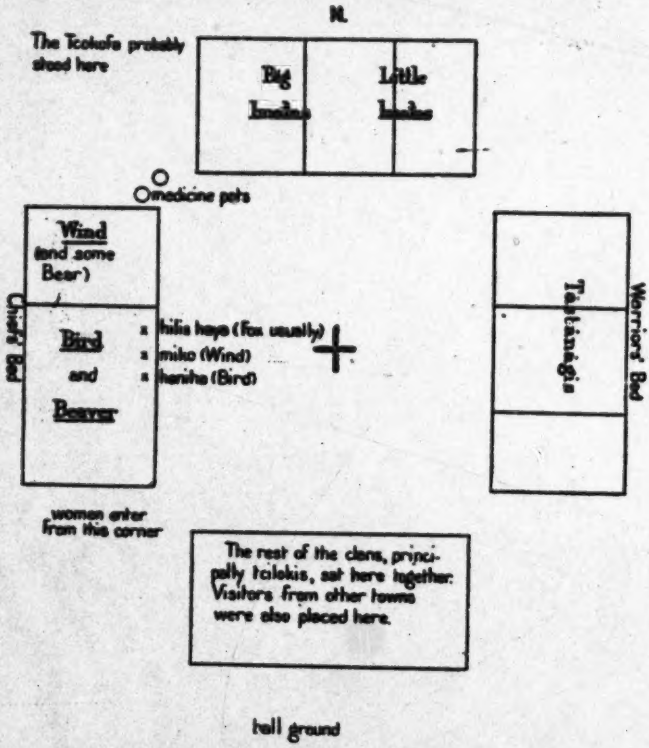

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
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Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogálgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent

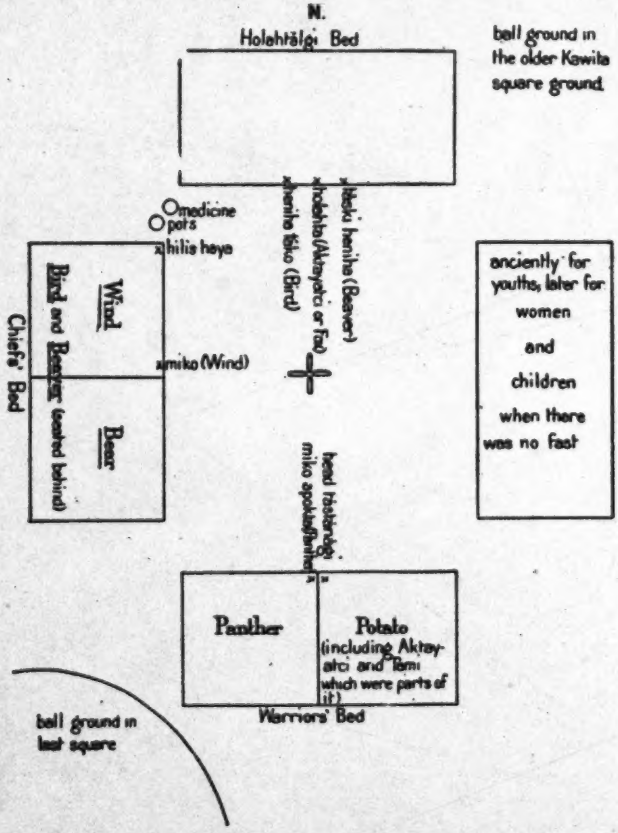

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Cowéta Square Ground (II)

and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

1: Swantcn E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

GOVERNMENT

619 The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the
621 most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been
642 already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confedera-

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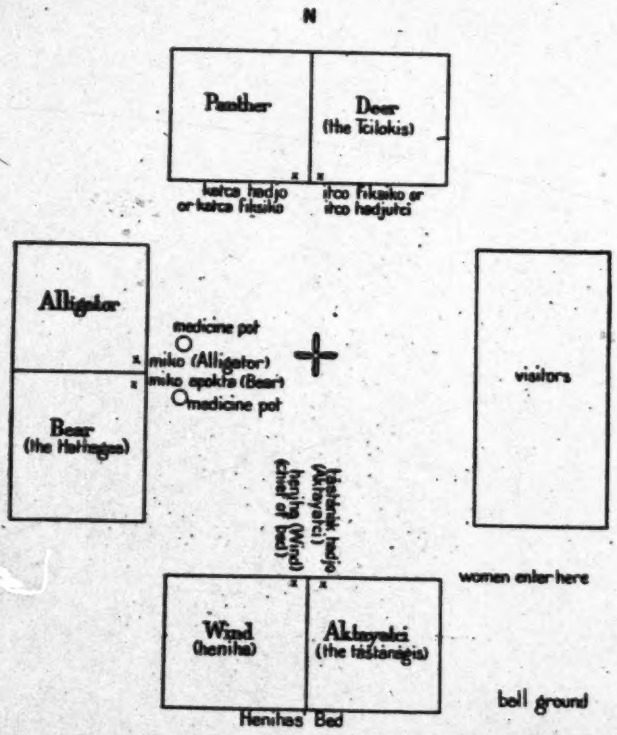

FIG. 79.—Plan of the Square Ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow

tion, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

towns alone being under mikos.[36] If he means by warriors men bearing the title tástánagi we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

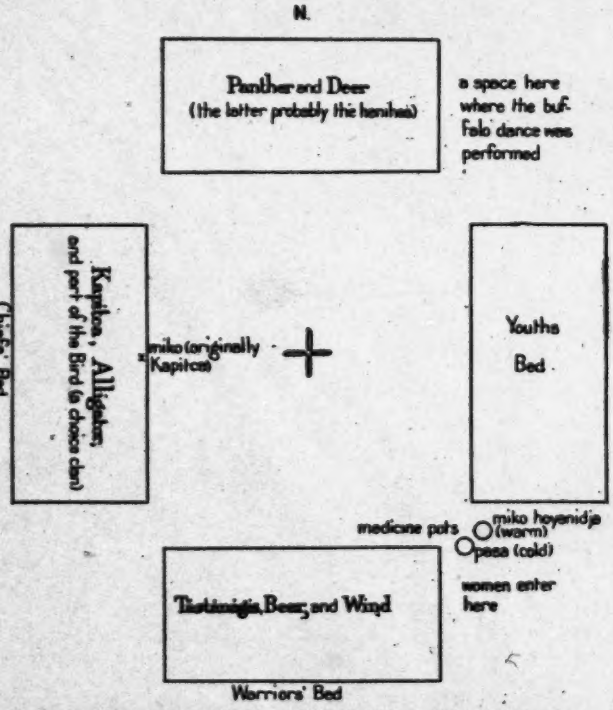

FIG. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

[36] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

½ [i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

622 talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[27] Bartram remarks:

"He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, [574] receives presents, etc. He alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's

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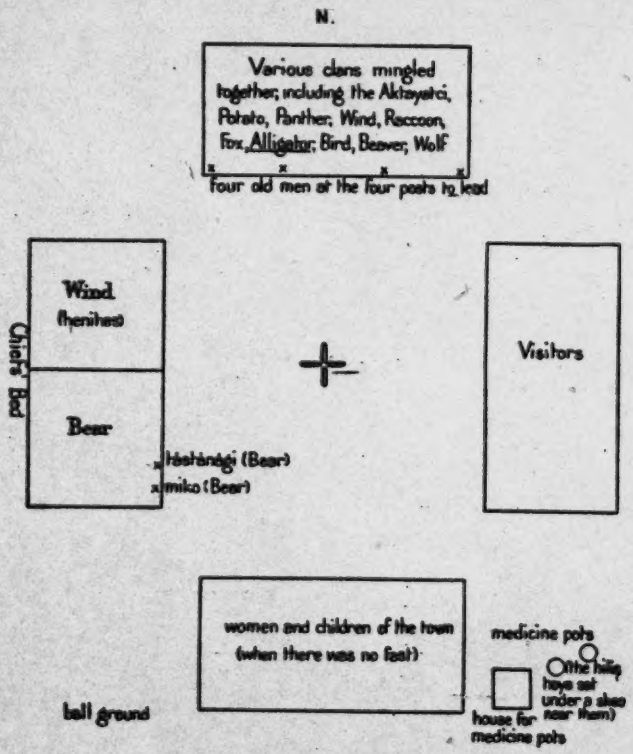

FIG. 81.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobeyi (II)

feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night."[28]

[27] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 68.
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 24

1/x [i.e., the miko. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti

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Speck says regarding the Tuskegee miko:

"The function of this dignitary, as the civil head of the town, was to receive all embassies from other tribes, to direct the decisions of the town council according to his judgment, and finally to stand as the representative of the town in foreign negotiations. . . . The town chief had also to appoint the time for the annual harvest ceremony. He had personal charge of the town square and the lodges about it, and it was his duty to distribute the broken sticks to the heads of families by which they were to number the days to elapse

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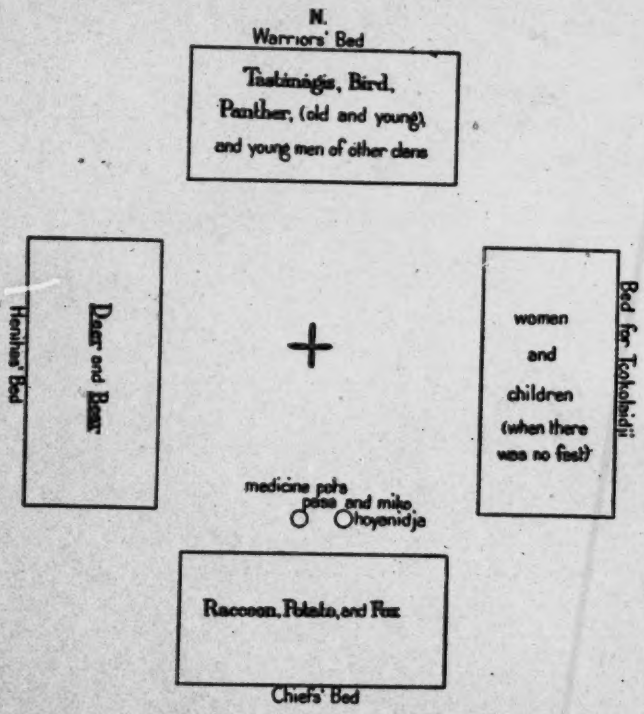

FIG. 82.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (I)

before the ceremony. The Taskigi have been known to depose their town chief on the ground of inefficiency and to elect another from his clan instead." [29]

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action with-

[29] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti

622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko łako, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he

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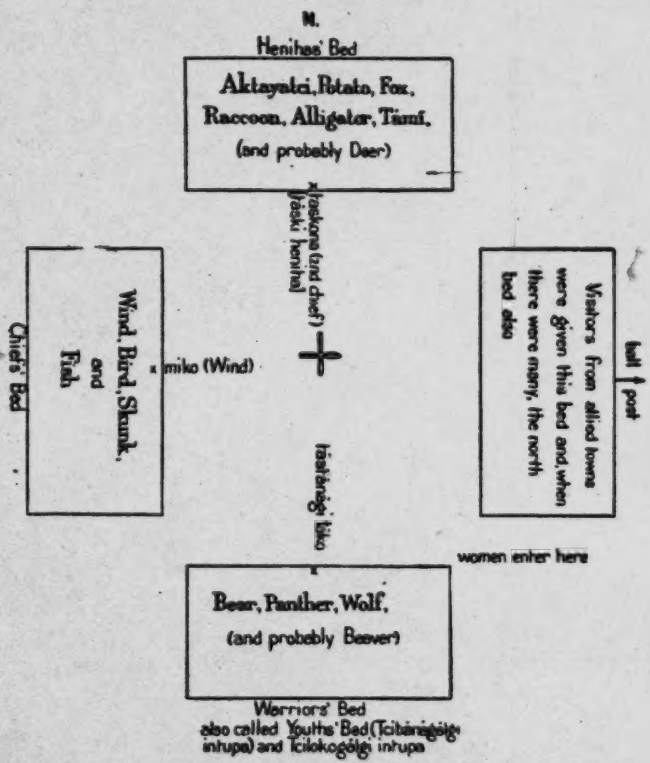

FIG. 82.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

614 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already
622 been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi

person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance."[20] As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on

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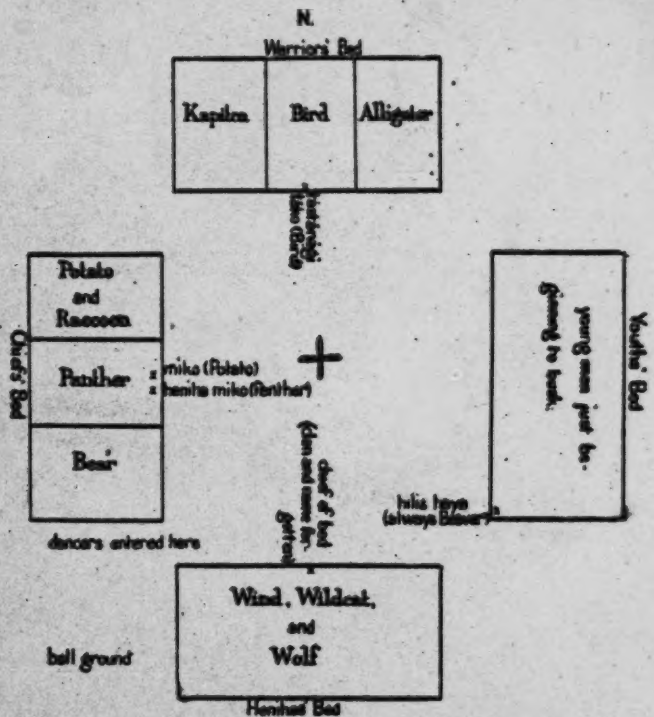

FIG. 81.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (?)

the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtca told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.[21] According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtca himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

[20] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 81.

[21] Gatschet, Ms. notes; see p. 82.

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622 According to Jackson Lewis, who was best acquainted with Upper Eufaula, the selection was made by the other members of the same clan, but this seems to have been unusual. According to a Hilibi Indian well versed in everything connected with the organization of a town, the miko was selected by three men, one taken from the clan of the former chief, one from the clan of his father, and a third who *appears not to have belonged to any particular clan. My informant* added that they uniformly selected the humblest person belonging

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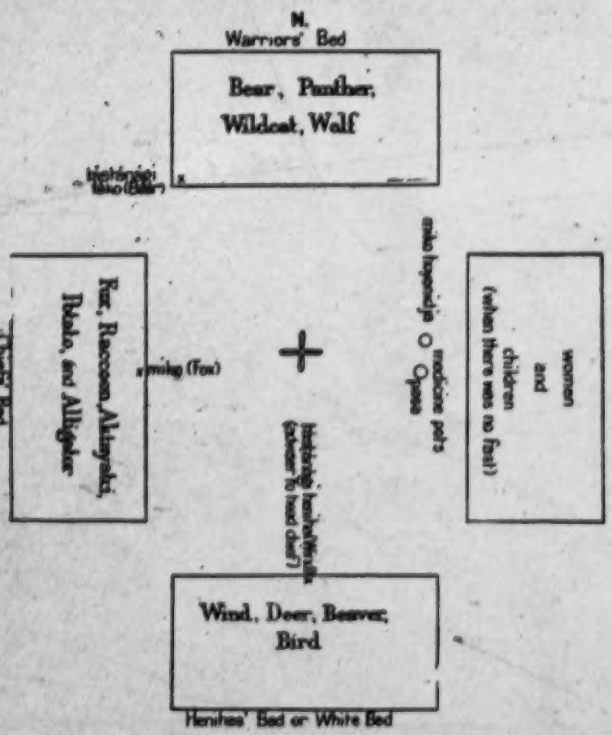

FIG. 85.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)

to the royal clan and those who picked him out always had to labor with him to induce him to accept. Some of this reluctance was no doubt a matter of etiquette, but the public and ceremonial demands of the position were so great and so much of the well-being or misfortune of the tribe was attributed to the incumbent that he may well have shrunk from the responsibility. The miko was, however, at liberty to resign. Some of those who selected the miko might belong to Red clans but he was always inducted into office by a member of one of the White clans. He was seated upon an unsmoked buckskin and

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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a. Drum

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b. Ceremonial ground near Braggs, Okla., used by the Natchez, Creek, and Cherokee Indians

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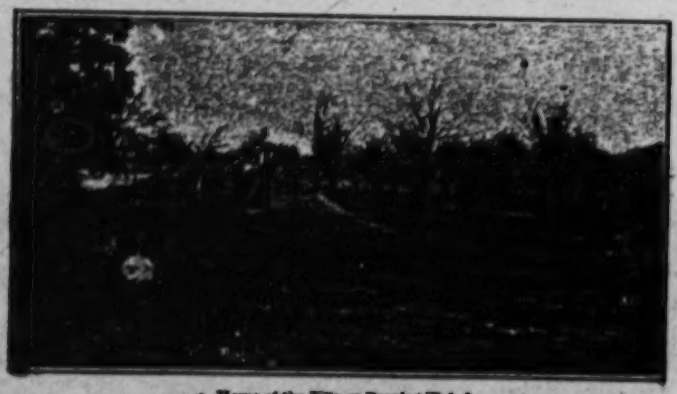

c. House of the Kiln or Prophet Yahola

THE CREEK AND NATCHEZ INDIANS

p. 588 (F)

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

272 783 throws light upon just this point. He stated that formerly the black drink (âsi) was taken at the same time as the busk medicines, though it has now long been abandoned. But, while those who take the ordinary busk medicines go to the medicine pots to drink, the black drink was brought to the drinkers by four bearers. Each of these men would hand a pot of âsi to one who was to drink and when the latter placed it to his lips the bearer would utter a cry, which, as described to me, was something like this, "ā-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a dī—i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i," both syllables being drawn out very long and gradually fading away. The drinker had to keep on imbibing the liquid until this cry came to an end. The cry was called the cry of the Yahola, a being described already, who with his companion Hayuya presided particularly over the square ground,[32] and it appears to have been uttered on other occasions, as for instance by the official who drew circles on the square ground just before the women's dance to indicate where the women were to stand. It is also said to have been applied to the cry used in calling a youth out when a new war name was to be conferred upon him. By some the medicine bearers were believed to be imitating the rapid fluttering of certain beetles or wasps, and the cries which they made were supposed to be in imitation of them, but this may have been merely an association by analogy. Questions of precedence were very carefully observed in the serving of âsi and were, I am informed, an occasion for frequent quarrels.

Minor Ceremonies Connected with the Square Grounds

•344 796 The communal grounds with their various appurtenances were, of course, laid out in a new place with great ceremony. I have already given all that I know regarding the ceremonies performed in putting up the tcokofa.[33] The planting of the ceremonial ball post also took place with certain peculiar observances.

Wiley Buckner, a leading man among the Okchai Indians, said that he had heard that the Alabama Indians before setting up a new post laid a scalp down, placed a stone over that and set the butt end of the post above. Woksi mi'ko, a Hilibi Indian, had heard that, when the Okchai were going to put up a new post, they went into the woods, selected a pine tree suitable for the purpose, and felled it so that it would come down on some logs without touching the ground. Then they cut all of the sap wood away, leaving only the heart of the tree. This done, a number of persons would go out to it, raise it, and carry it to the place where it was to be erected without letting it touch the ground. They would then bring a scalp taken from an

[32] See p. 425.
[33] See pp. 177-181.

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enemy, place it at the bottom of the hole prepared for the pole, and set the pole over it. While this operation was taking place the men engaged in it abstained from food—and probably went through some medicine ceremony—during seven days. Sanger Beaver, an old man of Tcatoksofka, the busk ground of which has long been given up, remembered seeing such a ceremony himself at a time when he was just old enough to take any notice of the customs of his people. He remembered that on one occasion, after they had cleared off the square ground and while they were still fasting, a great crowd of men went into the bottoms and cut down a very tall tree.[34] Without letting this fall to the ground they brought it to the busk ground and dug a hole for it. Then one of the henihas brought a human skull and deposited it at the bottom. They set the pole above this, and afterwards ran around it four times, shouting. Finally the man who had brought the skull climbed to the top of the pole and fixed there a wooden figure of a bird.

When beds were erected for a new ground those who had seats in each vied with one another to see which bed should be up first, and the party which won made great sport of the others as if they had won a ball game. The extra bed for the women and children was finished by all working together.

Big Jack, one of the leading Hilibi Indians, said that before establishing a new fire in the square ground after it had been moved they took some ashes from the old fire and buried them about a foot under ground in the place where the new fire was to be made. A doctor conjured these and repeated a formula over them as he put them in place. A small stone was also brought from the miko's bed in the old square ground and placed under the new one in the same manner. It was to show that the miko ought to be settled like a rock and a man of weight. The posts of the beds—which properly should be eight—particularly the front posts, had to be conjured and some hitci pákpági put into each post hole. The same informant added that all foundations must be started with hitci pákpági, which may therefore have been used under the ball post also. The removal of ashes from old to new fireplaces was confirmed by others and so was the use of hitci pákpági under the posts, but I heard nothing further about the stone. Two of the leading Coweta Indians and a Tulsa Indian said that under their old fire in Alabama the Coweta had a "can" of medicine supposed to contain the dried residue of the first medicine ever used in the old country. It was about an arm's length under ground. When they emigrated to Oklahoma this medicine was dug up, carried along with the emigrants and buried in the same way underneath the fire in the first busk ground on the Arkansas River. But when the square was again moved the medicine was not dug up, and it is supposed to be in the same place. These

[34] He called it a cedar, but there seems to be some doubt on this point.

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344 796 men also affirmed that all Creek towns had such a "can" of medicine, but I am not certain of this. Perhaps they were thinking of the custom of removing ashes from the old fire. However, the Tulsa Indian to whom reference has been made asserted that there was such a custom, and that when the Coweta and Kasihta Indians separated they divided the contents of the medicine "can." The "can" at Coweta was declared to be about 14 inches long by 4 in diameter.

An Okmulgee Indian told me that when the old Lutcapoga busk ground was laid out the Creeks would not use animals to bring out the posts and other timbers but carried them 4 or 5 miles on their shoulders or by means of other sticks run under them.

The Great Annual Ceremony or Busk

796 The word "busk" is a traders' corruption of the native Creek poskita or boskita meaning "a fast." This term was of course applied to many different kinds of fasts, but to two above all, first the fast undergone by those desiring to become doctors or learned men, in the manner to be described presently,[35] and second the great annual ceremonial ushering in the Creek New Year.

796 773 Without doubt there was a long myth relating the origin of this observance and probably detailing how it was to be conducted. Probably there were several such myths. Indeed fragments are preserved in Chekilli's migration legend and in those recorded by Hawkins, Gatschet, and others,[35a] but the Creeks of the present day for the most part know only that it was established in the beginning of things for the benefit of the Indians and that its observance is thought to keep them and their families in good health throughout the ensuing year. A Kasihta informant said that when God made the earth he put in these medicines to be used for the good of the Indians and decreed that they must obey the instructions of the old people. A Coweta Indian also said that the busk customs were given by God when he made the world. Big Jack of Hilibi affirmed that Ibofánga (The-One-Above) gave the Indians the pasa and the miko hoyanidja to keep as long as time should last. Alindja, a Tukabahchee, maintained also that Ibofánga laid the foundation of the fire and gave the medicines to go with it. A Hilibi Indian said that the busk was given by God in earliest times for the good of the Indians, and it was said that all would be well so long as it was kept up. Jackson Lewis merely stated that the origin of the busk had "gone into the mist."

More specific was the information obtained by one of the Tulsa Indians from an old Alabama. This was to the effect that the busk medicines were sent down from God by two old gray-headed men.

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[35] See pp. 617-620.

[35a] See pp. 39-68.

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MODERN SQUARE GROUNDS OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By JOHN R. SWANTON,
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(With Five Plates)

The writer has already published descriptions of many of the square grounds of the Creek Indians, the sacred areas where their busks and other annual ceremonies took place.[1] In collecting this material, however, my endeavor was to learn the most ancient arrangement of the several grounds and the arrangement of those grounds no longer in use. During the summer of 1929 I visited the Creek country again to secure information regarding the organization of the extant grounds. This work duplicates and supplements the earlier to a considerable extent, but the main purpose was somewhat different.

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Besides the three Yuchi grounds, now in the vicinity of Kellyville, Bixby, and Depew, respectively, with which I did not concern myself, there are, or were in 1929, 17 square grounds, as follows: Abihka and Otciapofa near Henryetta; Nuyaka north of Okemah; Łáłogálga[2] or Fish Pond and Ásilanabi west of Okemah; two Tulsa grounds near Holdenville; Tukabahchee at Yeager; Łapłáko near Wetumka; Alabama east of Alabama Station on the Frisco Railroad; Eufaula west of Eufaula; Kasihta east of Okmulgee; and Hilibi, Kealedji, Okchai, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki about Hanna. Abihka, Otciapofa, Nuyaka, Łáłogálga, Kasihta, Hilibi, Pakan Tallahassee, and Wiogufki were visited, and new information obtained regarding all of the others except Eufaula, of which I secured very good descriptions 17 years before. The Eufaula ground, that of Ásilanabi, one of the Tulsa grounds, Tukabahchee, Alabama, and Okchai were visited in the winter of 1911-1912. Kasihta is the only square ground representing the Lower Creeks now maintained. It was not in existence during my earlier work in the Creek Nation, nor were Łapłáko or Kealedji.[3] These two last and the Yuchi grounds are the only ones that I have not seen. I was present at part of the busks at Otciapofa, Nuyaka, and Pakan Tallahassee. Not much attention was devoted

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[1] 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., 1924-25, pp. 204-296, 1928.

[2] In the present paper, á indicates the obscure a in such a word as ability, and ł or Ł is a surd l approximating thl in English.

[3] But see p. 35 regarding the former.

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114 to the Seminole grounds, but information was obtained regarding one
344 of these, Ochesee Seminole, which had been discontinued in 1912, when I visited the Seminole squares, but was afterwards revived.

000 In order to make the material obtained in 1929 intelligible, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the Creek political, social, and ceremonial organization.

101 The name Creek is a shortened form of Ochesee Creek Indians, a name which English traders from South Carolina came to apply to that part of the Indians of the Creek Confederation who were living upon Ocmulgee River in the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. The word Ochesee signifies "people of a different speech" in the language of the Hitchiti, one of the minor constituents of the Creek Confederacy, being equivalent to the word Tciloki in the Creek or Muskogee language. It was applied to the Creeks proper or Muskogee by the Hitchiti along with many other tribes, but came in some way to be particularly associated with the Muskogee and the river upon which they were then living.

101 Anciently there seems not to have been a single term applicable
619 to all of the Muskogee, the latter name having been unknown to the Spaniards who first entered this section. It does not make its appearance until the English had settled in the Carolinas. The origin of the word is uncertain, but there are indications that it was derived from Shawnee, since a band of Shawnee lived for a time near what is now Augusta, Ga., and from a very early period occupied an intermediate position between South Carolina and Georgia on the one hand and the Creek Nation on the other. It is probable that there were originally several tribes speaking the same language but having separate names and that the necessity for a distinguishing term for all did not present itself until the number of non-Muskogee tribes in the Confederation came to be considerable. As to the names of these Muskogee tribes, we seem to have indications of the following: Abihka, Coosa, Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Hilibi, Eufaula, Kasihta and Coweta (or perhaps an original tribe of which the Kasihta and Coweta were sections). There were some other groups on the lower course of Tallapoosa River, such as the Atasi, Kealedji, and Kolomi, which cannot be definitely placed and may have been independent of these or early subdivisions of them. Of course some may represent people of wholly different connections who had become assimilated to the Muskogee and had lost their own language and customs. This is rendered probable from the fact that we have

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determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała lábotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łáko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łáko or holibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called istatcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

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rationalization, there can be no doubt that the earlier ceremonial grounds of the constituent members were altered in many particulars in conformity with the prevailing pattern.

All the grounds known to us originally consisted of three elements, a tcokofa or community hot house used in bad weather or for secret ceremonies, a "square ground," and a "chunkey yard," or ball ground. The name "chunkey yard" is derived from an old pastime which consisted in rolling a stone disk along a level plot of land and throwing certain long poles after it, the game turning on the relative nearness of the poles to the roller after all had come to rest. There was a single pole in the middle of this yard surmounted by a cow or horse skull or by a wooden figure, and about this men and women played against each other in a kind of ball game. This game was mainly confined to people of the town and was social in character while the great ball game, similar to our game of lacrosse, was played by men only and was highly ceremonial. The fact that the "chunkey yard" was a part of the ceremonial ground may indicate that the single pole game formerly had more religious significance than was the case in later times.

The tcokofa has long been out of use, though at Tukabahchee fire was until recently lighted in the middle of a circular offset of the ceremonial ground where this structure would stand if it were still in existence, and one such building was put up at Pakan Tallahassee after the Civil War.

The most important part of the ceremonial area today is the "square ground," so called because in the largest towns there were on it four long cabins or arbors, in native parlance "beds," forming four sides of a square. Partly from tribal idiosyncrasy and still more on account of failing numbers, several of these grounds now lack one cabin, and the Alabama ground lacks two. Today the cabins consist merely of two or three rows of split logs to serve as seats and an arbor of boughs to shield their occupants from the direct rays of the sun, but anciently the seats consisted of mats woven out of cane raised upon short posts and the cabins were provided with a back and roof of wattle or split shingles plastered with clay. The arbors in the largest modern towns are supported on eight posts, four in front and four behind, but some have only six, and most of the Seminole towns only four. On the other hand, a sketch of one of these cabins made by a Frenchman early in the eighteenth century shows ten posts, five in front and five at the back. Today, however, the eight post arrangement seems to be considered orthodox, and the three sections marked off by these

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posts are used for the seating of as many clans, groups of clans or related officials. 344

Considerable variation in the ancient and intended plan has been brought about by the attrition which the tribe and its several divisions have undergone, loss of the keepers of the sacred lore, and other factors, but it is plain that normally one of the four cabins was mainly devoted to the miko and his clan. Hence it was called mikâlgi (or mikâgi) intupa, the "Chiefs' bed." Another was devoted mainly to the henīhâlgi and was named from them, another to the higher class of warriors, the tâstânâgâlgi, and so received their name, and still another to the novitiate warriors or youths from whom it was called tâsikaiâlgi intupa or tcibânâgâlgi intupa. The positions of these in the square ground varies considerably. It should be stated in the first place that the cabins are placed normally toward the four points of the compass, but that for some unexplained reason in the square of Tukabahchee the entrances are toward the cardinal points. In the old Kasihta square, which seems to have set the fashion for many other towns, the mikos' cabin lay west, the henihas' south, the tâstânâgis' north, and the tâsikaias' east. In the Okfuskee towns, of which Nuyaka is an example, the mikos' cabin lay north, the henihas' east, the tâstânâgis' west, and the tâsikaias' south. In Pakan Tallahassee the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' south, the tâstânâgis' west, and there is no east cabin. In Eufaula the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' east and the tâstânâgis' south, the west cabin being missing. In Alabama, where there are but two cabins, the mikos' cabin is east.

The other variations in the arrangement of the squares will come out in the subjoined material, but before presenting it something must be said regarding town officials.

The miko, as already stated, was chief of the town, its head [622] presiding officer and responsible executive. Like many of the other 624 officers he had a special companion or henīha taken from the Wind clan or whatever clan occupied the position of henīhâlgi. This henīha is sometimes called miko apokta, "second chief," but the latter name is also given to still another functionary who shares the burdens of state with his superior. The chief had one or more yatikas or interpreters who also bore the name asimbonaia, "speakers." Unless wanted to make an announcement or to send upon an errand, they sat with their clan or other group to which they normally belonged. The tâstânâgi łâko and holibonaia have been mentioned. The position of holibonaia, "war speaker" was the most exalted military position, and it is possible that there was only one such official at a time in

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Muskogee

ceremonial complications of any sort. It seems to have been usual to hold three of these dances in the spring and early summer, a month apart, the series paving the way for, and leading up to, the second ceremonial, the "busk," which was the great annual ritual. This last is usually considered as lasting four days, though in that four are included the days of assembling and departure. The principal event on the second day is the women's dance. On the third day the men fast, take medicine four times, and near its close march down to the creek and bathe. After they return, they are dismissed to their camps and break their fast. Later they are summoned to the square again where they dance four times, and then the dance becomes "common," visitors from friendly towns being admitted to it. A fire is kept up all night in the center of the square and dancing continues about it until it is nearly day. In former times many, perhaps all, of the towns extended their busks over eight days, but from what can be learned of these longer ceremonials they seem to have been in the main a simple doubling of the shorter ceremony, except for a few features like the kindling of the new fire which took place but once annually. 796

Let us now turn to the new material regarding the square grounds and the ceremonies conducted there. Under each heading I give the notes obtained from native informants belonging to the square or town in question.

ABIHKA

Figure 1 gives the general arrangement of the square of Abihka, or Talladega, and Plate 1, Figure 1, gives a view of the ground itself near Henryetta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912. The exposure was made from the southwest. 344 621 796

The medicines were taken first by those in the Bears' bed, then in succession by those in the beds of the Raccoon on the west side, the Raccoon on the east side, the Deer, and those in the south bed. The asimbonaia in the northern section of the east cabin acted more particularly as the chief's messenger; the one in the western compartment of the south cabin called first the women and then the children to come to take their medicine from the vessel at the north end of the east cabin. The ta'palas were changed every four years. The women gathered preparatory to their dance at a tree on the edge of the tádjo (the ridge of sweepings that makes the edge of the ceremonial ground) and entered the section about the fire at its northwestern corner. Five pots of medicine were prepared at the north end of the west cabin (fig. 1, 11). Afterward one pot

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was placed a little farther north and west for the boys (12) and another was carried around to the north end of the east cabin for the women and children (13). The ingredients of this medicine

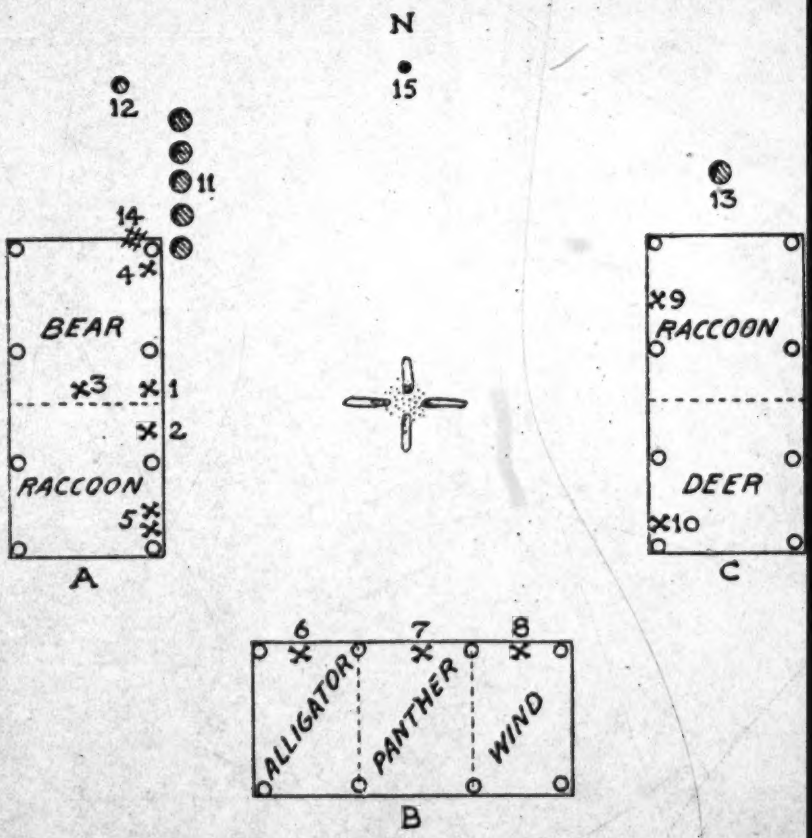

FIG. 1.—General arrangement of the square of Abihka.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikâlgi or mikâgi intupa); 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha (Raccoon); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon); 4, hilis tcâlaba; 5, yâhaikas (any clan).
B. Henihas' Bed (henihâlgi intupa): 6, asimbonaia (Alligator); 7, ta'pala (Panther); 8, ta'oala (Wind).
C. Warriors' Bed (tâstânâgâlgi intupa): 9, asimbonaia (Raccoon); 10, tutka dîdja (Deer).

11, medicine pots (1st position); 12, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 13, medicine pot for women (2d position); 14, place where medicines were piled immediately after they were brought in; 15, ball post (pókâbi).
It is to be noted that, in all of these diagrams, the ball post was actually much farther from the center of the square than is indicated.

were miko hoyanîdja ("red root"), pasa ("buttonsnake-root"), wîlana ("wormseed"), and hobâga ("maypop"); tcato hâtki ("white stones") were added. After the ceremony was about over and the fasters were ready to go down to bathe in the creek, what was left

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of the medicine was poured on the fire. It is said that one gallon of spring water was brought for all five pots. This must mean a gallon for each. Following are the busk names of the present officers:

miko	Tcûktcât Henīha
henīha	Itchas Hadjo
hilis tcâlaba	Konip Yâhola
ta'pala	Katca Tâstânâgi
"	Kona Yâhola
tutka dīdja	Tâstânâkutci
asimbonaia	Wotko Fiksiko
"	Kapitca Hadjo

The Hathagâlgi of this town are Wind and Bear; the Tcilokogâlgi are Panther, Raccoon, Deer, Beaver, Alligator, and Bird.

My information regarding this ground was obtained mainly from Jim Star who described the Talladega ground to me in 1912, the plan of which is in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 205. The different aspect of the east cabin is mainly due to the fact that the earlier account gives a more ancient arrangement, when the warriors were graded into tâstânâgis, and big and little imałas. The position assigned to the hilis haya in the earlier plan is probably erroneous. The other differences are due mainly to the more extensive information obtained on my last trip. My new information disagrees with the older, however, in assigning the Bird, Beaver, and Alligator clans to the Tciloki side as was said to be the case at Abihka-in-the-West instead of to the White side as was given me for Talladega and the old Abihka town near Eufaula. It is probable that the new information is correct since the last mentioned square was given up when the man from whom I obtained data regarding it was a boy. However, it must be remembered that these allocations are not invariable and probably changed at times even within the same town.

OTCIAPOFA, OR HICKORY GROUND

Figure 2 shows the square ground of Otciapofa, popularly known as Hickory Ground.

The hilis tcâlaba was changed every four years and was not taken invariably from the same clan.

At the southernmost front post of the east cabin were fastened two poles with black feathers tied to the ends and at every other front post were three similar poles but with white feathers. These were carried by the men in the "feather dance."

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In the women's dance there is but one leader who carries a notched stick called atâsa, the old name of the war club, from the middle of which depends an eagle feather.

Besides the invariable miko hoyanīdja or "red root," the busk medicine contained tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), wīlana ("wormseed"), tutka-tcok-hissi (a place on the ground where wood has been burned and moss has sprung up), and hobâga ("maypop").

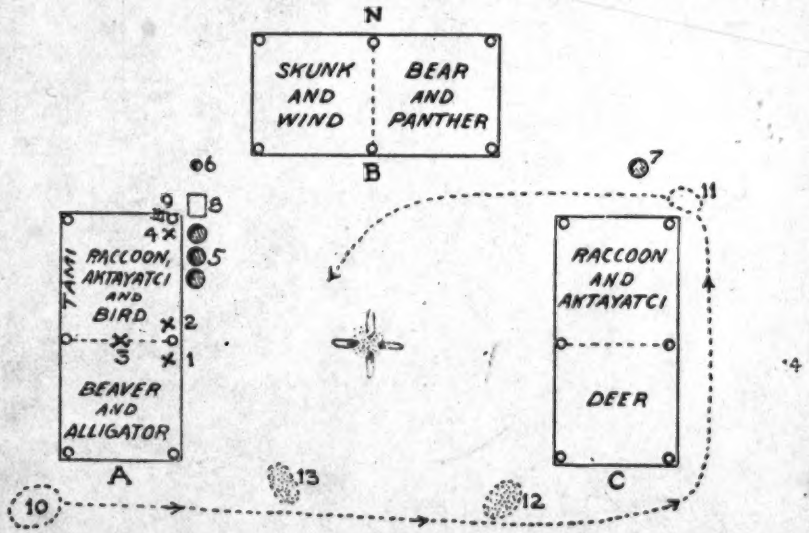

FIG. 2.—The square ground of Otciapofa, or Hickory Ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Beaver); 2, miko apokta (Beaver); 3, hilis haya (any clan; at present Wind); 4, hilis tcâlaba (changed every 4 years; now Beaver).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed.

5, medicine pots (1st position); 6, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 7, medicine pot for woman (2d position); 8, log on which medicines were laid and macerated with a small wooden pounder; 9, place where medicines were kept; 10, point where women gathered preparatory to their dance; 11, point where women made a final stop before entering to dance; 12, where the ashes from the central fire were deposited every year; 13, sweepings from the square ground (tâdjo); 14, ball post.

As usual, the doctor perfected this medicine by blowing into it through a hollow reed. Two men took medicine at the same time, using gourd dippers. After all were through a dipperful was poured on the fire.

For a drum they use a stout jar and there are two coconut-shell rattles.

There is a line of tâdjo (sweepings) around the four cabins but it does not include the ball post. In playing the single pole game a

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hit on the skull at the top counts five and a hit on the pole above a certain mark counts two when it is struck twice in succession. 344 621 796

The Hathagas consisted of the Beaver, Alligator, Bird, Bear, Skunk, Wind, and Rabbit; the Tcilokis of the Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and Aktayatci. The Rabbit, Wind, and Skunk formed one phratry.

The information regarding this ground which I obtained in 1912 was particularly incomplete. It is therefore gratifying to find that there are no serious discrepancies between the plan based on that (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 211) and the present information. Some clans are given in one and omitted from the other, but where the same ones appear in both they have practically the same positions except for the Bear, which, according to the earlier description, sat in the west cabin and according to the later at the east end of the north cabin; and the Tâmi, which the former places at the west end of the north cabin and the latter at the back of the northern section of the west cabin. The location of the miko, miko apokta or henīha, and hilis haya is probably more exact in the later plan which also adds many more details. The informants differed somewhat regarding the Hathagas and Tcilokis, the earlier authority placing the Beaver among the Tciloki and the Panther among the Whites, allocations exactly reversed by my later informant.

LITTLE TULSA

Next we come to one of the two divisions into which the Tulsa have recently split, this being known as Little Tulsa (fig. 3). Plate 1, Figure 2, shows the old Tulsa ground in 1911 from the southeast, before the fission had occurred.

It is said that all of the offices are filled from particular clans. The following is a list of the present officers; exclusive of the miko and his henīha:

tâstânâgi łako	Ispani Tâstânâgi
tâstânâgi	Kapitca Tâstânâgi
"	Lata Miko (controls the two above)
ahaga haiyâlgi ("law makers") (messengers for the tâstânâgis)	Kapitca Tâstânâgi (Aktayatci), and Tâmi Tâstânâgi (Tâmi)
simiabaia	Kântcati Miko (busk name) or Nokos Hadjo (common name)
hilis haya	Miko Tcâpko (Beaver)
hilis tcâlaba	Tâmi Yâhola (Tâmi)
tutka oktidjdja	Tâmâłâkutci (Tâmi)

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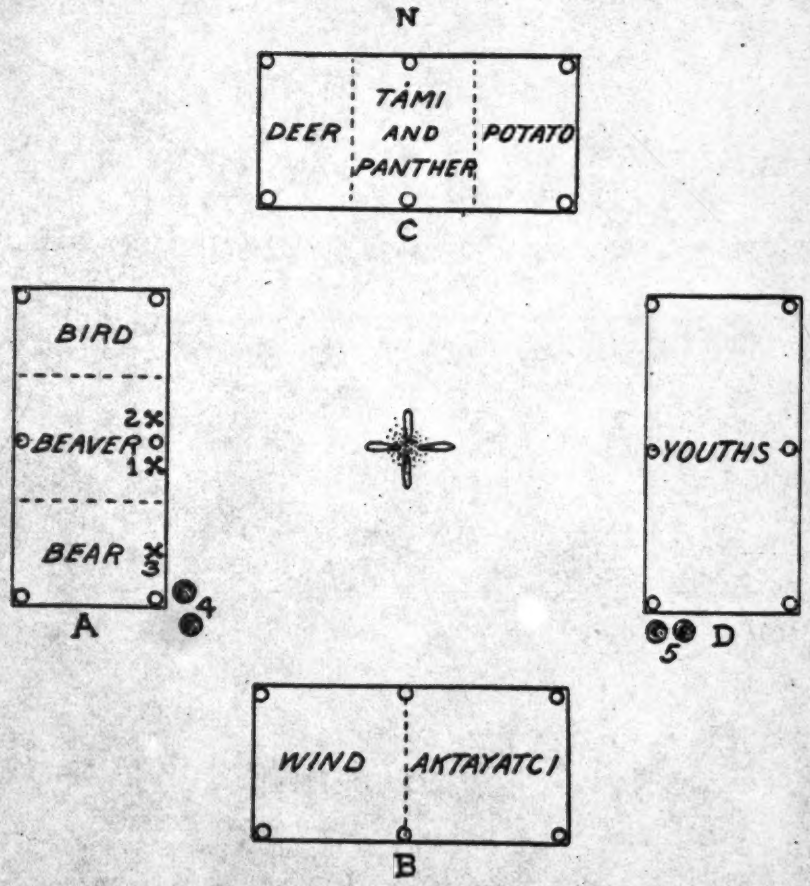

FIG. 3.—Little Tulsa square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko; 2, heniha; 3, simiabaia.
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

4, old location of medicine pots; 5, modern location of medicine pots.

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ta'pala	Nokos Fiksiko (Bear)
"	Tâmi Hâtkutci (Tâmi)
yâhaikas	Kapitca Fiksiko (Aktayatci), and Pin Hadjo (Tâmi)
Captain of the Light Horsemen	Yâhola Tcâpko (Tâmi)
Light Horsemen	Oktcân Hadjo (Bear) Fûs Yâholutc (Beaver) Kapitcutci (Aktayatci)

The ta'palas functioned at the women's dance, the yâhaikas sang at the women's dance and at the feather dance.

My original Tulsa data, published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (p. 213), was obtained from an old man and was intended to reflect the most ancient arrangement he could remember. Since that time the Tulsa Indians who used to meet at the Little River ground have divided and maintain two distinct squares. The general agreement between the older and the later plan is therefore surprisingly close. The principal difference seems to be in the position given the Aktayatci who appear in the north bed in the earlier plan and in the south bed in the later one. The earlier plan may also be in error in the position given the medicine pots but this was subject to change from town to town and during the ceremony itself. The Eagle clan, which appears on the older plan, died out so long ago that it can barely be remembered by any living Creeks.

NUYAKA

The plan of this ground is given in Figure 4 and a view of it as it appeared some years ago in Plate 2, Figure 1.

The positions of hilis haya, hilis tcâlaba, and tutka dīdja were held for four years when the man and clan were changed so as to teach others the duties of these offices. The tâstânâgis and imałas had become confined to one or two clans. The hoktâgi immiko and his heniha controlled the women's dance and were called istatcagas. The term hola'ta was applied to a certain class at the square ground in some towns, sometimes to the Tcilokis, but its application here is not explained. The first ta'pala acted under the women's chief. He was taken from the Bear clan, or, failing that, from the following in order of preference: Wind, Raccoon, Tâmi.

In taking the medicines they drank of the miko hoyanīdja first and pasa second.

A rock was placed under the miko's seat "to make the seat heavy." Anciently there was a tcokofa northeast of the square. Nowadays the ground is hoed off only once a year.

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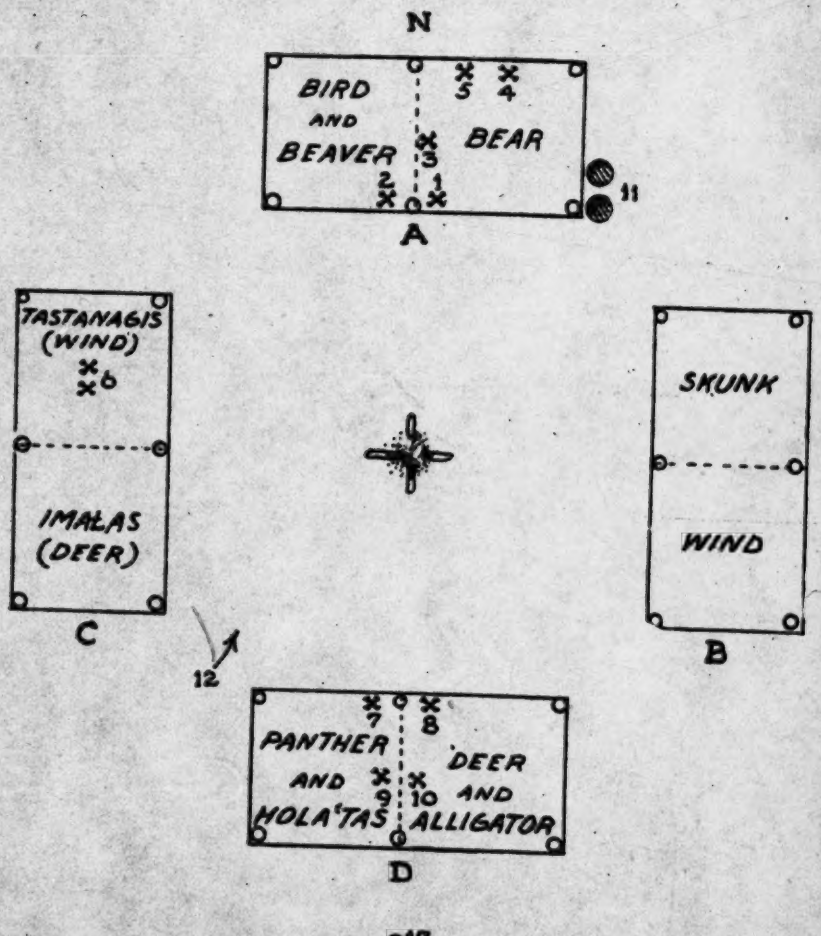

FIG. 4.—Nuyaka square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (usually Wind; Deer in 1929); 3, hilis haya (changed every 4 years; Turkey in 1929); 4, hilis tcálaba (Alligator); 5, tutka dīdja (Raccoon).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed; 6, two tástánágis (or law makers).

D. Tcilokis' Bed (Tcilokogálgi intupa), or Tásikaias' Bed (Tásikaiálgi intupa): 7, hoktági immiko (Aktayatci); 8, henīha for hoktági immiko (Alligator); 9, 1st ta'pala (Bear preferentially); 10, 2d ta'pala (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, point at which women enter; 13, ball post.

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In this town the Turkey and Alligator clans belong in one phratry and so do the Wind and Skunk.

The present officers are as follows:

miko	Nokos Miko
henīha	Miko Tcápko
hilis haya	Tàstànàkwtci
tutka oktidīdja	Hotàlgi Hadjudji
hilis tcàlaba	Lōdja Yàhola
hoktàgi immiko	Wotko Yàhola

When the present Nuyaka data are compared with that which I obtained in 1912 for Nuyaka and the related towns Okfuskee, Abihkutci, Talmutcàsi, and Tcatoksofa, the agreement is found to be close except in the cases of the two last where the square grounds had long been given up and were described by individuals from memories of their early years. The main correction is in locating the miko, henīha, and hilis haya and the difference here is not great.

PAKAN TALLAHASSEE

Figure 5 gives the plan and Plate 2, Figure 2, and Plate 3, Figure 1, views of the ground, one showing the three cabins, or arbors, and the other the chunk yard and ball post.

The tutka oktidīdja, hilis tcàlaba, hilis haya, and oīdjawas, were appointed every four years from any clan. The ta'palas and hilis hoboia were appointed every four years from the same clan. The miko and asimbonaias held their positions for life.

Here we seem to meet some strange innovations. The Bears' section of the south cabin receives one name connected with war, tàsilcaiàlgi intupa, and the section of the Birds, Beavers, and Alligators another, tàstànàgàlgi intupa, while, at the same time, they are White or Hathaga clans and their cabin is called hathagàlgi intupa. Yet one section of the west cabin is called tàstànàgàlgi intupa also, and the whole cabin receives the unusual name of làksàfàskàlgi intupa, "bed of the Blacks," the Blacks being evidently the clans elsewhere called tcilōkogàlgi.

The tcokofa was to the northwest and this was the last town to put up such a structure.

The Birds' section was called istatcagàgi intupa. The Deer and Pahosàlgi were formerly called the imalàgàlgi.

Three poles with white feathers attached were fastened to each of the front posts for use in the feather dance.

Back of the tàstànàgis' section of the west cabin was a little structure in which to inclose the medicine pots when they were not in use.

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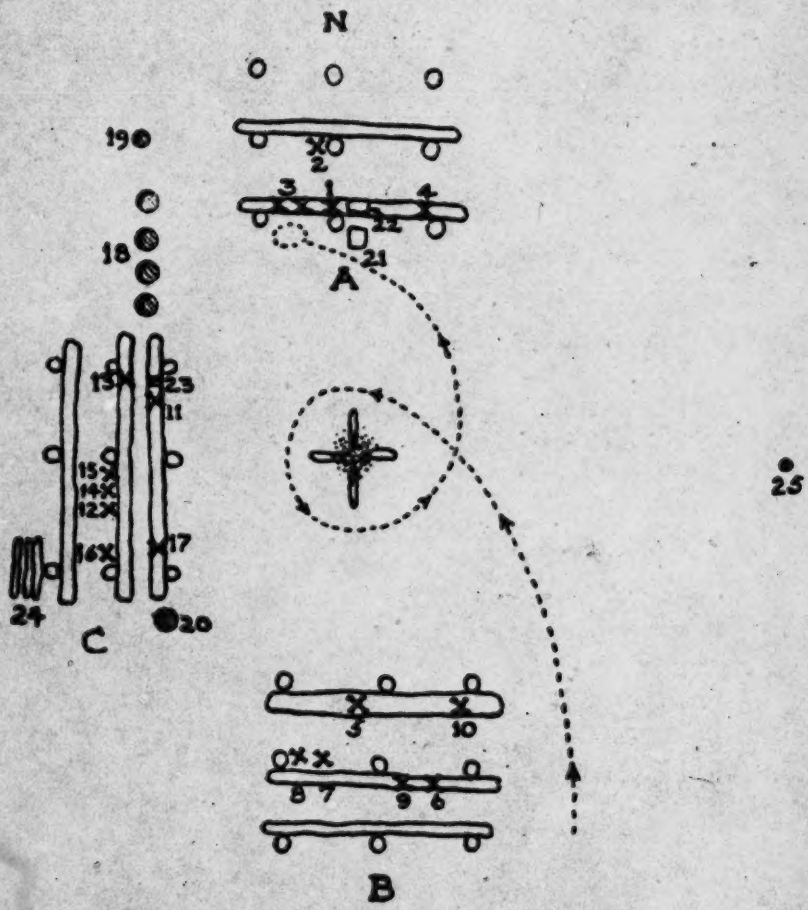

FIG. 5.—Square ground of Pakan Tallahassee.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi intupa): 1, miko (Bear); 2, hilis haya (Panther in 1929); 3, yáhaikas (singers for women); 4, dog whipper.

B. Whites' Bed (hathagálgi intupa): 5, asimbonaia (Bird); 6, ta'pala (Bear); 7, hilis hoboia (Bird); 8, oidjawa (Bird); 9, oidjawa (Bear); 10, dog whipper.

C. Blacks' Bed (laksáfáskálgi intupa): 11, asimbonaia (Deer); 12, ta'pala (Bird; father Raccoon); 13, hilis tcálaba (Deer in 1929); 14, tutka oktididja (Raccoon in 1929); 15, hilis hoboia (Raccoon in 1929); 16, oidjawa (Panther in 1929); 17, dog whipper.

18, medicine pots (1st position); 19, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 20, medicine pot for women (2d position); 21, drum; 22, box for tobacco; 23, place where medicine was laid before being used; 24, woodpile; 25, ball post. The dotted line marks the course pursued by the women when they entered to dance.

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In this town[4] the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, Tâmi, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous. 344 621 796 526

The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai, Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

miko .....Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird)
asimbonaia .....Tâstânâk Imała (Deer)
" .....Tâstânâk Hadjo (Bird)
hilis haya .....Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther)
hilis tcâlaba .....Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer)
oidjawâlgi .....1. Fus Yâholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)
2. Hotâlgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)
3. Halâk Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry)
hilis hoboia .....1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)
2. Tâlsi Yâhola (Bird)
ta'pala .....1. Halâk Yâhola ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon)
" .....2. Hotâlgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind)
tutka oktidîdja ...Itco-ili Imała ("Deer Foot Imała") (Raccoon, father Deer)
yâhaikas .....1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated)
" .....2. Miko Yâhola (Bear)

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atâsa held by the leading woman is red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is white and has a feather of the fus hâtki ("white bird"), a bird found down by the creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to 14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta'palas stand about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each carries a wand called si'dik-kika having a white feather fastened to the end. 344 621 796

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

[4] [i.e., Pakan Tallahassee. --Analyst]

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About 54 men were present at the last preceding busk and 25 women and girls participated in the dance.

At the top of the pokábi in this town was a horse skull. In scoring for this game they draw a line from the ball post to the nearest corner of the south cabin. When the skull is struck, 4 are scored; when the pole under the skull is struck, it counts 2 on the way out and 1 on the way back. They may count it as a game, however, by agreement when they reach the corner post. The women's tallies are marked on one side of the line, the men's on the other.

There is little difference except in detail between the above plan of Pakan Tallahassee and the several I recorded in 1912.

WIOGUFKI

The plan of Wiogufki is given in Figure 6 and a view of the ground from the southwest in Plate 3, Figure 2.

There is a little log house on the grounds in which the pots are stored when not in use to keep them from being broken. There never was a north cabin so far as my informant knew. On the upper end of the ball post is a cow skull.

The women walk four times around the fire; then their leaders stop opposite the singers and they begin to dance.

The hilis tcàlaba holds office for four years. In this town the place of the miko's henīha is taken by a tàstánągi. Indeed all of the tàstánągis are considered the same as the henīhas. They are called "the people who are named" and are of the nature of lawmakers and assistants to the miko. The miko's tàstánągi is also the same thing as the yatika. There are no istatcagagis (retired leaders who acted as councillors), and no Creek town now has a holibonaia. There are five water boys picked at random. At the front posts of each cabin are four poles with feathers tied to the ends for use in the "feather dance."

The two leading women in the women's dance carry atàsa. The principal function of the ta'palas is to call the women up for their dance which they do four times. Each has a wand with a little white feather at the end. Their official positions do not end with the women's dance but continue to the end of the busk.

No medicine is now put on the firesticks but it was formerly done. The only medicine they use at the busk is the miko hoyanīdja, to which nothing is added.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as in Hilibi. They were exogamous, and if the exogamic law was violated the ears of the culprits were cut off.

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The towns of Wakokai, Tukpafka, and Talahasutci were all one with this. In regular ball games they always played against Alabama.

Comparison between the plan given above and the two obtained in 1912 shows considerable differences, but since one of the former

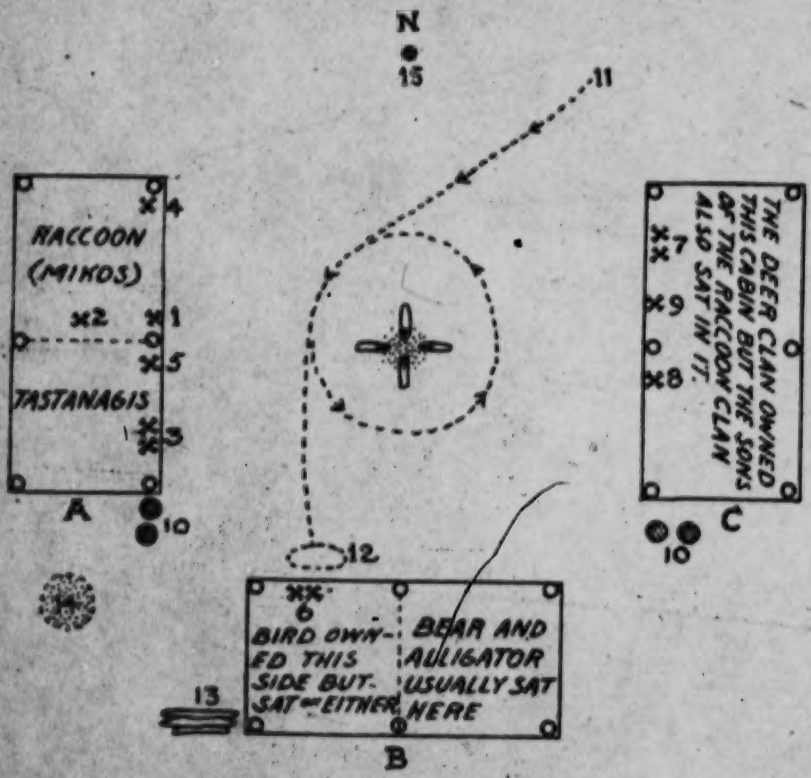

FIG. 6.—Square ground of Wiogufki.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Alligator); 2, hilis haya; 3, hilis tcálaba (Bear and Deer); 4, hilis hoboia (Panther); 5, a tástánagi (instead of henlha) (Raccoon).

B. Whites' Bed: 6, yáhaikas (Deer).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, ta'pala (Raccoon); 8, hilis hoboia (Deer); 9, tutka [illegible]lidja (Deer).

10, medicine pots (near bed A for men; near bed C for women and boys); 11, point where women enter to dance; 12, point where women begin dancing; 13, woodpile; 14, ashes of old fires; 15, ball post.

was obtained from the same man, I think the explanation lies in the smallness of the town and the weakness of many of the clans which has resulted in many changes within a comparatively short time. Nevertheless there is a general correspondence and the allocation of clans to the moieties also agrees except in the case of

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the Panther clan. This is explained by the fact that the Panther was anciently considered a White clan and later came to be regarded as Tciloki.

OKCHAI

Figure 7 shows the arrangement of this square and Plate 4, Figure 1, shows a view of it taken in winter.

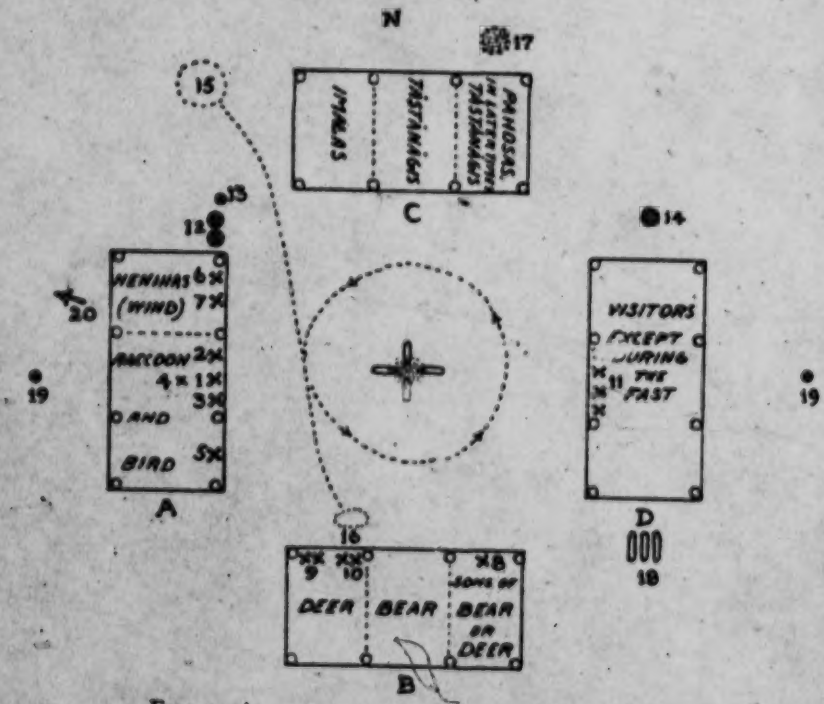

FIG. 7.—Arrangement of square ground of Okchai.

A. Chiefs' Bed 1, miko (Raccoon formerly; Bear in 1929); 2, henlha (Deer); 3, yatika (Deer formerly; Wind in 1929); 4, hilis haya; 5, ta'pala (any clan); 6, hilis tcálaba (Bird); 7, tutka oktidīdja (Wind).

B. Henihas' Bed: 8, ta'pala (any clan); 9, hilis hoboia; 10, yáhaikas (any clan).

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. Youths' Bed: 11, oidjawa (any clan).

12, medicine pots; 13, medicine pot for boys; 14, medicine pot for women; 15, point where women assemble preparatory to their dance; 16, point where women start dancing; 17, ashes of previous fires; 18, woodpile; 19, ball posts; 20, a spring lies in this direction.

The hilis tcálaba, ta'pala, and tutka oktidīdja changed every four years. The hīlis haya was reappointed every four years.

Wiley Buckner, an old informant of mine, was the former yatika. The tutka oktidīdja in 1929 was Hotálgi Miko.

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The medicine was pounded up just in front of the pots at the north end of the chiefs' bed.

The fire was brought from Alabama in the great migration and new fire was lighted from it. They dug up the earth as deep as the arm would reach, put the fire in there, and made the new fire on top. This is the very spot at which they first placed their square in Oklahoma and it has not been moved. The squares of the kindred towns, Łáłogálga and Ásilanabi, are not so old.

There were two poles with feathers on the ends at each of the front posts of the cabins all the way round.

Atâsa were borne by the two women who led in the women's dance.

The tástánágis were law makers. They had charge of the rules governing the taking of medicine and if anyone broke one of these regulations they made him stay in the square ground all night without eating instead of breaking his fast that evening as was usual.

In the various beds of this square ground the "sons of the clan" can sit with their fathers.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as at Hilibi.

Their principal opponents in the ball games years ago were the Hilibi.

This arrangement agrees substantially with that obtained by me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 234), the principal difference being in the location of the Bear and Bird clans. My earlier informants placed the Bird and Aktayatci in the middle of the south cabin and the Bear at the east end of the same, while the later ones said nothing of the Aktayatci but placed the Bird clan in the southern section of the west cabin and the Bear clan in the center of the south cabin, the sons of the Bear being located next to them on the east. The arrangement of this square must be taken in connection with the plans of Łáłogálga and Ásilanabi.

ŁAŁOGÁLGA, OR FISH POND

For a plan of this ground, see Figure 8.

The tutka oktidīdja is appointed every four years but always from the Aktayatci clan. The hilis hoboia are chosen every four years and ordinarily from the Aktayatci and Bear clans but this is not necessarily the case. However, if one dies before his four years have expired he is replaced by someone of his clan. The hilis hoboia also act as the hilis tcâlaba.

Ta'palas are appointed only when needed. There are no special water carriers, the hilis hoboia calling upon any boys for this purpose whenever water is required.

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The two leaders among the women carry atâsa, that held by the first being colored red, that by the second white.

One of the two medicine pots contains pasa; the other the miko hoyanīdja along with wīlana, tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), which

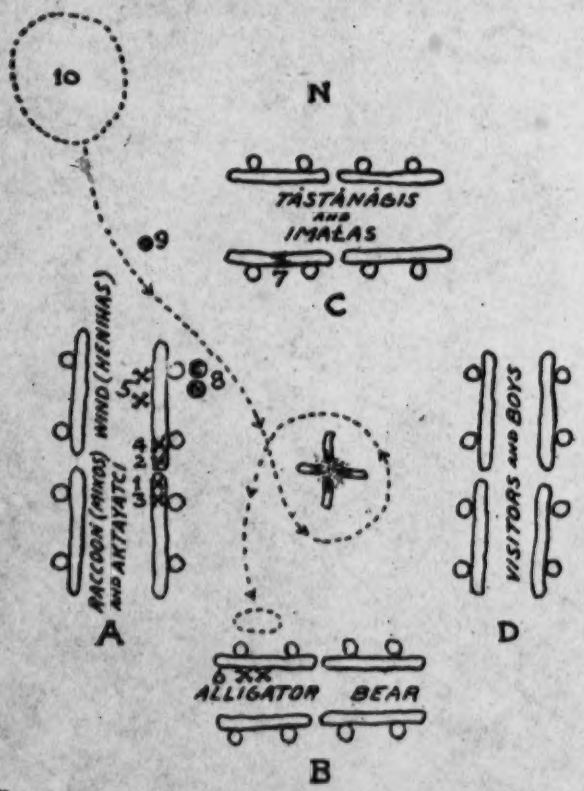

FIG. 8.—The square ground of Łałogálga, or Fish Pond.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, heníha (or 2d chief) (Wind); 3, asimbonaia or yatika (head speaker, drawn from any clan); 4, hilis haya (any clan); 5, hilis hoboiz.

B. Citizens' Bed (Tásikaiálgi intupa); 6, yáhaikas (no fixed clan).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, tutka oktidídja (Aktayatci).

8, medicine pots; 9, boys' medicine; 10, point where women assembled preparatory to the dance.

grows in wet places in swamps and has red flowers, tcáto hátkutci (four "little white rocks"), and tutka-tcok-hissi (green moss from an old fireplace).

If one has eaten new roasting ears he is given a little pasa root to chew and then a little pasa in cold water of which he must take four drinks. Then he can take all of the medicines like the others.

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Some of the medicine is swallowed, the rest spit out. The doctor sees that the medicines are taken and fines those who neglect to do so.

There is a town policeman called istikonā'ha who carries out the orders of the miko against those who have refused to obey him, and collects fines from them. The incumbent in 1929 was Maxcy Alakotci. When I interviewed them they were using the tàstànàgi as the town miko.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Wind, Bird, and Alligator; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Potato.

The Aktayatci are said to have formed one phratry with the Raccoon.

In match games, they played against Tukabahchee, Atasi, Łapłàko, Eufaula, Hilibi, and Kealedji. Alabama was formerly of the same fire but later drew away.

This year (1929) they did not use the pasa. The Àsilanabi square ground is arranged just like this one, but the Okchai differ from these two a little in the use of their medicines. It is thought that Àsilanabi is older than Łàłogàlga and that the latter branched off in order to get the extra money that was paid to its six representatives in the national assembly.

Except that there is more detail, the arrangement given here differs only slightly from that which I recorded in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 236). The only noteworthy divergence is in the position assigned to the Deer clan by my earlier informants, but this may be attributed to the fact that the miko apokta was then a Deer and his clan was probably brought over to the west cabin for that reason. As we should expect, the agreement is also close with the arrangement of the Àsilanabi ground though there are minor divergencies in the allocation of clans to the south cabin. All of my authorities agreed well in assigning clans to the two moieties, but the oldest of all of them thought that the Beaver and Alligator were probably Tcilokí. This may have been the ancient arrangement.

TUKABAHCHEE

The plan of Tukabahchee square appears in Figure 9 and a view of it as it looked in 1912 is given in Plate 5, Figure 1.

The number of tàstànàgis is indeterminate. The toba mawidine were officers not otherwise named who always remained in the cabins. There is one in each of the 12 beds except a part of the southeast cabin as indicated. They were selected from any clan, given names taken from the father's clan, and seated with the latter. Thus, if

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a man were a Deer and his father a Raccoon, they would give him a name from the Raccoon clan's names and seat him with them. After being so seated these officers were not obliged to do any further work connected with the busk.

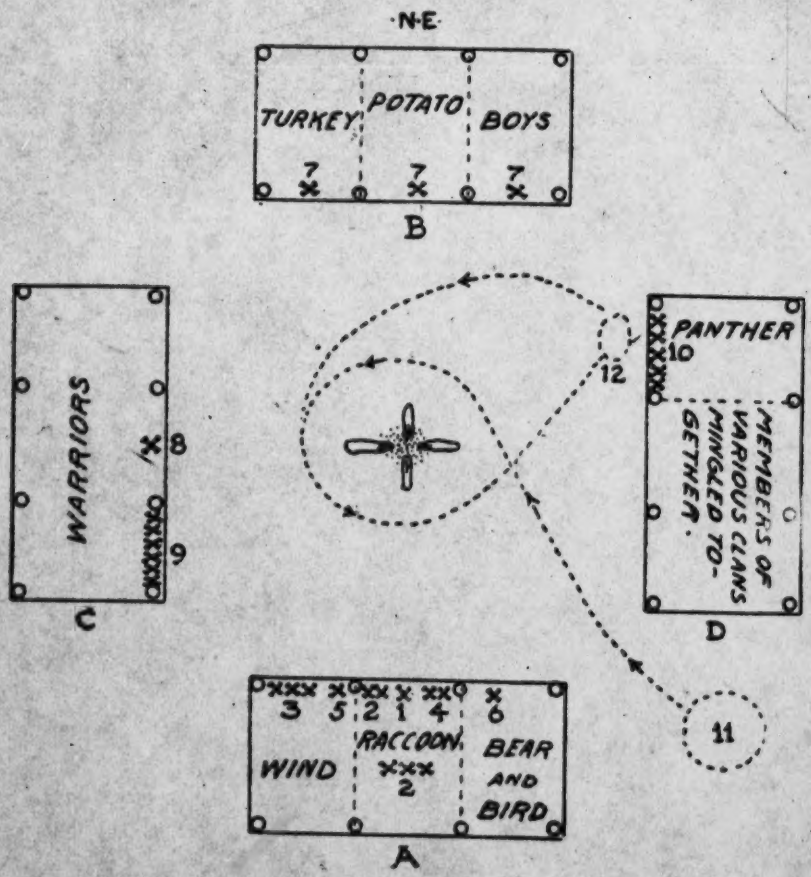

FIG. 9.—Tukabahchee square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, mikos (substitutes) (Raccoon); 3, henihas (Wind); 4, henihas and yatikas; 5, hilis haya; 6, ta'pala.
B. Potato Bed; sometimes also called Youths' Bed: 7, 7, 7, toba mawidine.
C. Warriors' Bed: 8, ta'pala; 9, tástánági łákálgi.
D. Youths' Bed (Tcibánágálgi intupa): 10, yáhaikas; 11, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 12 point where the women start dancing.

The istatcagagis, most of whom sat in the southeast bed, were like a jury, or like a committee, to settle matters of routine. They comprised both men and women. The admittance of women to this select group is something which I heard from no other informant.

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A man was picked out of the bed of the henīhas to speak for others, *i. e.*, the yatikas were selected from the henīhas. None was used in the stomp dance. As payment for his services the yatika was given a deer hide and a ribbon. When he was wanted by the miko he was summoned four times, but he did not start until he had received the fourth call. He set a basket on the ground into which all of the tàsikaias threw bits of tobacco to be taken to the singers for the women as payment for their services.

The holibonaia was a special speaker used in the ball game and in war. The term asimbonaia was about equivalent to that of yatika. He was a head man chosen from among the tàstànàgis for almost any purpose. He listened to any message which the miko wished to give out and then repeated it aloud.

There were two hilis tcàlaba who sat with their clans and were summoned whenever needed. One was a Raccoon and one a Bear.

There were two oktidīdja who sat with their clans or wherever they belonged until summoned to attend to the fire.

Four hilis hoboia, selected from any clans, were sent to gather the medicine.

All of the tàsikaias shared in getting water.

The famous Tukabahchee plates were taken out and cleaned four years in succession and then left covered for four years.

The feather dance was discontinued at Tukabahchee when my informant was a small boy.

The three leading women in the women's dance carry atàsa. The leading woman has an eagle feather on her atàsa, the second a white crane feather, and the other the feather of a third bird, perhaps a goose. They start one at a time and when the third moves all the rest follow. After they have walked round the fire four times they begin to dance and circle the fire again six times.

The Hathagas were Bird, Wind, Bear, and Beaver; the Tcilokis were Turkey, Alligator, Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and any others.

In olden times the moieties were exogamous. The Raccoon and Potato were then brothers, or rather half brothers, but intermarriage between them is now common. Even today, however, the Beaver and Bird will seldom intermarry. The Bird was the "uncle" of the Beaver and the Beaver the former's "nephew."

A man's children called his father's clan "fathers." One can say anything he wishes to, however disrespectful, about his own clan, but he must not speak against his father's clan or permit anyone else to.

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The general arrangement is the same as that obtained from the father of my informant in 1911-12 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 244), but the stations here assigned to some of the individual officers are probably more nearly correct, particularly the locations of the mikos.

KEALEDJI

Figure 10 shows the Kealedji square.

The hoktâgi immiko, "women's chief," supervised the women's dance. There are now no regular water carriers. The imałas formerly sat in the north cabin, but now there are no officers so called. The beds are called by the names of the clans which occupy them. If the asimbonaia is wanted to deliver a speech, he is called over to the miko's seat for that purpose. For tâstânâgis the best men are chosen. The ta'palas are changed every four years. In former times they had a regular four days' busk, but now it lasts for but one day and there is no feather dance.

In the match games they played against Okchai, Wiogufki, and Tulsa.

The Hathagas are Wind, Bear, Panther, and Turkey; the Tcilokis are Raccoon, Deer, and Aktayatci. In ancient times these moieties were exogamous.

The names of the present officers are as follows:

miko	Kasihta Yâhola (Raccoon)
heníha	Heníha Imałutci (Wind)
miko apokta	Kayomulgi (Raccoon)
hoktâgi immiko	Wiwohka Yâhola (Raccoon)
heníha	Oíkas Hadjo (Wind)
asimbonaia	Kôsa Fiksiko (Bear)
ta'pala	Tâlmutcâs Hadjo (Bear)
"	Alak Hadjutci (Turkey)
hilis tcâlaba	Kân Tcati (Wind)
" "	Itco Imała Fiksiko (Deer)
tutka oktidîdja	Ahali Imała
hilis hoboia	Tâlkôna Hadjo (Wind)
" "	Hotâlgi Fiksiko (Wind)
tâstânâgi	Tâstânâk Tcâpko
"	Tâstânâkutci
"	Inheníha (= heníha)
"	Tâlkôna Hadjo

The plan of the revived square ground of the Kealedji agrees in all essentials with the one given me in 1912 from memory by a very old man, except that in recent times the Deer clan seems to have lost its importance or died out. It is interesting to find that old

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and recent informants agree in assigning the Panther clan to the White moiety. They differ, however, regarding the position of the

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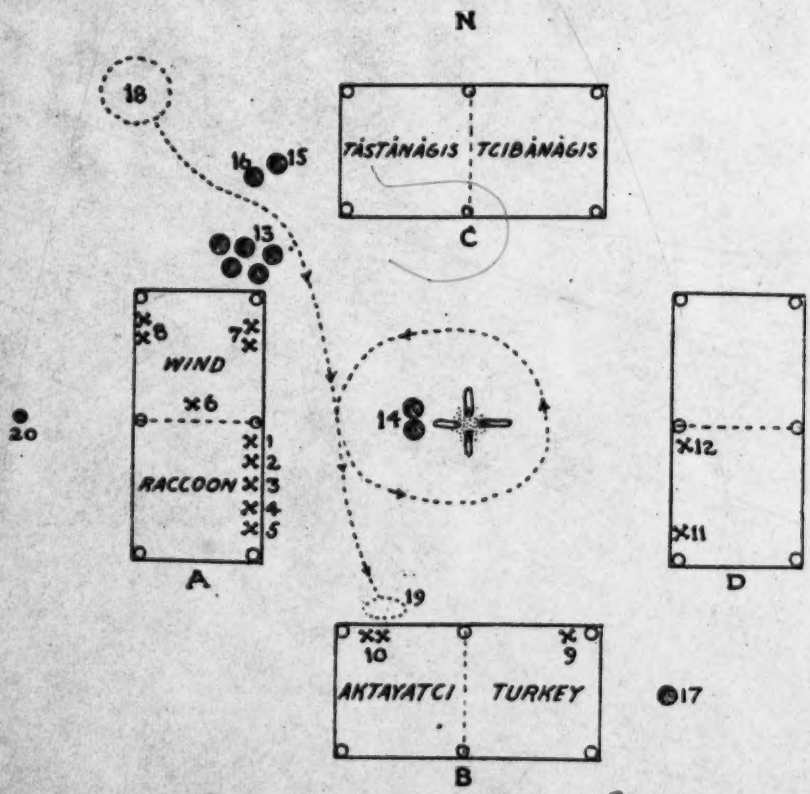

FIG. 10.—The Kealedji square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, heníha (Wind); 3, miko apokta (Raccoon); 4, hoktâgi immiko (Raccoon); 5, heníha (Wind); 6, hilis haya (usually Raccoon; Wind in 1929); 7, hilis tcâlaba (Deer and Wind); 8, hilis hoboia (Wind).

B. Youths' Bed: 9, ta'pala (Turkey); 10, yâhaikas.

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. White Bed: 11, asimbonaia (Bear); 12, ta'pala (Bear).

13, medicine pots (1st position); 14, medicine pots for those fasting (2d position); 15, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 16, medicine pot for girls (2d position); 17, medicine pot for women (2d position); 18, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 19, point where women start dancing; 20, ball post.

Turkey, which the earlier informant considered Tciloki and the later White. But this clan, together with the Alligator and Tâmi, is known to have been on one side in some towns and on the opposite in others.

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ŁAPŁÀKO

Figure 11 shows the plan of this ground.

The two pots of medicine were prepared where they are shown (nos. 4 and 5) and remained there all of the time. The Bird clan sat

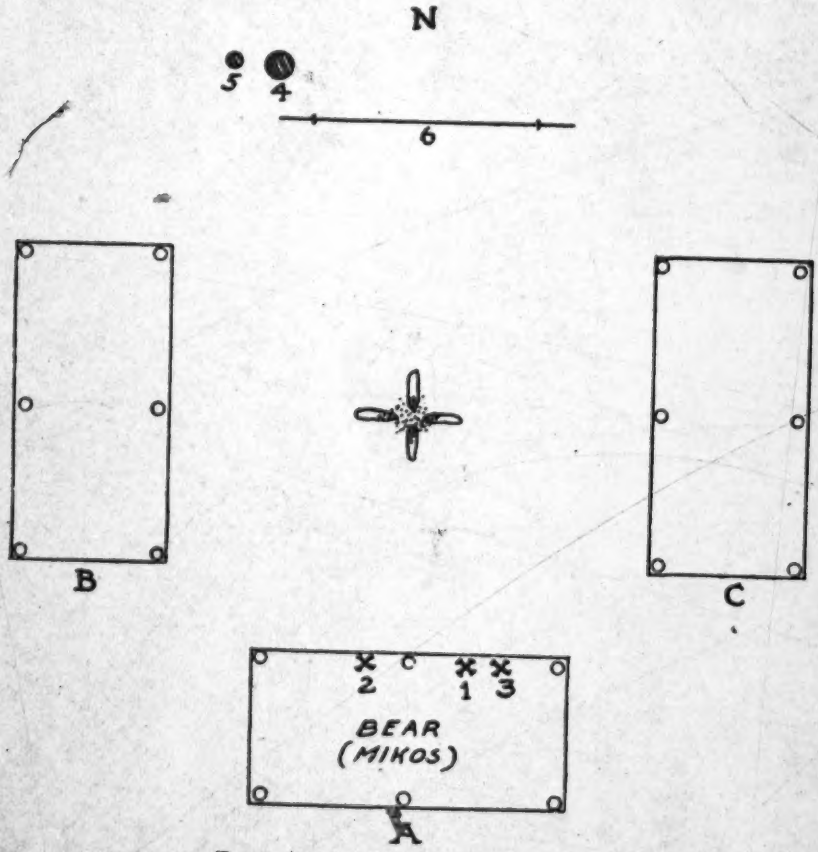

FIG. 11.—Square ground of Łapłàko.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha or miko apokta (Bird); 3, yatika (sometimes seated here).

B. Warriors' Bed. This was usually occupied by middle aged men of various clans.

C. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa). Occupied by various classes, including persons not properly citizens of the town but taking medicine there, men married in the town or adopted into it, and men whose fathers belonged to it.

4, a large pot of medicine for the fasters; 5, a small pot of medicine for the women and children; 6, rack for ball sticks.

anywhere. The yatika belonged to no regular clan, and at the present time there is no such officer. There are two hilis tcàlaba who occupy no special seats, and one hilis haya who is taken from any clan of a friendly town. Towns belonging to the other town moiety do not

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take medicine with them and in fact are not invited except in the case of individuals married into the town.

The Hathagas are the Bear (the most important of them), Bird, Beaver, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Deer, Potato, Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator, etc. Here the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver can intermarry; in Eufaula they could not. But probably this means that the Beaver could intermarry with the other two, as the Alligator and Turkey were seldom allowed to marry under any circumstances. The Bird and Beaver were classed together in Łapłáko, but this group does not include the Bear or Wind. The Hathaga clans had the reputation of being progressive while the Tcilokis were full-bloods and reactionaries. This characterization probably followed the coming of the white people.

The towns of the opposite group were called Tálipoła, which means "foreign but not unfriendly."

The word Łapłáko indicates a place where there are many marshes filled with canes. This town square, which had been discontinued, was revived in the year 1903 in this way. They had to prepare a ground in order to take medicine before a game with the Nuyaka Indians next year. Later this was improved with regular cabins, but it must have been inconspicuous or have been considered unimportant, as I heard nothing about it in 1912.

Łapłáko and Atasi are now nearly fused on account of the number of marriages between individuals belonging to them. Before the Civil War the Łapłáko had an Atasi Indian named Hotálgi Hadjo married among them as their hilis haya. One of the great men of Łapłáko in former times was Jim Boy (Tástánągi Imała) whom my informant remembers to have seen. He thinks he died just before the Civil War broke out. McKenney and Hall (History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. 2, pp. 71-74) give a portrait of this chief and a considerable account of his life. He was born in what is now Alabama in 1793 and accompanied the warriors of his town during the Creek War of 1813-14, but was too young for active participation. In the war with the Seminole he was one of the leaders of the Creek contingent which aided the Americans. The exact date of his death seems to be unknown.

The arrangement of the modern ground differs more from those described to me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 254 and 255) than any of the others. The first of the latter was obtained from a very old man who should have known the ancient arrangement well, but of course my interpreter and I may have misunderstood him. The cabins are at different points of the compass

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and more confusion is shown in the later organization, but they agree in stating that the miko belonged to the Bear clan and in placing that clan in the south cabin. My older informant allocated this clan with the Tciloki. This was probably an error on his part but he seemed to insist upon it.

They have had no busk since the Civil War and no women's dance, and the pasa is no longer used, only the miko hoyanīdja. The dances in the square are three stomp dances. Seven days before one of these the "broken days" are sent out and on the day when the sixth stick is thrown away they are all to be at the ground, while on the seventh they are supposed to be taking medicine. Seven days before the dance they also meet and pick out four clean young men, called hilis hoboia, men whose wives are not pregnant, who are not given to intoxicants, and who have not attended to the digging of a grave during the preceding month. These men gather four bundles of medicine (miko hoyanīdja) which they lay down with their tip ends toward the west. First they spread out a bed of leaves called lodja issi, "turtle leaves," which should be taken from hickory trees. The medicine is laid on top of these and more leaves are spread over it. On the morning of the fast day all of those who are to take medicine are supposed to present themselves at the square ground. The fire is built up so that it will not go out all day. Early in the morning the two hilis tcâlaba prepare the medicine, first the medicine for the women and children and then that for the adult men. This is taken four times during the day, the fourth time between one and two o'clock. Before they take the medicine the yatika announces, on behalf of the chief, that each of those intending to take it is to get a stick and throw it into a blanket. These sticks are counted and the yatika announces the number. Four times (or sometimes twice) during the day the men who are to take medicine with the exception of the officials (the mikâlgi, yatika, hilis haya, and the two-ta'pala) go out to get firewood so as to be ready for the dance that night. Four men are selected to keep watch of the fasters during the night, to see that no one sleeps or breaks his fast, or drinks or goes with a woman. That is why the numbers are taken. These four men are called istikonā'ha, "men taking away," because they take away the hat of anyone found sleeping (and treat similarly anyone who breaks the taboos in other ways). The hat they carry to the miko and, when the owner comes to get it, he is fined.

After they have taken medicine for the fourth time, they go to the creek for a bath and then return to the square. The yatika

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talks to them telling them to take care of themselves all of that night, and then they scatter to the camps to eat. Before sundown, however, they are supposed to be back on the ground. The yatika calls to them four times and by the fourth time they are to be in their seats. When all are in their places, the two ta'pala are selected. The yatika makes a speech on behalf of the miko, calling upon his hearers not to act in an unfriendly way toward the outside friends who are about to be admitted to the dance, not to take liquor, to behave themselves all through the night, not to fight, and so on. This speech is addressed to the town people and outsiders alike. After it the fasters dance four times and then the visitors are admitted. That "kills the fast." All through the day the square is to be kept clean with the idea that the fasters will in consequence be clean. They go up to take the medicine two by two, and those who are ceremonially unclean take the medicine last. They dance until about daybreak. Then all belonging to the town go down to the branch and bathe, after which they return and sit in their respective beds. Then a collection may be taken to defray their expenses and they settle other matters. The night before, the chief of a friendly town may have announced a dance, and, if so, the announcement is now made and advice given as to how they are to help their friends. This advice is uttered by the yatika, speaking for the miko, and he then gives a general talk, advising his people not to use liquor, not to break the laws, and to be good citizens in every sense of the word. Then they disband for the year.

HILIBI

A plan of Hilibi square is shown in Figure 12 and a general view of the ground as it appeared in the winter of 1911-12 in Plate 5 Figure 2.

Two poles with white feathers attached were at each front post. These were used in the "feather dance" and were called "the path," because the path was to be white.

When there are visitors the owners of the east cabin move elsewhere in order to make room for them. When the south cabin is overcrowded, some of its occupants move into the east cabin. In this town the clans were always considerably mixed up in the beds. The ta'palas can sit anywhere. The tutka oktidīdja does not have a particular seat on account of his official position. He is appointed every four years. The tutka dīdja, who starts the fire, is identical with the hilis haya.

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If a man whose father is of the Aktayatci, the miko's clan, is given a busk name, he is brought to the mikos' bed and given a seat there.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Turkey, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Panther, Potato, Deer, Aktayatci, and evidently the Raccoon. The Alligator and Bird are considered as practically one clan.

The two leaders in the women's dance carry atàsa.

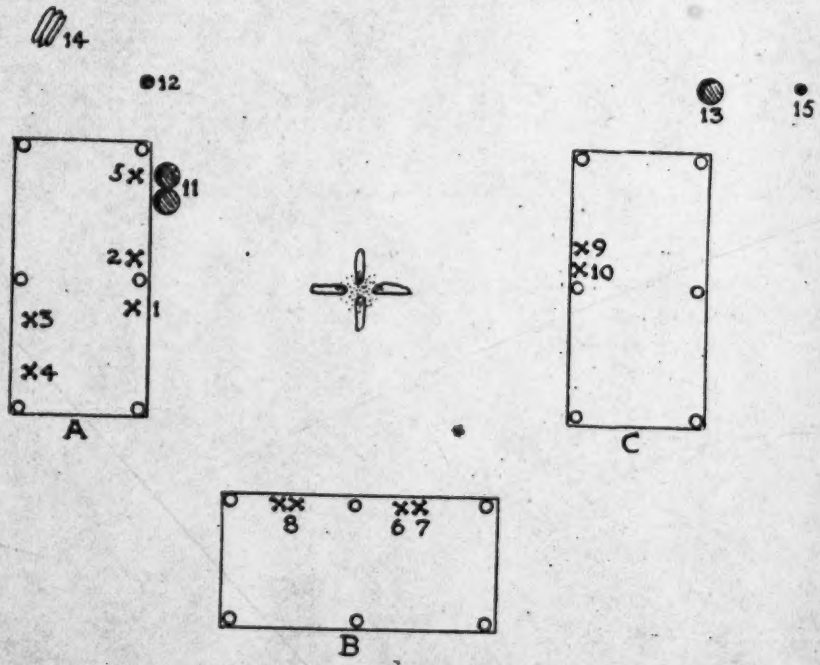

FIG. 12.—Square ground of Hilibi.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1 miko (Aktayatci); 2, henīha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon in 1929); 4, ta'pala (Bear); 5, hilis tcàlaba (Bear in 1929).

B. Raccoons' Bed: 6, hilis hoboia; 7, tutka oktidīdja (Raccoon in 1929); 8, yàhaikas (any clan).

C. Cabin used by visitors:- 9, ta'pala (Alligator); 10, hilis hoboia (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, medicine pot for boys; 13, medicine pot for women; 14, woodpile; 15, ball post.

The history of this town is as follows. It was founded by a man of the Aktayatci clan who went off to live by himself and then put up a ball post. Many women belonged to his family and he had numerous visitors, some of whom married these women so that it soon grew into a large band of which he was probably the first miko. Anyhow that is the way the Aktayatci came to have the town. After stomp dances had been held there for some time, more visitors came

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to join them and it grew still larger. Because it was built up very rapidly, its founder called it Hilibi, which means "hurry" (hila'pkis, "I make haste"). Since it was an "illegal" band, a tâlwa fâtcasīgo ("town deviating from correctness"), all the clans do not have regular places, having been drawn from so many other bands.

The following notes on some personal names contained in the town roster give an interesting insight into the manner in which totemic names were bestowed:

Fos Hâtki Imała ("White Bird Imała"), so named because he belonged to a White clan, the Wind.

Halak Hopaie. He belonged to the Bear clan, but his father belonged to the Raccoon, hence the name Halak or Ahalak ("Potato"), since both these clans are Tciloki.

Pahos Fiksiko. He belonged to the Wind clan, but his father was a Deer and the Pahosa is of the same phratry as the Deer.

As shown by the native story above given this town was not supposed to be ancient or to have a firmly fixed town organization, and, while it was older than the Hilibi people themselves believed, it seems to have preserved the irregularities which might naturally be associated with a new town. Not improbably the tradition of irregularity preserved the fact. At the same time there is a general agreement between the plan here given and that which I obtained in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 258). The mikos' cabin is to the west, and the mikâlki and henihâlgi were of the same clans, Aktayatci and Alligator respectively. The Alligator and Turkey were classed as Whites from association with the Bird by my later informants, but the earlier ones gave them as Tciloki.

ALABAMA

This was a very simple square of exceptional arrangement as shown in Figure 13.

The Alabama were one of the incorporated tribes with a language distinct from Creek. The clan names in Alabama are: Mahaleha (Wind), Sawaha (Raccoon), Aktayatciha (Aktayatci), Hâtcuntcobaha (Alligator), Konoha (Skunk), Nitaha (Bear), Koīha (Panther), Fociha (Bird), Fitōha (Turkey), Ofâtaha (Beaver).

All of the officers were brought over to the chiefs' bed. Men of the Alligator, Bear, and Aktayatci have been mikos and a man of the Skunk clan was once the henīha. There is no regular rule for either position.

The Hathagas were the Wind, Bear, Panther, Skunk, and Raccoon; the Tcilokis were the Bird, Beaver, Turkey, Alligator, and Aktayatci. The Wildcat was the same as the Panther.

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One of the greatest Alabama Indians now remembered was Kàntcati Yàhola (Alabama name Tcīsōki), who was the hilis haya. He was born in Alabama and came west with his tribe. He lived until about 1866.

The above plan and the three others I obtained in 1912 and the years immediately following (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 263-264) show considerable minor variations but all agree in locating the chiefs' bed in the east and the warriors' bed in the west. Most of them also place the Bear and Panther clans in the latter and the Wind, Aktayatci, and Deer in the former, where they are noted at all. In allocating the clans the above informant agrees with

FIG. 13.—Alabama square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Wind); 2, henīha (Raccoon).
B. Warriors' Bed.

the older ones except regarding the Panther which the men first consulted asserted was Tciloki while it is here given as a White clan, but this is a clan which has been placed on both sides.

KASIHTA

For the plan of Kashita square ground, see Figure 14.

There should be two hilis tcàlaba, drawn from the Alligator clan, but they are not employed now. Four hilis hoboia for the pasa, four for the miko hoyanīdja, and one tutka oktidīdja are chosen by the miko without reference to clan. There is no definite body of water carriers. Two ta'palas are selected from any clan to serve just for the night. They carry sticks called reels, and their function is to invite the dance leaders to lead dances and see that all take part. There is only one singer for the women's dance. He sits behind the miko.

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In 1901 the old square ground was given up and the new one was established in June, 1920. Because the new generation was weak one cabin was cut out. The Coweta square is said to have been the same as that of Kasihta. 344 621 796

Every time anything is brought in or anything repaired they dance all night because thus the two things are joined together, just as

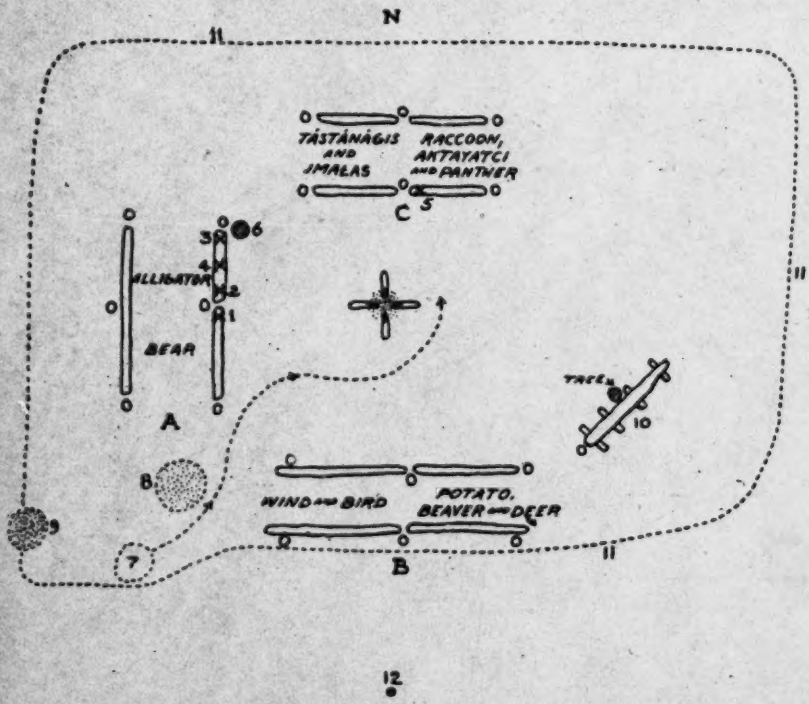

FIG. 14.—Kasihta square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (seat when on duty); 4, asimbonaia.
B. Whites' Bed (Henihâlgi intupa), or "Cabin of the Greater Kings."
C. Warriors' Bed: 5, asimbonaia (Aktayatci).

6, medicine pot; 7, point where women assemble before dancing; 8, trash heap; 9, where ashes of old fires were placed; 10, split log where are seated those young men who have broken the rules and are in consequence placed here as a punishment before being allowed to mix with the rest of the people; 11, line of sweepings (tâdjo) marking limit of square ground; 12, ball post.

two days are united by the night on which they dance. Formerly dances were held every Saturday night, but hard times have put an end to them. The dance which was being held when I paid my visit was because they were then putting up a ball post.

The Hathagas are the Wind, Beaver, Bird, and Deer; the Tcilokis are the remaining clans, yet it is said that the Bear, Alligator, and

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344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
621 marry outside of third cousins.

796 The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,

> The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

He added:

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> We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

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1. Abihka or Talladega square ground.

2. Tulsa square ground from the southeast.

[End plate 1]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

• 344

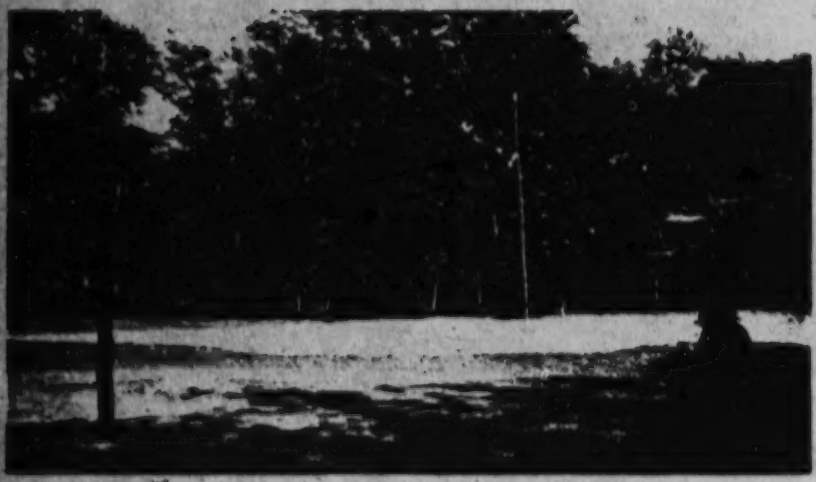
1. Nuyaka square ground.

2. The three beds of Pakan Tallahassee, from the southwest.

[End plate 2]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344



1. Pakan Tallahassee square ground looking between west and south beds, showing chunkey yard and ball post.

2. Wiogufki square ground from the southwest.

[End plate 3]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

#344

1. Okchai square ground in winter from the southwest.

2. Fish Pond square ground.

[End plate 4]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

344

1. Tukabahchee square ground.

2. Hilibi square ground in winter from the southwest.

[End plate 5]

361, 345, 346, 778 Creek NN11

[Descriptions and diagrams of Creek town squares and square-ground buildings are filed in category 344]

361, 345, 346, 778 Creek NN11

[Descriptions and diagrams of Creek town squares and square-ground buildings are filed in category 344]

I: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

344 a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, so have all the Indian
778 nations; particularly, the Muskohge. It is partitioned off by a mud-wall about breast-high, behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red-painted war-seat; there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular damage to themselves, and general hurt to the people, from the supposed divinity of the place."[94] Later most of the objects which had been preserved here were put up under the roof as was the case in the square described by Hawkins. In old Okchai they were up under the roof at the north end of the west cabin, where the Wind clan sat. In recent years, perhaps to protect them from desecration by the whites, they have in some towns built a small house about 4 feet each way in which the pots used at that time are stored. There is one at Eufaula just back of the chief's bed, one at Alabama southeast of the square, and one at Chiaha Seminole in the same relative position. Tukabahchee, where the busk vessels and appurtenances are kept in a small inclosed space just back of the center of the chief's bed, is the only town to preserve a relic of the more ancient custom.

[177 346]

344 In olden times there was in front of each front post in every bed a stick tapering to a point at the top, leaning outward, and provided on the outer side with two notches. The butt ends of the wands on which the feathers were tied used in the tcitahaia dance were stuck into the ground at these same points. The sticks were called atàsà, like the smaller ones carried by the leaders of the women in the women's dance and the small ones given to youths when they were named, and in all cases they evidently refer to the old-fashioned war club (atàsà or atàsu). This description applies particularly to Tukabahchee. Other towns are said to have had sticks in the shape of axes instead of war clubs. Besides these sticks I am told that on the front of each post on the right-hand side of the center of each bed as you face the bed notches were cut called (i)nà'tàsà ha'ki, "made like the atàsà," and only men of great importance who could call councils sat next to these posts.

Jackson Lewis agreed with Hawkins in stating that in the old days when cane seats were employed there were generally only two tiers, but it is evident that the practice was different in different towns. Aside from the plan given by Swan the only attempt to represent any part of the square graphically was by a French artist who sketched what is probably the west bed of the Alabama ground in the early part of the eighteenth century. (Fig. 5.) This differs from all other illustrations and descriptions in showing four sections instead of three.

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[94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 80.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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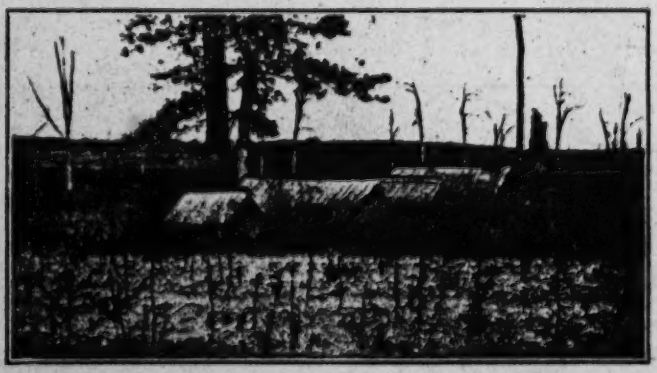

CREEK CHURCHES AND BURIALS

[facing p. 190]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

344 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have
346 been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

177 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks
171 have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those
344 above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

344 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa),
554 usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied
621 to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tàstánágálgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibánágálgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihálgi intupa) and was known

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 302.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344 361 621

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks." [64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares." [65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177]

Among the Alabama the yard (tā'ăle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the household. [351 784]

[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-56.
[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 96.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

in the erection of this particular structure told me that the boards were made, and the materials brought to the spot, set up and fastened together—with grapevines instead of nails—all in 10 days. This hot house was used by the Laksafáski,[83] who are the tástánágálgi—in this town equivalent to the Deer clan. It was afterwards burned to the ground and has never been replaced, though the foundation, including the location of the large center post and the circular outline, was traceable when I visited the Pakan tallahassee busk ground in 1912. At Tukabahchee its place is still theoretically marked, and a fire made for it annually, in a circular area about 50 feet in diameter northwest of the square ground.[83a]

The outdoors council ground or "big house," as it is known to the Creeks, has also suffered degeneration, though not to such a marked degree as the tcokofa. The best early descriptions are by Bartram, Swan, and Hawkins, and they are confirmed by allusions on the part of Adair and other writers. Hawkins says:

"Choo-co-thluc-co, (big house), the town house or public square, consists of four square buildings of one story, facing each other, forty by sixteen feet, eight feet pitch; the entrance at each corner. Each building is a wooden frame, supported on posts set in the ground, covered with slabs, open in front like a piazza, divided into three rooms, the back and ends clayed, up to the plates. Each division is divided lengthwise, into two seats; the front, two feet high, extending back half way, covered with reed-mats or slabs; then a rise of one foot, and it extends back, covered in like manner, to the side of the building. On these seats they lie or sit at pleasure." [84]

Swan's description is yet longer:

"The public squares, placed near the centre of each town, are formed by four buildings of equal size, facing inwards, and enclosing an area of about thirty feet on each side. These houses are made of the same materials as their dwelling-houses, but differ by having the front which faces the square left entirely open, and the walls of the back sides have an open space of two feet or more next to the eaves, to admit a circulation of air. Each of these houses is partitioned into three apartments, making twelve in all, which are called the cabins; the partitions which separate these cabins are made of clay, and only as high as a man's shoulders, when sitting. Each cabin has three seats, or rather platforms, being broad enough to sleep upon. The first is raised about two feet from the ground, the second is eight inches higher, and the third, or back seat, as much above the second. The whole of the seats are joined together by a covering of cane-mats, as large as carpets. It is a rule, to have a new covering to the seats every year, previous to the ceremony of the busk; therefore, as the

[83] Said by some to be a nickname for the Tellokogálgi; see p. 157.
[83a] Some further notes on the tcokofa will be found on p. 88.
[84] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 66-68.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

344 old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares,
•352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[85] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [86] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[537 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
614] of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

[621 "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always
531] been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[704] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[85] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[86] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

"And, continuing the Kasihta said 'We came out of the center of the earth.' The Coweta answered 'We came out at the same place but, the root of a tree extending in front of us, we emerged only after a delay.' Then they learned that they had been created one people. And they said 'We shall have to return again the way we came, and when we reach the place of our creation we shall be annihilated.' The names of the two rivers near that town were Big River (Hâtci Łâko) and Confluent River (Hâtc Afa'ski). 173 539

"There was a place for killing fish at that point; it was found out that it was a place to which fish would come. The Kasihta having found it broke off a pine limb and laid it upon a rock. And the Coweta found it afterward and broke off a black weed called ata'k ła-lasti[359] and laid it down in the same place. Then the Coweta said 'I have found a fish-killing place.' The Kasihta said 'I found it first. I broke off a pine limb to mark it and laid it upon a rock.' And the Coweta said 'I, too, broke off a black weed and laid it there.' They wrangled with each other about it. Then they said to each other 'Let us examine the place.' And when they went to see the marks they found two lying there. When they had examined the matter they found two fish-killing places close together and one was abandoned to the Coweta. Near by was their own fish-killing place where they lived catching and eating fish. They continued there, beginning and carrying on things for their amusement. There they built their big house.[359a] They erected four structures which they called houses (tcuko). They placed one to the west, another across from this,[40] another toward the south, another toward the east,[40] and another toward the north. They made the length [of each?] eighty times the length of a person's foot and the breadth thirty times. And they made the measure of the arena between them eighty foot-measures each way. The round big-house stood toward the west.[40a] They constructed it with a pointed roof, and they covered it with pine bark stripped from the trees. They made only one door, looking toward the east. And they built a fire exactly in the middle so that when it was raining or snowing they could dance there. And in the one of the four houses which stood toward the west the miko of the tribe sat with his vice-chief (apokta). It was called the house of the mikos (mi'kâlgi i'ntchuka). And those who sat in the house to the south were known as 'the owners of the white (hâ'tki ipu'tcasi).' If the miko and vice-miko both died they appointed new ones. The one lying across toward the east was called the house of the women (hu'ktagi i'ntcuka). And that on the north side was called 'the house of the warriors' (tâstânâgâlgi i'ntcuka). They 173 539 361

[359] This has yellow flowers which appear at the time of the fall hunt.
[359a] The ceremonial square.
[40] Probably by inadvertence the eastern structure is mentioned twice
[40a] The tcukoh or town "hot house."

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173 539 [361] were their war talkers (inhułupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tâdjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[40b]

173 539 796 "And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obânga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[40c] (its obânga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obâ'nga tcâ'nko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obânga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[40d]

173 539 796 526 "[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

[40b] See pp. 174-190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.
[40c] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 609.
[40d] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 540-614.

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had once been laid aside. According to one writer the Wind clan could take them up an indefinite number of times; according to another, four times. This privilege is well remembered. A single writer adds that people of the Bear clan were allowed to take the clubs up twice, but I have been able to learn nothing definite upon the subject from the living Indians. Local privileges connected with the busk ceremonial were, of course, enjoyed by other clans.[62]

In other parts of America clan distinctions are indicated by means of face paintings or tattooings. With the Creeks, however, most of the latter seem to have had to do with war honors. I was told that members of the Raccoon clan painted circles about their eyes, but according to others this was done merely by doctors as a sign that they were able to see in the dark. Paintings used to indicate the towns of the persons using them will be considered presently.[62a]

Another source of information regarding the position of clans in the tribe is still to be tapped, but in order to do this we must first set forth a description of the Creek ceremonial or busk ground, the religious and social center of every Creek community of consequence.

DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO THE LAND AND THE TOWN

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Both the Creeks and the Texas-Alabama have told me that anciently clans lived apart, and in a Creek story of the origin of corn they are represented as scattered about in a number of different camps. Whether or not the major clans are descended from bodies of people which once lived in separate towns and lacked exogamy the local separation of the clans until very late times is an undeniable fact. I may note here the assertion of one of my oldest and best informants to the effect that in olden times the clans were not exogamous, but that upon one occasion a council was held and it was determined that afterwards they should be considered such. This is interesting as marking the native recognition of such a possibility, not as proving that the change actually took place. The Creek towns in the times when we begin to have knowledge of them consisted of a succession of villages or neighborhoods scattered through the woods and along the streams, and connected by a network of trails. The unit of such a town consisted of a group of houses owned by women of one clan and occupied by themselves, their husbands, and their young children. In practice it worked out something like this. A man, assisted by other members of his family or clan, might build a house in a new situation and clear the usual yard by hoeing up the surface weeds and grass for a considerable space about it. Now, when one of his daughters married her husband, drawn from some other, perhaps distant, locality, would build another house on part of the same

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[62] Cf. also Milfort, Mém., p. 254.

[62a] See p. 248.

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614

cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[88] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

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The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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342 "The dwellings of the Upper Creeks [i. e., the Creeks proper, exclusive of the Seminole] consist of little squares, or rather of four dwelling-houses inclosing a square area, exactly on the plan of the Public Square. Every family, however, has not four of these houses; some have but three, others not more than two, and some but one, according to the circumstances of the individual, or the number of his family. Those who have four buildings have a particular use for each building. One serves as a cook room and winter lodging-house, another as a summer lodging-house and hall for receiving visitors, and a third for a granary or provision house, etc. The last is commonly two stories high, and divided into two apartments,

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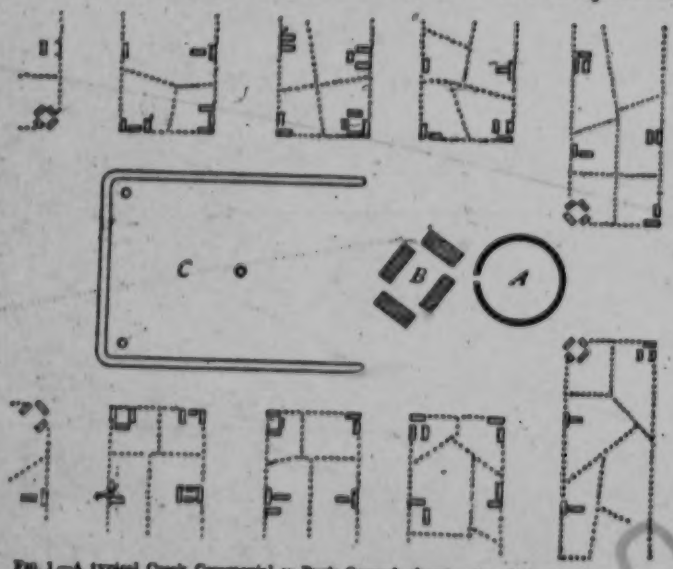

FIG. 1.—A typical Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground, showing its relation to the town. (After Bartram.)

transversely, the lower story of one end being a potato house, for keeping such other roots and fruits as require to be kept close, or defended from cold in winter. The chamber over it is the *council*. At the other end of this building, both upper and lower stories are open on their sides; the lower story serves for a shed for their saddles, pack-saddles, and gears, and other lumber; the loft over it is a very spacious, airy, pleasant pavilion, where the chief of the family reposes in the hot seasons, and receives his guests, etc. The fourth house (which completes the square) is a skin or ware-house, if the proprietor is a wealthy man, and engaged in trade or traffic, where he keeps his deer-skins, furs, merchandise, etc., and treats his customers. Smaller

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344 361 621

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."[64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A cornerib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."[65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177]

Among the Alabama the yard (tĀ'ále), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the household. [351 784]

[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, pp. 54-55.
[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 98.

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342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house [592 owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of 606] the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

171 When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the 361 center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

342 "The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of 344 all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a 622 particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong."[88]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[88] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 360-361.

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mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

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"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

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"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.
[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 126.
[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 89.
[70] Ibid., p. 101.
[71] Ibid., p. 23.
[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 58, 102.
[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 120.

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positions in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and the slave-posts."[74]

The use of the mound, while partly no doubt for defense and to add dignity to the structures placed upon it, was very often in order to protect the buildings from spring floods and the general dampness. Some earlier Spanish statements suggest that perhaps even in the sixteenth century not all public buildings were placed upon mounds. Yet by analogy with the Cherokee town house and the lower Mississippi temple we may consider it probable that the arrangement set forth by Bartram was actually a very ancient one. It would seem likely that the building called by Bartram the rotunda was once the most important element and that the public square was merely a summer substitute suggested by a southern climate. Such an evolution of the Creek public buildings would bring them into line with those known to have existed among the Cherokee and the tribes of the Mississippi. A later evolution changed the relative position of the elements here brought together and finally resulted in an almost complete elimination of the mounds. We will continue with Bartram's description of the later square (fig. 3) which remained essentially as he represents it almost to the present day.

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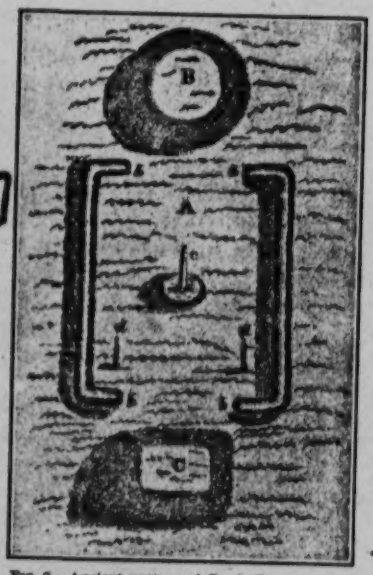

FIG. 2.—Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

"This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky-Yard Public Square, and Rotunda of the *modern* Creek towns.

"*A*, the Public Square or area.

"*B*, the Rotunda; *a*, the door opening towards the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; *c*, the great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house.

"*C*, part of the Chunky-Yard."[75]

[74] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 51-53.

[75] Ibid., p. 54.

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423 621 The yard immediately about each house or group of houses of course went with it; the square ground, chunky yard, and hot house were the property of the community. Gardens, as Bartram has stated, could be cleared by anyone anywhere within the limits of the town land.[10] And Eakins expresses their attitude toward the private ownership of land by the quotation, "It is for me, for thee, and for all." He adds, however, that improvements were sometimes sold.[11] This applied to the Creeks in their western home about the middle of the nineteenth century.

361 Regarding the town lands Stiggins says:

423 "The inhabited parts of the nation are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga*." [12] The [224] inhabitants of each town claimed an exclusive right to hunt in the territory immediately about it, and according to Stiggins men of one town approached another "with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated." [13] At times an agreement was entered into by the members of a town to refrain from hunting in a certain territory for a definite period. A kind of taboo similar [784] to the device common among the Polynesians was laid upon it and it was called "ikána tcaka," "the sacred or consecrated land." At the expiration of the time fixed upon the people entered this tract and hunted there together. Bears were the chief animals which they expected to find.

241 The management of the large town fields is instructive. Bartram says of them:

"Every town or community assigns a piece of land as near as may be to the town, for the sake of convenience. This is called the *town plantation*, where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or the largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set up, or any other natural or artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one enclosure or general boundary." [14]

These fields were planted and cultivated by the town working together, all attending to the several plots in turn. They harvested at the same time, but then each family harvested from its own plot. A part of the produce of each lot was placed in a public granary under the charge of the chief.

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[10] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 27.
[11] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.
[12] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 18.
[13] Ibid., p. 19.
[14] Bartram, op. cit., p. 28.

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721 775 From Adair's account it will be seen that killing and scalping had a religious as well as a social basis, the former being the necessity the people felt themselves under—in this respect like the ancient Greeks—of placating the souls of the dead. There is every reason to think that ancient Creek belief was practically the same, but this side of the institution appears to have died first, the social advancement to be won through scalps being a more persistent motive.

361 712 In the most ancient times stockades, in which natural features were taken advantage of and which sometimes had moats, played a great part in warfare, especially in regions often harried by war parties. It is significant that the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition do not mention such structures until they reached the tribes near Tennessee River—i. e., the frontiers of the Muskhogean peoples toward the north.[54] In this quarter they were probably subject to incursions of Cherokee, Iroquois, and Shawnee and other Algonkian peoples. Stockades were again found along Alabama River, and from thence to the Mississippi—i. e., on the western Creek boundary. Ulibahali and a deserted town near it were stockaded, also Mabila, Chickasaw, and Alibamo.[55] The following description of a stockade is given by Ranjel:

"Three days march southeast of Tuasi (Tawasa) and two days before they came to Talisi (Tulsa) the Spaniards "came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong."[56]

Similar to this is Elvas's account of the stockade of Ulibahali. "The fence," he says, "which was like that to other towns seen afterwards, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles of the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loopholes for archery." [57]

Methods of constructing fences of this character were well known throughout the Southeast, and Le Moyne gives what purports to be a picture of one seen in Florida, though it appears to be utterly unreliable.[58]

411 When De Soto and his companions entered the temple, or rather ossuary, of Talimeco they found there "breastplates like corselets

[54] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 15, 108.
[55] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 85, 90, 104, 108; vol. II, pp. 18, 24, 115, 123, 135, 136.
[56] Ibid., vol. II, p. 115.
[57] Ibid., vol. I, p. 85.
[58] This description is given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 379-380. Cf. also Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 133-134.

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[Descriptions and diagrams of Creek town squares and square-ground buildings are filed in category 344]

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following stories regarding the "Breath Holder" which were related to one of my oldest informants, a man born in Alabama before the migration to Oklahoma, by a very old Hitchiti Indian. This man said that a child was born in a certain country and a time came in the history of those people when children were to be killed. Rather than lose their child its parents put it into a basket, pitched it with gum, and set it afloat upon the water. Afterwards it was seen by the king, who told an attendant to bring it in, and he did so. Fascinated by its beauty he adopted it and reared it. One day after he grew up this child was walking along and saw a man planting seed. He asked him what it was and the man answered "I am planting stones." Later he went to this place again, dug into the earth, and found a great many stones there. Another time when he met this man the latter had some white corn flour. He threw a handful of this into the air and it turned into white water herons found along streams, the feathers of which were used in the Creek peace dance. The old man said that the man who did this was Christ and added that "a darn Frenchman came along and killed him." The myth of seed turning into stones is recorded in various versions by Dähnhardt, in his Natursagen, vol. II, p. 95, under the heading Die Verwandlung des Saatfeld. The other is a well-known episode in apocryphal church history. The first part of the narrative is of course taken from the story of Moses.

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One further point regarding this spirit deserves notice, as it is certainly not European in origin, and that is his connection, in the minds of the Indians, with the sacred fire as several times mentioned by Adair. In one place he says, "they worship God, in a smoke and cloud, believing him to reside above the clouds, and in the element of the, supposed, holy annual fire."[25] Further on he goes into this more at length, as follows:

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"Though they believe the upper heavens to be inhabited by Ishtohoollo Aba, and a great multitude of inferior good spirits; yet they are firmly persuaded that the divine omnipresent Spirit of fire and light resides on the earth, in their annual sacred fire while it is unpolluted; and that he kindly accepts their lawful offerings, if their own conduct is agreeable to the old divine law, which was delivered to their forefathers."[26]

Again, he quotes a Chickasaw seer to the effect that "he very well knew, the giver of virtue to nature resided on earth in the unpolluted holy fire, and likewise above the clouds and the sun, in the shape of a fine fiery substance, attended by a great many beloved people."[27] Adair backs these statements up with the following incident, which is of more importance than his bare assertion, and especially in this connection, as it is from the Creeks instead of the Chickasaw:

[25] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 35. [26] Ibid, p. 116. [27] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

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"In the year 1748, when I[1] was at the Koosah on my way to the Chikkasah country, I had a conversation on this subject, with several of the more intelligent of the Muskohge traders. One of them told me, that just before, while he and several others were drinking spirituous liquors with the Indians, one of the warriors having drank to excess, reeled into the fire, and burned himself very much. He roared, foamed, and spoke the worst things against God, that their language could express. He upbraided him with ingratitude, for having treated him so barbarously in return for his religious offerings, affirming he had always sacrificed to him the first young buck he killed in the new year; as in a constant manner he offered him when at home, some of the fattest of the meat, even when he was at short allowance, on purpose that he might shine upon him as a kind God. And he added, 'now you have proved as an evil spirit, by biting me so severely who was your constant devotee, and are a kind God to those accursed nothings [i. e., the white people], who are laughing at you as a rogue, and at me as a fool, I assure you, I shall renounce you from this time forward, and instead of making you look merry with fat meat, you shall appear sad with water, for spoiling the old beloved speech. I am a beloved warrior, and consequently I scorn to lie; you shall therefore immediately fly up above the clouds, . . .'"[28]

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In still another place he says: "The Muskogee call the fire their grandfather—and the supreme Father of mankind Esakata-Emishe 'the breath master,' as it is commonly explained."[29] Fire is called "grandfather" to the present day.[30]

After describing the method of deadening trees and clearing fields among the southern Indians, Adair goes on thus:

"With these trees they always kept up their annual holy fire; and they reckon it unlawful, and productive of many temporal evils, to extinguish even the culinary fire with water. In the time of a storm, when I have done it, the kindly women were in pain for me, through fear of the ill consequences attending so criminal an act. I never saw them to damp the fire, only when they hung up a brand in the appointed place, with a twisted grape-vine, as a threatening symbol of torture and death to the enemy; or when their kinsman dies. In the last case, a father or brother of the deceased, takes a firebrand, and brandishing it two or three times round his head, with lamenting words, he with his right hand dips it into the water, and lets it sink down."[31]

All of the facts brought out must mean that an actual connection was supposed to exist between the sun and the busk fire and thus between the celestial deity behind the sun and this fire, and, as Adair himself points out elsewhere, that the renewal of the fire was an actual renewed presence of the deity among them, the old fire having

[28] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 116.
[29] Ibid., p. 106.
[30] Cf. Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 26.
[31] Adair, op. cit., p. 405.

[1] [i.e., Adair. -- Analyst]

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become polluted by long separation from its source.[32] It is unfortunate that we have no further information on this important point.

Swan, the only writer who has much to say of a great evil spirit, remarks that "they have an opinion that droughts, floods, and famines, and their miscarriages in war, are produced by the agency of the bad spirit. But of these things, they appear to have confused and irregular ideas, and some sceptical opinions."[33] I have already expressed doubts about the primitive character of the bad spirit but it is possible that a kind of dualism based on the opposing activities of the good and bad spirits collectively may have grown up.

Yahola and Hayū'ya were two important male deities supposed to reside together in the air without any other companionship. When novices were being instructed regarding the sacred medical formulæ and other mysteries in a way to be described presently the teacher sang songs in which the names of these two beings were mentioned very often. From the general drift of these songs it would appear that the two beings were perfect, clean, undefiled, and were in this manner implored to act as guardians and good geniuses of the pupils. To Jackson Lewis, to whom I am indebted for all of this important information, these beings seemed to endow one with strength, physical activity, and clearness of vision and thought. Yahola was also sometimes appealed to in sickness. If a person was shot and appeared to be dying some ginseng would be cut up and placed in a cup of water and a song sung over it containing the name of Yahola and appealing to his aid in this great emergency. Then the drink would be administered to the sufferer and by doing so it was thought that his life could be prolonged until a more thorough treatment could be undertaken. Also in cases of difficult childbirth the doctor would make medicine and over it utter an appeal to Yahola. "And," concluded Lewis, "this is the real Yahola, though you will find persons so named who do not know what the word means." This word was, in fact, employed in numerous war titles, and a cry called "the Yahola cry" and supposed to resemble the call of the deity himself, was uttered when black drink was taken, and on some other occasions during the annual busk. The name Hayū'ya gives us a clew to the four "Hi-you-yul-gee" from the four corners of the world who brought fire to the ancestors of the Creeks.

The being who produced thunder and lightning is identified by Adair with the supreme deity, for in one place he calls the latter "Ishtohoollo Aba Eloa" (the big holy one above who thunders).[34] He tries to represent what he conceives to be the native idea when he says that the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure

[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 105, 107.
[33] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[34] Adair, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

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721 country was engaged in fighting her, and of more recent dealings of the same kind. It shows also how the customs of a people react inevitably upon themselves for good or for evil.

642 721 In the case of the confederacies above mentioned the very abolition of war between certain units increased the power of the aggregate body and at the same time their temptation to use this advantage in the exploitation of their less well-organized neighbors. And in the Creek confederacy, for instance, while its very existence depended on the fact that certain tribes had agreed to live without fighting, social advancement and the whole structure of the state was dependent on war to such a degree that a complete account of the institution involves an almost complete account of the Creek social system. This having already been given, we are now in a position to take up more particularly the method of waging war.

[302]

FIG. 103.—Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans)

726 The Creek warrior fought almost naked. He wore, of course, the breechclout and belt, also a pair of moccasins. His face and the upper part of his body were painted red and black. He carried a pack in which were an old blanket, some parched ground corn, cords, and leather with which to repair his moccasins. His weapons consisted in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt. Adair mentions a javelin which would be a short spear or throwing knife.[95] In later times the bow and arrow gave place to the gun, though the former were used along with the latter as late as Adair's time. The war club (átasa) was, however, the principal symbol of the institution. Stiggins describes it as "shaped like a small gun about 2 feet long, and at the curve near where the lock would be is a thin square piece of iron or steel with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about 2 inches."[96] It is remembered at the present day as an implement like a combined hatchet and knife, which could either be retained in the hand or thrown. One form of headdress of a Creek warrior is shown in the accompanying illustration, taken from the work of Romans (fig. 103).

721 Intertribal warfare among the southern Indians was suppressed so long ago that not much is remembered regarding it. In this

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 393. [96] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 35.

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721 775 From Adair's account it will be seen that killing and scalping had a religious as well as a social basis, the former being the necessity the people felt themselves under—in this respect like the ancient Greeks—of placating the souls of the dead. There is every reason to think that ancient Creek belief was practically the same, but this side of the institution appears to have died first, the social advancement to be won through scalps being a more persistent motive.

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and headpieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off; and also very good shields."[59] Farther on the Indians who came across the Mississippi to oppose the Spaniards "had shields made of canes joined, so strong and so closely interwoven with such thread that a crossbow could hardly pierce them."[60] The existence of armor and shields among the southern Indians is therefore proved, although they were given up soon after white contact because the introduction of guns rendered them useless. 411

In their fights with the Spaniards the Indians usually went naked, and they had carried the science of warfare with the bow and arrow to a high level, as the Spaniards freely testify. Elvas says: "The Indians are exceedingly ready with their weapons, and so warlike and nimble, that they have no fear of footmen; for if these charge them they flee, and when they turn their backs they are presently upon them. They avoid nothing more easily than the flight of an arrow. They never remain quiet, but are continually running, traversing from place to place, so that neither crossbow nor arquebuse can be aimed at them. Before a Christian can make a single shot with either, an Indian will discharge three or four arrows; and he seldom misses of his object. Where the arrow meets with no armour, it pierces as deeply as the shaft from a crossbow."[61] He adds that the arrows with heads generally broke on a target, but those made of sharpened cane would go through, and they would split against armor but penetrate it.[62] Cabeza de Vaca, in speaking of an encounter between the people of Narvaez and the Apalachee, says: "There were men that day who swore they had seen two oak trees, each as thick as the calf of a leg, shot through and through by arrows, which is not surprising if we consider the force and dexterity with which they shoot. I myself saw an arrow that had penetrated the base of a poplar tree for half a foot in length."[63] Says Ranjel, in describing the battle of Mabila: "The arrow shots were tremendous, and sent with such a will and force that the lance of one gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, made of two pieces of ash and very good, was pierced by an arrow in the middle, as by an augur, without being split, and the arrow made a cross with the lance."[64] By means of arrows on which flaming tree moss had been tied houses and other constructions were set on fire by the Florida Indians as described and illustrated by Le Moyne. The Chickasaw used another device to fire their town when it was occupied by the Spaniards, the same resorted to by Gideon. They brought fire past the sentinels in little pots, two to four getting by at a time.[65] 726 411

[59] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. ii, p. 101.
[60] Ibid., p. 138.
[61] Ibid., vol. i, pp. 25-26.
[62] Jour. of Alvar. Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Bandelier Narr., p. 31.
[63] Bourne, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 127.
[64] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

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sippi tribes by those on the eastern side. When Bartram was on the Suwanee River, Fla., he learned that the Indians of that region went trading and hunting in their cypress canoes all along the coast as far as the southern end of Florida and even to Havana. He himself encountered a party which had just returned from the latter place. He states that they carried thither in trade "deer skins, furs, dry fish, bees-wax, honey, bear's oil, and some other articles."[1] Elsewhere he notes that the same articles, minus the dry fish, were traded to the American settlers and several Indians had become very well to do in consequence of this industry.[2] The following from Swan shows how and where they obtained their firearms at the end of the eighteenth century.

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"The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The chief has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

"If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting: a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or $50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country."[3]

That some of the Indians of this tribe readily took to trading is reiterated by Romans, who says: "There are few towns in this nation where there is not some savage residing, who either trades of his own flock, or is employed as a factor."[4]

438

Counting

The Muskhogean systems of numeration are all decimal. In Adair's time the Chickasaw figured out mercantile transactions on the ground, a system which they called yakâ-ne Tlápha,[5] or "scoring on the ground."[6] They made single marks for each unit and a cross for 10. Adair believed that this latter mark was borrowed from the whites, but I have seen computations by the northwest coast peoples in which straight marks are used for units and a cross inserted to mark off every 20 units, the system of notation being vigesimal with them. The cross in the south may have been used for the same purpose in marking off tens. It is to be added that Adair's statements are confirmed by Eakins.[7] Eakins also says that they used

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[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 225.
[2] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 39.
[3] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 261.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 92-94.
[5] Yakni lapa, "ground spread out."
[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 77.
[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

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Property

421 So many old Creek customs, usages, and laws have become lost or obscured that it is difficult to reconstruct the primitive system with any certainty from what is remembered at the present day. With regard to property it is to be noted that two strong influences constantly operated to dilute the sense of individual ownership. These influences were the powerful kinship system and the abundance and accessibility of all of those things—or the raw materials of those things—necessary in aboriginal life. The value which we attach to things is dependent to a very considerable extent on the ease with which we can replace them.

[574] As was usual among primitive people, strangers were provided with food and a place to sleep gratis. This might be in the community hot house, or, after the clan of the visitor had been revealed, in the home of some man married into that clan. Regarding chattels we could wish the information from these Indians were more specific. Adair "observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them" but he immediately begins to speak of their hospitality in the matter of food and shelter which is quite a different matter.[2] Bartram says:

"Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.

426 "If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary
431 that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time . . ." [3]

If Bartram could have examined actual conditions more intimately he would probably have found that this exchange took place

[1] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
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almost entirely between members of the same clan or members of linked clans or else between individuals connected by marriage. It is not to be supposed that we have here a case of real communism in chattels. Part of it was nothing more than borrowing, and another part a borrowing of a different kind in which equivalent values were exchanged instead of identical objects. From my own experience with Indians I think it is safe to assume that every family was pretty acutely conscious of its credit or debit as regards every other family, and that a persistent "sponge" was looked down upon and avoided. That there were such "sponges" we know from Stiggins, who says: 426 431

"If it (hospitality) is beneficial in keeping the traveler and stranger from hunger and starvation, it keeps a great many of their town people of men and women sauntering from door to door in loafing idleness; if no one will cloathe them, they are perfectly satisfied for every house will feed them."[4] 736 574

Adair gives an amusing account of the skill with which one Indian parried the appeal of another for a certain service.[5] The sense of individual ownership was by no means wanting; only for the reasons above given it did not always appear so keenly developed as with us. Social usage had sanctioned a method of exchange comparatively unknown to Europeans and had given a definite "set" to the instinct of private ownership, not abolished it. Indeed, elsewhere Bartram himself says: 421

"All that a man earns by his labor or industry belongs to himself; he has the use and disposal of it according to the custom and usages of the people. He may clear, settle, and plant as much land as he pleases, and wherever he will within the boundaries of his tribe."[6]

Debts, which probably had nothing to do with this social exchange, were also recognized. Adair remarks that "when they are able, without greater damage to themselves, than benefit to their creditor, they discharge their honest debts." And he adds that when differences arose over such matters they were settled by "the head Archimagus, and his old beloved men," and that a creditor could seize property of the debtor to the amount due him.[7] Both Creeks and Seminole formerly had a high reputation among the white people for punctuality in the payment of their debts.[8] In this particular civilization has not worked for their betterment. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century Eakins says of them: "Obligations, in regard to debt, are considered binding. Time does not diminish these obligations among the Creeks. The Indian does not consider ill-luck in hunting, as exonerating him from paying his debts."[9] 426

[4] Stiggins, MS.
[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. [illegible].
[6] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. iii, p. 37.
[7] Adair, op. cit., p. [illegible].
[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. [illegible].
[9] Ibid., p. [illegible].

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"The descent of property is fixed. It is willed as the parents please. But if no will has been made, the property reverts to the children. But in case of a marriage with a widow, with children, her property reverts to her children by her first husband. The eldest son is entitled only to an equal portion with the rest. A written will is binding. A verbal will, established by two responsible persons, is valid also. If there has been no other disposition made of the medal, it goes to the eldest son. In former times, all relics were taken possession of by the deceased sister's eldest son. But now they are the subject of legacy as other property."[16]

This statement dates, of course, from a comparatively late period in the history of the Creek Indians, about the year 1850. The same authority states just above that anciently all property descended in the female line—indeed, he implies as much in the quotation just given—and there is every reason to believe that this is correct. It is confirmed by Gregg.[17]

As to the lands of the confederacy outside of these town areas we may probably rely upon the following statement, also by Bartram: 423 642

"Every individual inhabitant has an equal right to the soil and to hunt and range over this region, except within the jurisdiction of each town or village, which I believe seldom extends beyond its habitations and planting grounds. Perhaps the *Uches* are to be excepted. They claim an exclusive property, by right of a contract; but though they sometimes put the Creeks in mind of this privilege, when their hunters make too free with their hunting grounds, yet the dispute seldom goes further, as the Confederacy are cautious of offending the Uches, and yield to their common interest and safety."[18]

[14a] See p. 466.
[15] Bartram, Travels, p. 514.
[16] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 282.
[17] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 217.
[18] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 22.

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619 town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little
631 Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was
642 referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the
648 state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that
177 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

•423 A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the
642 volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by
648 Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in consequence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand,
539 the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. ii, p. 575. [56] Ibid., p. 728.

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423 missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same way, but not to sell the land."[57]

642 It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship
648 of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of
539 Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

649 But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native
631 traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe
642 Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

642 Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the
646 confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 582.

[58] French Ms. of 1735.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlocotcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Eukatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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423 621 The yard immediately about each house or group of houses of course went with it; the square ground, chunky yard, and hot house were the property of the community. Gardens, as Bartram has stated, could be cleared by anyone anywhere within the limits of the town land.[10] And Eakins expresses their attitude toward the private ownership of land by the quotation, "It is for me, for thee, and for all." He adds, however, that improvements were sometimes sold.[11] This applied to the Creeks in their western home about the middle of the nineteenth century.

361 423 Regarding the town lands Stiggins says:

"The inhabited parts of the nation are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga*." [12] The [224] inhabitants of each town claimed an exclusive right to hunt in the territory immediately about it, and according to Stiggins men of one town approached another "with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated." [13] At times an agreement was entered into by the members of a town to refrain from hunting [784] in a certain territory for a definite period. A kind of taboo similar to the device common among the Polynesians was laid upon it and it was called "ikána tcaka," "the sacred or consecrated land." At the expiration of the time fixed upon the people entered this tract and hunted there together. Bears were the chief animals which they expected to find.

241 The management of the large town fields is instructive. Bartram says of them:

"Every town or community assigns a piece of land as near as may be to the town, for the sake of convenience. This is called the *town plantation*, where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or the largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set up, or any other natural or artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one enclosure or general boundary." [14]

These fields were planted and cultivated by the town working together, all attending to the several plots in turn. They harvested at the same time, but then each family harvested from its own plot. A part of the produce of each lot was placed in a public granary under the charge of the chief.

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[10] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.
[11] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.
[12] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.
[13] Ibid., p. 19.
[14] Bartram, op. cit., p. 39.

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423 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their
642 ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

[727] Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to
land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on
423 original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19]
621 It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

177 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from
648 Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

674 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey
732 the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 240; cf. also p. 269.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

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[4] Stiggins, Ms.
[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 394-395.
[6] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.
[7] Adair, op. cit., p. 429.
[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 272.
[9] Ibid., p. 282.

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From what Adair tells us[14a] it would seem that the stones used in playing the chunkey game were town property. 422

The house, and probably the necessary household furniture, belonged to the wife, the tools made and used by the husband to him, and thus they were vested in different clan groups and some of them probably went to entirely different persons at the death of the owners. In early times such a large part of a man's personal property was buried with his corpse that not much was left for heirs to quarrel over. Bartram says that the first selection from whatever was left was made by the head wife of the deceased, the remainder being divided between his other wives and his children.[15] This may have been true in certain special cases but there is reason to doubt that it represented a custom common in earlier times. Says Eakins: [592] 428

"The descent of property is fixed. It is willed as the parents please. But if no will has been made, the property reverts to the children. But in case of a marriage with a widow, with children, her property reverts to her children by her first husband. The eldest son is entitled only to an equal portion with the rest. A written will is binding. A verbal will, established by two responsible persons, is valid also. If there has been no other disposition made of the medal, it goes to the eldest son. In former times, all relics were taken possession of by the deceased sister's eldest son. But now they are the subject of legacy as other property."[16]

This statement dates, of course, from a comparatively late period in the history of the Creek Indians, about the year 1850. The same authority states just above that anciently all property descended in the female line—indeed, he implies as much in the quotation just given—and there is every reason to believe that this is correct. It is confirmed by Gregg.[17]

As to the lands of the confederacy outside of these town areas we may probably rely upon the following statement, also by Bartram: 423 642

"Every individual inhabitant has an equal right to the soil and to hunt and range over this region, except within the jurisdiction of each town or village, which I believe seldom extends beyond its habitations and planting grounds. Perhaps the *Uches* are to be excepted. They claim an exclusive property, by right of a contract; but though they sometimes put the Creeks in mind of this privilege, when their hunters make too free with their hunting grounds, yet the dispute seldom goes further, as the Confederacy are cautious of offending the Uches, and yield to their common interest and safety."[18]

14a See p. 466.
15 Bartram, Travels, p. 514.
16 Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 282.
17 Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 317.
18 Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 22.

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"To perpetuate the memory of any remarkable warriors killed in the woods, I must here observe, that every Indian traveller as he passes that way throws a stone on the place, according as he likes or dislikes the occasion, or manner of the death of the deceased.

"In the woods we often see innumerable heaps of small stones in those places, where according to tradition some of their distinguished people were either killed, or buried, till the bones could be gathered; there they add Pelion to Ossa, still increasing each heap, as a lasting monument, and honor to them, and an incentive to great actions. . . .

"The Indians place those heaps of stones where there are no dividings of the roads, nor the least trace of any road. And they then observe no kind of religious ceremony, but raise those heaps merely to do honor to their dead, and incite the living to the pursuit of virtue. . . .

"To prevent pollution, when the sick person is past hope of recovery, they dig a grave, prepare the tomb, anoint his hair, and paint his face; and when his breath ceases, they hasten the remaining funeral preparations, and soon bury the corpse. One of a different family will never, or very rarely, pollute himself for a stranger; though when living, he would cheerfully hazard his life for his safety; the relations, who become unclean by performing the funeral duties, must live apart from the clean for several days, and be cleansed by some of their religious order, who chiefly apply the button-snakeroot for their purification, as formerly described: when they purify themselves by ablution. After three days, the funeral assistants may convene at the town-house, and follow their usual diversions. But the relations live recluse for a long time, mourning the dead. . . .

"The modern Indians bury all their movable riches, according to the custom of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, insomuch, that the grave is heir of all. . . .

"Notwithstanding . . . they never give them the least disturbance; even a blood-thirsty enemy will not despoil nor disturb the dead. The grave proves an asylum, and a sure place of rest to the sleeping person, till at some certain time, according to their opinion, he rises again to inherit his favorite place,—unless the covetous, or curious hand of some foreigner, should break through his sacred bounds."[30]

Adair cites an instance of reform, however, in the case of Malahche, chief of Coweta, and a long-standing friend of the whites, who left all of his property to his relations instead of allowing it to be buried with his corpse.[31] [428]

In another place Adair says that—"When any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at

[30] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 178-181.

[31] Ibid., p. 178.

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642 mon; it is prohibited by the written laws. An attempt was made in
671 1840 to abolish a custom giving to the relations of a husband on his death the power of keeping the widow secluded and forbidding her second marriage for a period of four years. They attempted to restrict the period to 12 months, but the people would not listen to it and the council yielded to the public voice and repealed the law in 1841." [1]

PROPERTY

421 So many old Creek customs, usages, and laws have become lost or obscured that it is difficult to reconstruct the primitive system with any certainty from what is remembered at the present day. With regard to property it is to be noted that two strong influences constantly operated to dilute the sense of individual ownership. These influences were the powerful kinship system and the abundance and accessibility of all of those things—or the raw materials of those things—necessary in aboriginal life. The value which we attach to things is dependent to a very considerable extent on the ease with which we can replace them.

[574] As was usual among primitive people, strangers were provided with food and a place to sleep gratis. This might be in the community hot house, or, after the clan of the visitor had been revealed, in the home of some man married into that clan. Regarding chattels we could wish the information from these Indians were more specific. Adair "observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them" but he immediately begins to speak of their hospitality in the matter of food and shelter which is quite a different matter.[2] Bartram says:

"Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.

426 "If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded
431 only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time . . ." [3]

If Bartram could have examined actual conditions more intimately he would probably have found that this exchange took place

[1] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [3] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 41.
[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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almost entirely between members of the same clan or members of linked clans or else between individuals connected by marriage. It is not to be supposed that we have here a case of real communism in chattels. Part of it was nothing more than borrowing, and another part a borrowing of a different kind in which equivalent values were exchanged instead of identical objects. From my own experience with Indians I think it is safe to assume that every family was pretty acutely conscious of its credit or debit as regards every other family, and that a persistent "sponge" was looked down upon and avoided. That there were such "sponges" we know from Stiggins, who says: 426 431

"If it (hospitality) is beneficial in keeping the traveler and stranger from hunger and starvation, it keeps a great many of their town people of men and women sauntering from door to door in loafing idleness; if no one will cloathe them, they are perfectly satisfied for every house will feed them."[4] 736 574

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[4] Stiggins, Ms.
[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 304-305.
[6] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 37.
[7] Adair, op. cit., p. 428.
[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 278.
[9] Ibid., p. 282.

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212 These facts all tend to show that the Creeks anciently had made some endeavors to record their history and serve to strengthen our respect for certain of the features of their migration legends. It will also prevent us from dismissing as an altogether idle tale De la Vente's assertion that the Natchez had preserved a record of 45 or 50 of their Great Suns.[15] At the best the attempts were, of course, crude, but in Peru the device of the quipu seems to have preserved a great amount of extremely valuable history extending to a remote antiquity.

436 Before white contact value was measured by means of shell money, but we have not from the southern Indians as full an account of this as from the northern Indians. The following from Adair contains nearly all that we know about it:

"Before we supplied them with our European beads, they had great quantities of wampum; (the Buccinum of the ancients) made out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking. With these they bought and sold at a stated current rate, without the least variation for circumstances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loss or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reasons ever so strong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-skins was the price of a large conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's forefinger; which they fixed to the crown of their head, as an high ornament—so greatly they valued them."[16]

Games

526 As with so many other American tribes, the two-goal ball game, resembling in many respects that known as lacrosse, was the leading game among southern Indians. I will begin an account of it by prefixing Adair's description as he witnessed it among the Chickasaw, though the Creek game as it has come down to us differed in several important particulars. He says:

[525] "The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game; and is such severe exercise, as to shew it was originally calculated for a hardy and expert race of people, like themselves, and the ancient Spartans. The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews. The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thongs. Between these, they catch the ball, and throw it a great distance, when not prevented by some of the opposite party, who fly to intercept them. The goal is about

[15] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess., vol. i, p. 37.

[16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 170. Cf. also Lawson, Hist. Car., pp. 315-317. The use of the term "wampum" here is erroneous; wampum was of a wholly different type.

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sippi tribes by those on the eastern side. When Bartram was on the Suwanee River, Fla., he learned that the Indians of that region went trading and hunting in their cypress canoes all along the coast as far as the southern end of Florida and even to Havana. He himself encountered a party which had just returned from the latter place. He states that they carried thither in trade "deer skins, furs, dry fish, bees-wax, honey, bear's oil, and some other articles."[1] Elsewhere he notes that the same articles, minus the dry fish, were traded to the American settlers and several Indians had become very well to do in consequence of this industry.[2] The following from Swan shows how and where they obtained their firearms at the end of the eighteenth century.

"The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The chief has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

"If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting: a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or $50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country."[3]

That some of the Indians of this tribe readily took to trading is reiterated by Romans, who says: "There are few towns in this nation where there is not some savage residing, who either trades of his own flock, or is employed as a factor."[4]

Counting

The Muskhogean systems of numeration are all decimal. In Adair's time the Chickasaw figured out mercantile transactions on the ground, a system which they called yakâ-ne Tlápha,[5] or "scoring on the ground."[6] They made single marks for each unit and a cross for 10. Adair believed that this latter mark was borrowed from the whites, but I have seen computations by the northwest coast peoples in which straight marks are used for units and a cross inserted to mark off every 20 units, the system of notation being vigesimal with them. The cross in the south may have been used for the same purpose in marking off tens. It is to be added that Adair's statements are confirmed by Eakins.[7] Eakins also says that they used

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 225.
[2] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 39.
[3] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 262.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 93-94.
[5] Yakni lapa, "ground spread out."
[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 77.
[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

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571 I have been told that a Creek woman would never cut off a piece of tobacco for a man but would always bite it off, while she would cut off a piece for herself and never bite it. The cutting off of tobacco
572 was thought to imply the severance of friendship. I have been unable to confirm this. Friendships of the kind common among Indian tribes generally outside of all blood or other natural affiliations were frequently struck up and were cemented by mutual scratching. Swan says:

"Scratching is also practised among young warriors, as a ceremony or token of friendship. When they have exchanged promises of inviolable attachment, they proceed to scratch each other before they part. This is more frequently done in drunken frolics than any other time. After a rum-drinking, numbers of them appear covered with blood, and lacerated from their shoulders down to their heels. Such marks of friendship are indelible, and effectually remind them of their friendly promise so long as they live." [97]

571 The southern tribes had the usual Indian dread of ridicule and the usual willingness to indulge in it at anyone's expense, even at times when pity and sympathy would appear more in order. Says Adair: "If the Indians saw their grandmother break her neck by a fall from a horse, or any other accident, they would whoop and halloo." [98]

Yet ridicule was seldom carried far. Stiggins says:

"To my knowledge they are not a people to utter a remark or word to hurt the feelings of any one, without they would be in a state of intoxication, for should they press a joke even on a friend or acquaintance so far as to be disagreeable and likely to ruffle his temper they will immediately surcease, apologize, and withhold, and it rarely happens to hear one of them at any time reflect on the conduct or reputation of another. If there should be a man of general bad
[626] repute [the matter] will be taken up and related by one of their miccos without pointing out any person in particular, but [he will] lay open the ill consequences in any person of such, and such, ill conduct. His comments would be more pointed and acrimonious should there be an instance of a person in the town so churlish of his eatables as to be inhospitable to one of their own people, [and] especially to a traveling stranger." [99]

TRADE

439 The standards of value to be presently discussed show that trade was developed even in pre-Columbian times. The inland tribes could furnish mica, copper, pipe stone, flint for arrows, and angelica roots, while the coast tribes had sea shells, dry fish, *Ilex vomitoria*, and salt. This last commodity was also obtained from the trans-Missis-

[97] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.
[98] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 186.
[99] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 16.

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[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 225.
[2] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 30.
[3] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 263.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 92-94.
[5] Yakni lapa, "ground spread out."
[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 77.
[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

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as it appeared in 1912. This was largely because it was thought that to sleep much with women enervated a man and incapacitated him as a warrior.[30] Adair says that in their town houses the women were separated from the warriors, and were merely allowed to sit at each side of the entrance "as if they were only casual spectators,"[31] and anciently they had no seats on the square ground. Among the Chickasaw six old beloved women were the only participants in the annual ceremony.[32]

Regarding the labors of women the last mentioned writer declares: "The women are the chief, if not the only, manufacturers; the men judge that if they performed that office, it would exceedingly depreciate them." [33] In fact women anciently, in addition to the indoors work of the house, made all of the pottery and basketry, and did all of the spinning and weaving of bison hair, mulberry bark, etc. The initial preparation of skins was sometimes performed by men, but most of the subsequent work upon it fell to the women. They made drying frames and dried peaches and other fruits upon them, and they of course pounded the corn and did the cooking.

The principal occupations of the men were hunting, ball playing, war, and rites connected with the use of medicine and ceremonial affairs. They built the houses, the corncribs, and the structures belonging to the square ground, felled trees, made canoes and mortars, drums, pipes, calumets, ball sticks, and of course in olden times the axes and the arrows, bows, war clubs, and most of the other articles used in hunting and war. When hunting at a distance from home they cut up the meat, loaded it on horses, and brought it back. It is evident that their labors amounted to considerable in the aggregate, although they were not so evenly sustained throughout the year as those of women. The smaller garden plots were cared for almost exclusively by women, but the town fields were tended by individuals of both sexes, and Bartram says that "there are not one-third as many females as males seen at work in their plantations; for, at this season of the year, by a law of the people, they do not hunt, the game not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in, so the males have little else with which to employ themselves." [34] Later on in the season the same writer tells us that the labor falling upon women was harder.

"In the hunting season, that is in autumn and winter, the men are generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls on the women, who are than obliged to undergo a good deal of labor, such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they toat on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the ancient large towns, where the commons and old fields extend some

[30] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[31] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 122.
[32] Ibid., pp. 96-97.
[33] Ibid., p. 423.
[34] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 31.

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462 miles to the woodland. But this labor is in part alleviated by the assistance of the old men, who are past their hunting days and no longer participate in the wars; who remain in the towns. They have likewise the aid of horses in this work. The women also gather an incredible amount of nuts and acorns, which they manufacture into oil for annual consumption." [35]

562 Altogether Bartram's judgment regarding the position of women among the Creeks was very favorable.

"You may depend upon my assertion that there is no people any where who love their women more than these Indians do, or men of better understanding in distinguishing the merits of the opposite sex, or more faithful in rendering suitable compensation. They are courteous and polite to the women, and gentle, tender and fondling, even to an appearance of effeminacy, to their offspring. An Indian never attempts, nay, he can not use towards a woman amongst them any indelicacy or indecency, either in action or language.

"I never saw or heard of an instance of an Indian beating his wife or other female, or reproving them in anger or in harsh language. And the women make a suitable and grateful return; for they are discreet, modest, loving, faithful, and affectionate to their husbands." [36]

462 On the other hand we find Pope saying:

"The cultivation of the soil and almost every domestic drudgery are imposed upon their women, who are less prolific than ours; probably owing to their hard labor and excessively coarse and scanty diet." [37]

Romans says: "The labour of the field is all done by the women," [38] and in another place he thus enlarges upon their work in general. The "principal exercises [of the men] at home are ball playing in the manner afore related, and the just mentioned dances; the women are employed, besides the cultivation of the earth, in dressing the victuals, preparing, scraping, braining, rubbing and smoaking the Roe skins, making macksens of them, spinning buffaloe wool, making salt, preparing cassine drink, drying the *chamærops* and *passiflora*, making cold flour for travelling, gathering nuts and making their milk; likewise in making baskets, brooms, pots, bowls and other earthen and wooden vessels." [39]

562 Hawkins says tersely that the Creek men made slaves of their women who in turn exercised "absolute rule, such as it was, over their children." [40]

However, Swan is as usual the leading devil's advocate against the Creeks. He remarks:

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[35] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 31-32.
[36] Ibid., p. 31.
[37] Pope, Tour, p. 60.
[38] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 93.
[39] Ibid., p. 96.
[40] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 88.

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"The women perform all the labor, both in the house and field, and are, in fact, but slaves to the men, being subject to their commands without any will of their own, except in the management of the children. They are universally called wenches; and the only distinction between them and the negro women is, that they have Indian children; and when a man would have you understand that he is speaking of his wife, he designates her as his son's mother, etc. Yet in this unhappy, servile state, the women are remarkable for their care and attention to the men, constantly watching over them in their desperate drunkenness and quarrels, with their utmost solicitude and anxiety. . . ."[a] 562

"A stranger going into the country must feel distressed, when he sees naked women bringing in huge burdens of wood on their backs, or bent under the scorching sun, at hard labor in the field; while the indolent, robust young men are riding about, or stretched at ease on some scaffold, amusing themselves with a pipe, or a whistle."[a] 181 462

In another place we read:

"The men, in general, are of a good size, stout, athletic and handsome: the women are of good height, but coarse, thick-necked and ugly. Being condemned, by the custom of the country, to carry burdens, pound corn, and perform all the hard labor, they are universally masculine in appearance, without one soft blandishment to render them desirable or lovely. Both sexes have a phlegmatic coldness and indifference, uncommon and unknown to most white people."[a]

This last statement Swan confirms by citing the apparent indifference exhibited by a husband and wife when they met after a long separation.

I may add that in 1911–12 I was several times told that Creek Indians would let their wives walk home from town carrying heavy loads, while they hung about for some time and finally hired a liveryman to take them, perhaps passing their wives on the way.

Nevertheless, the condemnation of the Indians by Pope, Swan, and others is as unintelligent as the praises bestowed by Bartram. A people or a person can be judged properly only by observing the conformity or lack of conformity which their actions bear to the ethical and social standards among them, not by the measure of ethical or social standards among other people. And secondly, the presence or absence and in general the intensity of emotions can not be assumed because their expression is less or different from that to which the critic is himself accustomed. I have already called attention to Swan's misconception regarding marriage relations owing to the difference between the significance of Indian and white terms 181 562

[a] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272. [a] Ibid., p. 273. [a] Ibid., p. 274.

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Travel and Greetings

The material I have collected under this head may well be introduced by the following from Adair, which pictures the primitive customs in that regard very satisfactorily: 484 574

"When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they enquire for a house of their own tribe [i. e., clan]; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never saw the persons before—they eat, drink, and regale themselves, with as much freedom, as at their own tables; which is the solid ground covered with a bear-skin. It is their usual custom to carry nothing along with them in their journies but a looking-glass, and red paint, hung to their back—their gun and shot pouch—or bow and quiver full of barbed arrows; and, frequently, both gun and bow; for as they are generally in a state of war against each other, they are obliged, as soon as able, to carry those arms of defence. Every town has a statehouse, or synedrion, as the Jewish sanhedrin, [i. e., the tcokofa] where, almost every night, the head men convene about public business; or the town's-people to feast, sing, dance, and rejoice, ... as will fully be described hereafter. And if a stranger calls there, he is treated with the greatest civility and hearty kindness—he is sure to find plenty of their simple home fare, and a large cane-bed covered with the softened skins of bears, or buffaloes, to sleep on. But, when his lineage is known to the people, (by a stated custom, they are slow in greeting one another) his relation, if he has any there, addresses him in a familiar way, invites him home, and treats him as his kinsman." [85]

Bartram has the following to say about the hospitality of these people and it is confirmed in the main by Adair who remarks like all early writers that hospitality was considered a cardinal virtue among them and its absence a serious blemish.[86] 574

"A man goes forth on his business or avocations; he calls in at another town; if he wants victuals, rest or social conversation, he confidently approaches the door of the first house he chooses, saying 'I am come'; [and] the good man or woman replies, 'You are; it's well.' Immediately victuals and drink are ready; he eats and drinks a little, then smokes tobacco, and converses either of private matters, public talks, or the news of the town. He rises and says, 'I go!' the other answers, 'You do!' He then proceeds again, and steps in at the next habitation he likes, or repairs to the public square, where are people always conversing by day, or dancing by night, or to some more private assembly, as he likes." [87]

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[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 17-18. [86] Ibid., p. 17. [87] Bartram, Travels, pp. [illegible].

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ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.[40]

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

[40] Evidently the fed.

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764 involves one real aboriginal explanation of the custom. His account of the treatment accorded the body of a suicide I have seen nowhere else.

The Alabama now living in Texas give the following account of their old burial customs:

Nowadays several persons dig a grave, but in former times a single old man performed the office. While he was at work upon it he ate by himself, for it was thought that anyone who ate with him would fall sick. He did not smoke, and, no matter how hot the sun was, he drank no water. Anciently the body was bundled tightly together, wrapped about, and placed upon a board which was then sunk into the earth, head to the east, so that when his spirit got up it would be in the right position to start on the spirit trail westward.[66] A framework of poles was afterwards put all about the grave. Afterwards the gravedigger washed his clothes, took some of the button-snake root, and vomited. Then he could eat, and the relatives of the deceased gave him a horse in payment. Those who attended to burials in later times must duck all over in the creek four times no matter how cold the weather. My informant had done this when ice was on the water and the snow flying, and he almost fainted from the cold. Blankets were put under the head of the corpse as a pillow and a butcher knife in his hand with which to fight off an eagle supposed to infest the trail of the dead. For four days the wife or husband and the children and near relatives visited the grave every morning before breakfast and every evening before supper, and at their evening visits they lighted a fire at the head. After each of these visits they went to a stream, bathed all over, and washed their clothing before they ate. For four days they must eat no food that contained salt, and during the same period they remained quiet and made no noise. Not only the family but all of the people abstained from playing ball then, though they might do some hunting.

Although the later accounts do not mention the custom of discharging a gun the moment a death took place, it appears from Gregg that it was maintained until after the Creeks had removed west.[67]

[845] Among all of the Creek tribes a miscarriage, a stillborn child, or a very young child was laid away in a hollow tree where it was nicely ceiled in. Otherwise it was thought that there would be a drought, that a pestilence would break out, or that deaths from other causes would occur.

The Diurnal Cycle

● 512 805 Adair has the following regarding divisions of the day recognized among the Chickasaw, with which those of the Creeks were practically identical:

[66] This means that the body was laid flat on its back. The orientation must have been different from that common among the Creeks generally.

[67] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. XX, p. 316.

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"They count the day also by the three sensible differences of the sun, like the Hebrews—sunrise, they term, *Hassé kootcha meente* [hàshi kucha minti], 'the sun's coming out';—noon, or mid-day, *Tabookòre* [tabokoli]; and sun-set, *Hassé Oobea* [hàshi àbia], literally, 'the sun is dead'; likewise, *Hasse Ookka'tòra* [hàshi okatula], that is, 'the sun is fallen into the water'; the last word is compounded of *Ookka* [oka], water, and *Etòra* [itola], to fall; it signifies also 'to swim,' as instinct would direct those to do, who fell into the water. And they call dark, Ookklille [okhili]—derived from *Ookka* [oka], water and *Illeh* [illi], dead;[68] which shews their opinions of the sun's disappearance, according to the ancients, who said the sun slept every night in the western ocean. They subdivide the day, by any of the aforesaid three standards—as half way between the sun's coming out of the water; and in like manner, by midnight, or cock-crowing, etc."[69] 512 821 805

The Creeks rose early, and, as we have already described, ran to the creek or the nearest water to plunge in four times before they returned to the fire. Perhaps they owed to this regulation in a measure their skill as swimmers. 512 515

Adair says:

"Except the Choktah, all our Indians, both male and female, above the state of infancy, are in the watery element nearly equal to amphibious animals, by practice: and from the experiments necessity has forced them to, it seems as if few were endued with such strong natural abilities,—very few can equal them in their wild situation of life."[70]

He attributes the deficiencies of the Choctaw in this particular to an absence of deep rivers or creeks in their country and he was so much impressed by the failing that he mentions it four times and gives it as the principal cause of the greater part of the losses they had suffered in their wars with the Muskogee.[71] How much truth there may have been in this we do not know. Whatever there was could probably have been traced to something in their environment or their customs.

While in later times, at least, the ancient Creeks did not have meals at regular hours as with us, they had two meals at irregular hours, one between 7 and 10 in the morning, the other around 2 in the afternoon. There was always a pot of sofki ready into which anyone could dip whenever the spirit moved him, and Swan says they resorted to it about once an hour.[72] This was their only supper. Labor was performed early by both men and women, and ordinarily it was laid aside about 2 o'clock, after which a ball game might be indulged in, and in the evening a dance until late at night. 512 264

[68] The etymology is probably altogether wrong.
[69] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76.
[70] Ibid., p. 406.
[71] Ibid., pp. 283, 291-292, 304, 404.
[72] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.

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512 The following cross-section of a Seminole Indian village "in action" is given by Bartram, and is interesting in this connection:

"As I continued coasting the Indian shore [i. e., the west shore of the St. Johns River] . . . on doubling a promontory, I suddenly saw before me an Indian settlement, or village. It was a fine situation, the bank rising gradually from the water. There were eight or ten habitations, in a row or street, fronting the water, and about fifty yards distant from it. Some of the youth were naked, up to their hips in the water, fishing with rods and lines; whilst others, younger, were diverting themselves in shooting frogs with bows and arrows. On my near approach, the little children took to their heels, and ran to some women who were hoeing corn; but the stouter youth stood their ground, and, smiling, called to me. As I passed along, I observed some elderly people reclined on skins spread on the ground, under the cool shade of spreading Oaks and Palms, that were ranged in front of their houses; they arose, and eyed me as I passed, but perceiving that I kept on without stopping, they resumed their former position." [73]

The Annual Cycle

805 821 Adair says that the Indians divided the year into four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, and numbered the years by any one of them. He gives the names of these periods in the Cherokee and Chickasaw languages. The last are Otoolpha, Tóme palle, Ashtòramóona, and Ashtòra.[74] He derives Otoolpha from "oolpha, the name of a bud or to shoot out," but I am unable to identify the word in Choctaw unless it is *àlbą*, "vegetation, herbs, plants, weeds," and it may be a Chickasaw term. Tóme palle signifies "bright and warm" or "warm brightness." Palle, or pàlli, is a Chickasaw word and it would seem from Byington's dictionary [75] that it was later used by itself to signify "summer." The next name would be in Choctaw *hàshtula himona* or *hàshtulàmmona*, "the beginning of winter," and the last *hàshtula*. *Hàshtula* means "winter" in Choctaw as well as Chickasaw, but autumn is *hàshtulahpi*, "beginning of winter," the significance being about the same. The Choctaw, however, use *tofa* for summer and *tofahpi* for spring.

In Creek, while the distinction of four seasons was probably made, at least at times, out of regard for the sacred number four, summer and winter were, as Swan tells us, principally used in counting the years, and the months were divided into two series which were supposed to correspond to those two seasons but in fact cut both summer and winter about in half.[76] The existence of the two series

[73] Bartram, Travels, pp. 90-91.
[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 74.
[75] Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[76] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 276-277.

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In the Yuchi calendar recorded by Doctor Speck five months agree with those in Swan's list, with but slight variation, both in name and in the period of the year to which they were applied. It seems rather curious that these all belonged to the summer series.[34] 805 821

Adair says of the Indians of his acquaintance: "They pay great regard to the first appearance of every new moon, and, on the occasion, always repeat some joyful sounds, and stretch out their hands toward her—but at such times they offer no public sacrifice."[35] And in another place he remarks that they "annually observed their festivals . . . at a prefixed time of a certain moon."[36]

House building was a social affair and was distributed between the spring and fall. Adair gives a very lively account of the operation. 221 342

"While the memory of the bleak pinching winds lasts, and they are covered with their winter-blackened skins, they turn out early in the spring, to strip clap-boards and cypress-bark, for the covering of their houses: but in proportion as the sun advances, they usually desist from their undertaking during that favourable season; saying, 'that in the time of warm weather, they generally plant in the fields, or go to war; and that building houses in the troublesome hot summer, is a needless and foolish affair, as it occasions much sweating,'—which is the most offensive thing in life to every red warrior of manly principles. On this account, if we except the women chopping firewood for daily use, it is as rare to hear the sound of an ax in their countries, as if they lived under the inhospitable torrid zone; or were nearly related to the South-American animal Pigritia, that makes two or three days journey in going up a tree, and is as long in returning. When the cold weather approaches, they return to their work, and necessity forces them then to perform what a timely precaution might have executed with much more ease. When they build, the whole town, and frequently the nearest of their tribe in neighboring towns, assist one another, well knowing that many hands make speedy work of that, which would have discouraged any of them from ever attempting by himself. In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finish, a good commodious house.[37]

"They first trace the dimensions of the intended fabric and every one has his task prescribed him after the exactest manner."[38]

There was, of course, nothing like a week among them in olden times, though Bartram assures us that the Creeks at one of the towns through which he passed remained quietly in their houses on Sunday out of respect to the white people.[39] The Alabama have the following 512 805

[34] Speck, in Anthr. Publs. Univ. Mus., Univ. Pa., vol. i, p. 67.
[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76.
[36] Ibid., pp. 99-100.
[37] But see p. 372.
[38] Adair, op. cit., p. 417.
[39] Bartram, Travels, p. 428.

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512 805 terms for the days of the week: ni''ta holo', "holy day," Sunday; ni''ta ho'lin ni''ta, "day after holy day," Monday; ni''ta ato'kla, "second day," Tuesday; ni''ta tutcī'na, "third day," Wednesday; ni''ta ostā'ga, "fourth day," Thursday; ātā'lapi, "fifth day," Friday; ni''ta holosī, "little holy day," Saturday. Christmas is ni''ta holo' tcoba', "big holy day," in Koasati, and Kilisme', "Christmas," in Alabama.

221 After the busk men and women alike devoted the rest of the summer largely to the cultivation and harvesting of their crops. In the fall took place the Skunk Dance. After that the hunting began, and the men were away from town much of the time, but, when there was plenty of food or the game was near town, ball contests in which hunting played a part took place, accompanied with feasting and dancing, and these lasted until very cold weather.

574 The following account of these feasts and sports was given me by one of the Texas Alabama and is typical:

Sometimes a woman would make a ball and give it to one of the men who in turn must kill a deer for her. This the women cut up and prepared for all of the people in the village and they assembled at the ball ground to eat it. Then they feasted, played ball, and frequently danced in the evening. Sometimes several balls would be made at the same time and given out by as many women. After the ball or balls were used up another woman made one for another man and the games and feasts were thus continued at the pleasure of the tribe. Sometimes, when a woman gave a ball to a man in this way, she would say she wanted bear meat. Then they would play ball for a while, after which the man would go out with three or four others and kill a bear. They gave this to the woman, who distributed the meat as before. While the men were away the women were out after kanta roots[90] and they prepared a quantity of kanta bread. Kanta was always eaten with bear meat and corn bread (and potatoes) with deer meat. When the kanta was used up the men went for bear once more and the women went to the store and bought wheat flour. These celebrations lasted for some time.

Sometimes, when a woman gave out a ball in this way, she would say she wanted squirrels and the men would kill enough of them for the village, bring them to her and let her distribute them, when the same festivities were repeated. Again she might say she wanted coffee, and the man whom she addressed would go and buy enough for the village. It was brought to the ball ground and prepared there. This giving was often repeated many times.[91]

221 Often, however, the families were separated all winter, those who were related camping together. In the old country, at least, all but

[90] The word kanta was applied to several species of smilax.

[91] See also pp. 525-527, 555-556. Charlie Thompson, my informant, and another Indian now long dead first began to have dinners after the white men's style, and now they are all of that character.

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the contrary he must go to cold running water in the morning, even though it were covered with ice, and, breaking the ice, if necessary, plunge into that. He must go in when daylight first showed itself and remain until the sun was up.[13a] This, of course, applies to the baths universally taken in the Southeast every morning and may be overdrawn in details.[14] 784 262

An individual taboo of my informant, or means of obtaining luck, was to drink from a cup held in his right hand while he faced the east. 789

The Natchez and Cherokee ate their food cold, believing it was better for their teeth. 262

Breaking wind was associated with manliness. 5140

Among the Creeks I was told that when a story-teller finished his narrative he would spit, and then another would have to contribute a story in return, and in this way the one was taken up by one after another "until the children went to bed." 538

MUSIC AND DANCING[14a]

Their musical instruments were the drum, rattle, and a kind of flute. Adair makes mention of a stringed instrument, and the mere notice of this would be important if we could prove that it was truly aboriginal. Pope speaks of the Indians in his time dancing for several hours to the music of the violin; but if so, this was a late innovation. The flute was used only by individuals and was never employed in ceremonies, as was constantly the case with the drum and rattle. The Alabama flute was made of two pieces of cedar hollowed out and fastened together with buckskin. There were six holes along the sides toward one end and on top toward the other was placed a separate piece of cedar covering two additional holes. All were bound with buckskin at frequent intervals. Flutes were sometimes made of cane. It may be said of the drum and rattle that the one was an almost invariable and the latter a very frequent accompaniment of their dances. 534

The drum was made by sawing off a cypress knee close to the ground and stretching a buckskin over the wide end (pl. 13, *a*). This buckskin was wet from time to time to make it sound properly. Anciently an earthen pot was also employed, and in later times they resorted to a keg partly filled with water and covered with buckskin or cowhide. The rattle was made of a gourd containing 30 or 40 small pebbles, with a stick about a foot long run through it as a handle. In later times a coconut was substituted for the gourd. The chief of the Mikasuki remembered to have heard of still another kind of

[13a] Or as another informant expressed it, "from the second call of the crow until sun up."

[14] See pp. 365-366.

[14a] The interested reader should consult "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," by Frank G. Speck, in Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1911.

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given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [89]

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [90] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikano' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [91]

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[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 412.
[90] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.
[91] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 24-25.

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•515 From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice: "However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin.[91]

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He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them."[92] This is somewhat at variance with the information I myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.[93]

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721 554 Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair."[94]

703 554 Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

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[91] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 120.
[92] Ibid., p. 121.
[93] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 25.
[94] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 260; cf. p. 434.

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[68] The etymology is probably altogether wrong.
[69] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 78.
[70] Ibid., p. 406.
[71] Ibid., pp. 283, 291-292, 304, 404.
[72] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day." [99]

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man
[752 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor
727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the tcokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle." [1] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[2]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
●515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
791 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[99] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 125.
[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[2] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 59.

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602 614 Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based opon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

614 825 688 A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[56a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[57]

[522] Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[58] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

614 825

[56a] See p. 112. [57] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.
[58] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

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525 number of points. The hole outside and some distance away counts 10. The marble used was made of the same kind of soapstone as were pipes. This game is referred to by Hawkins, who calls it Thla-chal-litch-cau, [Łī tcâlitcka], "roll the bullet." [28]

524 The following is a simple boys' game current among the Alabama for many years but apparently not aboriginal. One boy would make a circular mark on the ground by digging his heel into it and moving

FIG. 107.—Preparation of ground for the Creek game of Tcato tcâlitcka

his foot around on that as an axis. Then he would take another boy on his back, carry him to the place and drop him there. Then all of the other boys came together and each put a hand on his hair. Each would pretend to pull out hairs, and they would offer them to him as if they were money, telling him to buy such and such things with them. When the last had spoken all ran away and the first boy chased them, catching one after the other until he had caught all. The same thing was repeated over again and again until they got tired.

[28] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.

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212 These facts all tend to show that the Creeks anciently had made some endeavors to record their history and serve to strengthen our respect for certain of the features of their migration legends. It will also prevent us from dismissing as an altogether idle tale De la Vente's assertion that the Natchez had preserved a record of 45 or 50 of their Great Suns.[15] At the best the attempts were, of course, crude, but in Peru the device of the quipu seems to have preserved a great amount of extremely valuable history extending to a remote antiquity.

436 Before white contact value was measured by means of shell money, but we have not from the southern Indians as full an account of this as from the northern Indians. The following from Adair contains nearly all that we know about it:

"Before we supplied them with our European beads, they had great quantities of wampum; (the Buccinum of the ancients) made out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking. With these they bought and sold at a stated current rate, without the least variation for circumstances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loss or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reasons ever so strong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-skins was the price of a large conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's forefinger; which they fixed to the crown of their head, as an high ornament—so greatly they valued them." [16]

Games

526 As with so many other American tribes, the two-goal ball game, resembling in many respects that known as lacrosse, was the leading game among southern Indians. I will begin an account of it by prefixing Adair's description as he witnessed it among the Chickasaw, though the Creek game as it has come down to us differed in several important particulars. He says:

[525] "The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game; and is such severe exercise, as to shew it was originally calculated for a hardy and expert race of people, like themselves, and the ancient Spartans. The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews. The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thongs. Between these, they catch the ball, and throw it a great distance, when not prevented by some of the opposite party, who fly to intercept them. The goal is about

[15] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 18th sess., vol. i, p. 37.

[16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 170. Cf. also Lawson, Hist. Car., pp. 315-317. The use of the term "wampum" here is erroneous: wampum was of a wholly different type.

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526 ing "hasosa," "akalatka." The game lasted from about 9 until 10.30 and ended in favor of the west side by a score of 20 to 16.

Another very ancient game was called by white traders the chunkey game and gave its name to the chunk yards of Creek towns, later devoted solely to the single stick game to be described presently. The chunkey, although once extremely popular, could be played by but few persons on a side and never had the significance, so far as we know, of the game already considered. It has now passed out of use so completely as barely to be remembered, but there are several accounts of it by those French writers who tell us of the tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley,[22] and Adair has the following excellent description:

"The warriors have another favourite game, called *Chungke;* which, with propriety of language, may be called 'Running hard labour.' They have near their state house, a square piece of ground well cleaned, and fine sand is carefully strewed over it, when requisite, to promote a swifter motion to what they throw along the surface. Only one, or two on a side, play at this ancient game. They have a stone about two fingers broad at the edge, and two spans round: each party has a pole of about eight feet long, smooth, and tapering at each end, the points flat. They set off a-breast of each other at six yards from the end of the play ground; then one of them hurls the stone on its edge, in as direct a line as he can, a considerable distance toward the middle of the other end of the square: when they have ran a few yards, each darts his pole anointed with bear's oil, with a proper force, as near as he can guess in proportion to the motion of the stone, that the end may lie close to the stone—when this is the case, the person counts two of the game, and, in proportion to the nearness of the poles to the mark, one is counted, unless by measuring, both are found to be at an equal distance from the stone. In this manner, the players will keep running most part of the day, at half speed, under the violent heat of the sun, staking their silver ornaments, their nose, finger, and ear rings; their breast, arm, and wrist plates, [525] and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their middle. All the American Indians are much addicted to this game, which to us appears to be a task of stupid drudgery: it seems however to be of early origin, when their fore-fathers used diversions as simple as their manners. The hurling stones they use at present, were time immemorial rubbed smooth on the rocks, and with prodigious labour; they are kept with the strictest religious care, from one generation to another, and are exempted from being buried with the dead. They belong to the town where they are used, and are carefully preserved."[23]

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[22] See Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 90-91.

[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 401-402.

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526 sees one of her own side a little way off and tosses the ball to her. The latter catches it and, throwing it instantly, hits the pole. There is a general scream and one point is marked to the women's side. The ball is taken and thrown up as before, and again the play is all life. A man bearing the ball is pursued. He rushes along with it in his sticks with his arms extended upward, strikes his foot against an obstacle, and falls to the ground headlong, losing the ball. There is a loud laugh and a general rush after the ball. A woman is near it. The ball is rolling on. She leans forward. She thinks she can reach it by throwing herself at full length on the ground, and doing so, reaches forward to grasp it but misses it and it is seized by another. And thus the play proceeds." [24]

It is perhaps to the above game that Le Moyne refers when he says, in describing a game of the Florida Indians: "In the middle of an open space is set up a tree some eight or nine fathoms high, with a square frame woven of twigs on the top; this is to be hit with the ball, and he who strikes it first gets a prize." This description is accompanied by a picture showing such a pole,[25] but it is of doubtful reliability. This game is at least as old as the time of Adair.[25a]

In later times the Creek men and women also played against each other in a kind of game of football. Two goals were made, each of two sticks inclining to a point at a height of about 4 feet. The game was to drive the ball through these goals. It was thrown up in the middle and the men were allowed only to kick it while the women might use their hands also.

They also pitched arrows against each other. If the arrow of one player touched the feather of the other's arrow he kept it.

525 Both the Creeks of Oklahoma and the Alabama of Texas remember a game played with four pieces of cane, each half of a section made by splitting the cane lengthwise. This was primarily a women's game but men sometimes played it also. The canes were thrown into the air by each player in turn and the points determined by counting the number of canes with the convex and the concave sides up. Among the Alabama the following system of counting was in use. If all of the canes came to rest with their rounded sides up it counted 10; if all came to rest with their concave sides up it counted 5; if three came down concave side up and one convex side up it counted 3; if two were convex and two concave it counted 2; and if three were convex side up and one concave side up it counted 1.

Among the same people these canes were employed in lieu of dice in a game something like pachisi. A board was laid out as in the accompanying figure (fig. 106), sometimes not more than 10 by 15 inches in dimensions, but sometimes designed on a bearskin of a

[24] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [25] Le Moyne, Narr., p. 13 (Ill.). [25a] See p. 351.

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width of 4 feet and a length of 6 or 7 feet. At these latter as many as four men and four women would sometimes play; at the smaller ones, four or five in all. Counters were moved around from the starting point at the middle of the left side to the same point again. To pass the place marked "5" five points were needed, and four of these points, the four in the corners, had a special name, sàktciyi, "crawfish feet."

The game of "hiding the bullet," elsewhere known as the "moccasin game," was played with a bullet or buckshot and a number of hats, gloves, etc. Each player was provided with 15 strips of cane of the size of a match. Each tried his hand in turn at concealing the bullet under one of the hats or gloves. As long as the one who guessed failed to find the bullet he continued to pay out cane strips. If he guessed right before all of his canes were gone he took the ones he had lost back. If he found the bullet on one of the first three trials he made four points; if he lost on them he lost four points.

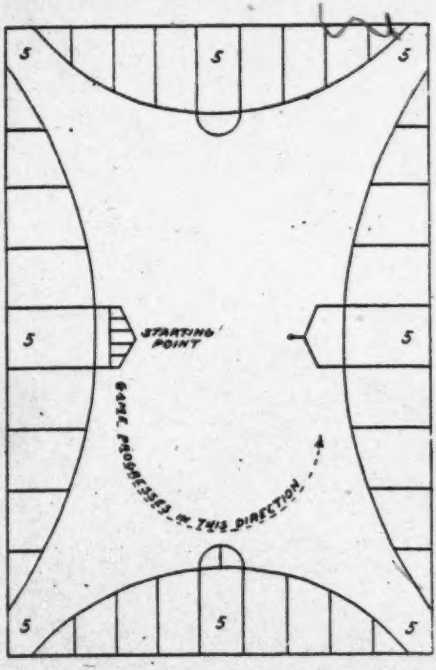

FIG. 106.—Design marked upon a bear skin in preparation for an Alabama game resembling pachisi

Jackson Lewis told of another game which they used to play by the hour at night. They took a number of grains of corn, gouged out the germinal parts and blackened them. Then they put them into a wide shallow basket known as a tiwa, tossed them up into the air, and let them fall upon the ground. The players bet as to whether there would be more black or more white sides uppermost.

Jackson Lewis also told of a game called Tcato tcàli'tcka, "rolling a stone," sometimes played between drinks at the busk. A large marble was rolled along the narrow excavated path shown in the accompanying diagram (fig. 107) in the endeavor to roll it into one of the five holes in the side of the wider excavation, each of which counts a certain

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525 number of points. The hole outside and some distance away counts 10. The marble used was made of the same kind of soapstone as were pipes. This game is referred to by Hawkins, who calls it Thla-chal-litch-cau, [Łī tcâlitcka], "roll the bullet."[38]

524 The following is a simple boys' game current among the Alabama for many years but apparently not aboriginal. One boy would make a circular mark on the ground by digging his heel into it and moving

FIG. 167.—Preparation of ground for the Creek game of Tcato tcâlitcka

his foot around on that as an axis. Then he would take another boy on his back, carry him to the place and drop him there. Then all of the other boys came together and each put a hand on his hair. Each would pretend to pull out hairs, and they would offer them to him as if they were money, telling him to buy such and such things with them. When the last had spoken all ran away and the first boy chased them, catching one after the other until he had caught all. The same thing was repeated over again and again until they got tired.

[38] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.

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from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws.

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white."

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breathholder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

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173 539 [361] were their war talkers (inhufupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tâdjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[40b]

173 539 796 "And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obânga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[40c] (its obânga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obâ'nga tcâ'pko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obânga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[40d]

173 539 796 526 "[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

[40b] See pp. 174-190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.
[40c] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 609.
[40d] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 548-614.

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time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. The distance between them in either direction was two hundred yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.[40c] 173 539 796 526

"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,[41] was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved. 173 539

"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.[42] The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

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[40c] See pp. 459–460 for a description of the ball game.

[41] "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

[42] The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee *yamasi* is the word meaning "gentle."

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One of these two
moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tági or Hola'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste. 616 [619]

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans. 616 773 539 526

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the 621 616 101

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observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear." 616

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.[55a] 621

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Łapláko the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group. 616 621 582

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties. 616 621 526

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had 616 621 526 177

[55a] See pp. 111-112.

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46 621 •526 [177] the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

614 582 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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Seminole NN16

S.
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a. A Seminole home in Oklahoma

C.
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796

b. Conjuring the medicine before a ball game

c. Ball players taking the medicine

CREEK CEREMONIALS

[facing p. 235]

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Muskogee

619 621 [526] The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

[344]

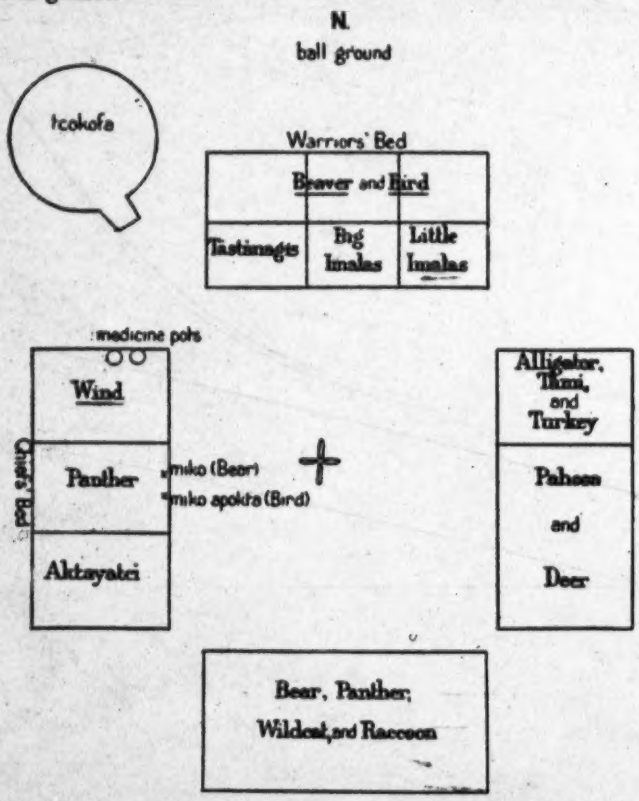

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łapłako Square Ground (I)

619 101 Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.
Apalachicola.
Hitchiti.
Sawokli.
Okmulgee.
Kawaigi.
Okitiyagana.
Yuchi.[20]
Coosa.
Otciapofa.
Tulsa Little River.
Tulsa Canadian.
Lutcapoga.
Okfuskee.
Tcatoksofka.
Abihkutci.
Nuyaka.
Abihka.
Abihka-in-the-West.
Talladega.
Kan-tcati.
Wakokai.
Wiogufki.
Tukpafka.
Wiwohka.
Pakan tallahassee.
Okchai.
Łalogalga.
Asilanabi.
Koasati (1 and 2).
Tuskegee.

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212 These facts all tend to show that the Creeks anciently had made some endeavors to record their history and serve to strengthen our respect for certain of the features of their migration legends. It will also prevent us from dismissing as an altogether idle tale De la Vente's assertion that the Natchez had preserved a record of 45 or 50 of their Great Suns.[15] At the best the attempts were, of course, crude, but in Peru the device of the quipu seems to have preserved a great amount of extremely valuable history extending to a remote antiquity.

436 Before white contact value was measured by means of shell money, but we have not from the southern Indians as full an account of this as from the northern Indians. The following from Adair contains nearly all that we know about it:

"Before we supplied them with our European beads, they had great quantities of wampum; (the Buccinum of the ancients) made out of conch-shell, by rubbing them on hard stones, and so they form them according to their liking. With these they bought and sold at a stated current rate, without the least variation for circumstances either of time or place; and now they will hear nothing patiently of loss or gain, or allow us to heighten the price of our goods, be our reasons ever so strong, or though the exigencies and changes of time may require it. Formerly, four deer-skins was the price of a large conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's forefinger; which they fixed to the crown of their head, as an high ornament—so greatly they valued them." [16]

Games

526 As with so many other American tribes, the two-goal ball game, resembling in many respects that known as lacrosse, was the leading game among southern Indians. I will begin an account of it by prefixing Adair's description as he witnessed it among the Chickasaw, though the Creek game as it has come down to us differed in several important particulars. He says:

[525] "The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game; and is such severe exercise, as to shew it was originally calculated for a hardy and expert race of people, like themselves, and the ancient Spartans. The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews. The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thongs. Between these, they catch the ball, and throw it a great distance, when not prevented by some of the opposite party, who fly to intercept them. The goal is about

[15] Compte Rendu Cong. Internat. des Amér., 18th sess., vol. i, p. 37.

[16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 170. Cf. also Lawson, Hist. Car., pp. 315-317. The use of the term "wampum" here is erroneous: wampum was of a wholly different type.

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five hundred yards in length: at each end of it, they fix two long bending poles into the ground, three yards apart below, but slanting a considerable way outwards. The party that happens to throw the ball over these, counts one; but, if it be thrown underneath, it is cast back, and played for as usual. The gamesters are equal in number on each side; and, at the beginning of every course of the ball, they throw it up high in the center of the ground, and in a direct line between the two goals. When the crowd of players prevents the one who catches the ball, from throwing it off with a long direction, he commonly sends it the right course, by an artful sharp twirl. They are so exceedingly expert in this manly exercise, that, between the goals, the ball is mostly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing sticks, without falling to the ground, for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. It is surprising to see how swiftly they fly, when closely chased by a nimble footed pursuer; when they are intercepted by one of the opposite party, his fear of being cut by the ball sticks, commonly gives them an opportunity of throwing it perhaps a hundred yards; but the antagonist sometimes runs up behind, and by a sudden stroke dashes down the ball. It is a very unusual thing to see them act spitefully n any sort of game, not even in this severe and tempting exercise.

"Once, indeed, I saw some break the legs and arms of their opponents, by hurling them down, when on a descent, and running at full speed. But I afterward understood, there was a family dispute of long continuance between them: that might have raised their spleen, as much as the high bets they had then at stake, which was almost all they were worth. The Choktah are exceedingly addicted to gaming, and frequently on the slightest and most hazardous occasions, will lay their all, and as much as their credit can procure.

"By education, precept, and custom, as well as strong example, they have learned to shew an external acquiescence in every thing that befalls them, either as to life or death. By this means, they reckon it a scandal to the character of a steady warrior to let his temper be ruffled by any accidents,—their virtue they say, should prevent it. . . . To move the deity to enable them to conquer the party they are to play against, they mortify themselves in a surprising manner; and, except a small intermission, their female relations dance out of doors all the preceding night, chanting religious notes with their shrill voices, to move *Yo He Wah* [17] to be favourable to their kindred party, on the morrow. The men fast and wake from sunset, till the ball play is over the next day, which is about one or two o'clock in the afternoon. During the whole night, they

[17] Adair is reverting again to his favorite theory that these meaningless syllables had reference to the Jehovah of the Hebrews, from which people he believed the American Indians were descended.

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526 are to forbear sleeping under the penalty of reproaches and shame; which would sit very sharp upon them, if their party chanced to lose the game, as it would be ascribed to that unmanly and vicious conduct. They turn out to the ball ground, in a long row, painted white, whooping, as if Pluto's prisoners were all broke loose: when that enthusiastic emotion is over, the leader of the company begins a religious invocation, by saying *Yah*, short; then *Yo* long, which the rest of the train repeat with a short accent, and on a low key like the leader: and thus they proceed with such acclamations and invocations, as have been already noticed, on other occasions. Each party are desirous to gain the twentieth ball, which they esteem a favourite divine gift. As it is in the time of laying by the corn, in the very heat of summer, they use this severe exercise, a stranger would wonder to see them hold it so long at full speed, and under the scorching sun, hungry also, and faint with the excessive use of such sharp physic as the button snake root, the want of natural rest, and of every kind of nourishment. But their constancy, which they gain by custom, and their love of virtue, as the sure means of success, enable them to perform all their exercises, without failing in the least, be they ever so severe in the pursuit."[18]

The Chickasaw ball stick as here described differs considerably from that of the Creeks and was probably like the one used by the Choctaw. The goal was also arranged very differently. The fullest account of a Creek game given by early writers is from Pope, in the case of an actual contest witnessed by him. It is as follows:

. . . "He [Alexander McGillivray] invited me to a Ball-Match, about 10 miles from his house, between two Townships. Sixty-two alert young Fellows were selected from each Town. The Goals were set up about a quarter of a Mile apart, near the Center of an extensive Campaign or Prairie.—They consist of two blazed Saplings fixed in the Ground about 10 Feet asunder at either End, thro' which every Time either Party throws the Ball with their Rackets, they are entitled to count one—The Number of the Game is arbitrary.—Midway between the Goals, the Ball is thrown up alternately by two old Men, who are mutually chosen by the contending Parties to decide all Controversies which may arise in the course of the Game—Upon throwing up the Ball a violent Struggle ensues between the Parties which sometimes lasts 8 or 10 Minutes, before either Side can give it a cast; and when they do, there are others of their Opponents ready to intercept and give it an adverse Direction.—On this Game Property to a very considerable Amount is generally risqued, consisting of Broaches, Bracelets, Gorgets, Medals, paints, Arms and Ammunition piled up in a pyramidal Form. Sometimes their whole Family Stock of Food and Raiment is hazzarded.—A dislocated Joint or Fractured

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 399-401.

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Bone is not uncommon: Suffer what they may, you'll never see an angry look or hear a threatening Word among them. 526

"The Players divest themselves of all their Cloaths, except their Flaps. They ingeniously disguise themselves with various coloured Paints and assume the Semblance of Rattle-Snakes entwin'd. Spiral Streaks of *red*, *white* and *blue*, alternately adorn their other Parts.—The vanquished Party immediately upon the Conclusion of the Game, betake themselves to their Heels, in Order to avoid the Scoffs and Ridicule of their boastful Conquerors."[19]

It will be noticed that the goals described here agree somewhat with those mentioned by Adair, both differing from the modern goals in having no crossbar at the top. Bartram speaks as if there were but one "pillar" at each end to which the ball was carried by the opposing party.[20] This is the style in vogue at the present day among the Choctaw of Mississippi. In the first section of the present paper some further information regarding the ball game will be found.[20a]

Under another heading I have said a great deal about the social significance of the ball game and I have explained that the regular games were played only between towns belonging to the two opposite fires. I have also given the traditional origin—or a traditional origin—of these encounters—i. e., as a substitute for war. In common parlance it was often called "the brother of the war." The social divisions concerned in the ball game have been treated at length. Among the Texas Alabama, in which the older organization has been long broken down, various other ways of dividing up were resorted to. One of the prominent men among the Yuchi assured me that one of the oldest divisions in that tribe was between the men who had children and those who had none. 526 619

To frame the ball sticks pieces of hickory were tapered off, steamed and turned over at the ends, to the right for a right-handed player and to the left for a left-handed man, after which the ends were bound over on the handle. Two buckskin cords were then run across each opening and fastened through small holes made with an awl, thus furnishing a cage for the ball. Lard was next heated, and rubbed at the base of each loop. The loops were then inserted into a crack in a wall or floor and bent sideways a trifle so that the player could hold the ball between the two sticks. I was told that the makers of these sticks did not fast while at work but that after they were done medicine was put on them. The ball was made exactly as described by Adair, of deer hair covered with a piece of dressed deerskin tied by means of deerskin thongs. The ball sticks formerly 526

[19] Pope, Tour, pp. 49-51. For another printed account see "Narrative of a Mission to the Creek Nation," by Col. Marinus Willett, pp. 108-110, copied into Pickett's History of Alabama, pp. 89-90, and Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, pp. 496-497.

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. 508.

[20a] See pp. 60-61.

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526 used by the Choctaw and Chickasaw were not as powerful as the Creek ball sticks.

As has already been stated, in games between the Whites and Tcilokis the former wore white crane feathers in their hair and the latter eagle feathers. They had no other clothing in olden times except the breechclout and moccasins. Fastened over the breechclout behind was often a "tiger tail." It was used because this animal is strong and courageous. If the father of a player had belonged to the Panther clan that would be an additional reason for selecting it. A bison tail, and eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers were also used because they belonged to "masterful animals." I am told that the paint had no significance except that red was generally used as representing war, the ball game being "brother of the war." Nevertheless, I believe that in ancient times the paintings did sometimes have significance. If the other adornments were adopted with the idea of assisting the player there is every reason to suppose that the paintings would sometimes be put on with the same object in view. The following account of the manner in which a regular match game was conducted was given me by Jackson Lewis.

Each party calls the other itc inkipai'a, and each person so names one who always opposes him in the ball play. In proposing a game a messenger from one town goes to the chief of another and says, "Here is a proposition to engage you in a game," upon which he lays down a ball stick with a feather tied to it. The chief then calls his people together, especially those who are interested in the game, and says: "We are challenged by our well-known opponents. What are you going to do?" Then they count noses to see whether they have enough expert ball players to stand a contest. If they decide that they can do so they send word back "We will try you one game." Then each town selects four contract makers who meet at some appointed place midway between the towns to arrange the terms of the contest. They agree when to play, where to play, but above all who are to play on each side—i. e., whether the men married into both towns are to play, the men married out and living elsewhere, etc. One side says "We will play our sons-in-law," which another will object to, saying, "No, but we will play our sons," etc. The referees on both sides are very sharp to see that no advantage is yielded to the enemy. Finally they settle upon the terms or else call the game off. In each party of four chosen to make the contract there must always be one man of the Bear clan.[21] Although the contract makers do not agree to have wrestling when the young men are going into a contest the old men will say to them, "You are now privileged to treat your opponents in any way you choose." Wrestling is called ikán wá'kita, "lying down on the ground." Now, after both towns have encamped in the

[21] This statement applies particularly to Upper Eufaula.

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neighborhood of the place selected, the eight referees agree upon the precise plot of ground upon which it shall be played. The people of each town fell trees and lay the logs round their camps for the spectators to sit upon while the ball dance is held. The spectators sit in a semicircle. The dancing is carried on almost entirely by the women, though there is some dancing by the men. After the women have danced four times to songs sung by the others they retire to a distance, and those who have been selected to play take their ball sticks, and rush out, yelling, whooping, running around, and making hideous shouts. This is called ya'hkita. The drum is beaten during all of this time. This whole performance is repeated four times during the night, and it takes until midnight or a little longer. The players have the ball they expect to use next day tied to a twig and the twig set in the ground with the end directed toward the camp of their opponents "much as cannon are trained on the enemy." After the dance the women retire, while the men may sit around in their seats until daylight when the game begins. That time having come they cut down a sapling 12 to 16 feet high and about 6 inches thick, and split it in two.

They carry this from the place where they have been dancing to their end of the selected ball ground. Then they agree about the distance apart of the two goals which is generally from 150 to 200 yards. There they dig holes and set the two pieces upright about 3 to 3½ feet apart. Across the top they put a crosspiece. After the goals have been set up the players on each side go up to the median line and throw their sticks down so that they match each other, the end of each stick on one side being directly opposite the end of a stick on the other side. This is to show that the number of players is exactly even on each side. Meanwhile the players jest with one another, and all kinds of things are wagered by the men and women of both parties. All the details are fixed in advance. Then three places are marked off, one exactly half way between the goals, the two others half way from the center to each goal. Each side divides its players into parties, placing one in the center, one at each of the midway points, and one near each goal. Finally a person steps to the center and throws the ball up into the air about 10 feet, whereupon all the players rush in, and each tries to throw it toward his own goal. The struggle now rages furiously. Two persons are appointed, one from each side, who sit midway between the goals. Each is provided with 10 sticks, and when a point is made by one side the representative of that side sticks one of his sticks into the ground. After all 10 are stuck in they begin to withdraw them until the representative of one side has withdrawn all, making 20 points, when the side he represents wins, and the scorers say Ła̋titō'tōtō', "He is dead, dead, dead, dead." Then the winners run to their

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•526 goal and whoop and rush around it raising the samɔ ya'hki'a. As many play on each side as the eight referees agree upon, sometimes as many as 60. The game sometimes lasted till dark unless it broke up in a fight. Meanwhile each side has a medicine man back in the woods making medicine as hard as he can for his own side. Any doctor may be selected, but they are so suspicious that only one of whose sympathies they are certain is likely to be chosen. Jackson Lewis was once induced to make medicine for the Indians of a Choctaw town, and he sent them some medicine to rub on their bodies. They were successful, the opposing side making but one goal.

FIG. 104.—Arrangement of players at the opening of the Creek ball game

The following notes, furnished by Zachariah Cook, supplement the foregoing in many important particulars:

The sides pair off as indicated in the accompanying sketch (fig. 104), each party facing the other and occupying one side all the way along. If the ball goes under the crossbar of the goal and between the side posts it counts, or if it hits the posts or crossbar, no matter from which side thrown. Each side has previously provided itself with a medicine ball, called "a chief ball," inside of which is a measuring worm, because that is a worm supposedly invisible to a bird, and so the ball will not be seen by the other party.[21a] After either side has made its third goal it can use this ball to make its fourth; that having been accomplished, they go on playing with a common ball. Behind the goal post is a dish in which is a piece of the hide of a bull turtle and some medicine. The ball is supposed to be attracted to the dish like a turtle to the water. They also paint medicine on the ball stick strings so as to attract the ball to them. For these things they depend entirely on the medicine maker (hilis-haya) and follow his directions, but who is making the medicine for them is kept a secret. The ball posts are only conjured a little just after they are cut. The medicine maker also prepares a medicine out of the track of a wolf and the burrow of a crawfish to rub on the shoulders of the players.

The first ball to be thrown up is not by the regular ball throwers, but by the best speaker they can find who gives a talk first, counselling fair play, etc., and then throws the ball, saying, "Here goes up a ball for twenty stakes." Afterwards the regular throwers are used, one from each side.

The man representing the side that challenges begins. The paints that were put on their bodies were only for ornament. There

[21a] It seems that part of a "snake's nest" was also an efficient medicine to be used in this manner. See p. 462.

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is a man at each goal to see that the goals are made fairly, and two men on each side (called màdjokàlgi) to umpire and keep order. They tell the players to play hard without fighting. Sometimes they have four of these men on a side. There is also one scorer for each side, each provided with a number of broken sticks. Each scores for his own side, sticking one stick after another in the ground until there are 10 and then withdrawing them until all of the sticks belonging to one side are out. 526

If any one gets knocked out in play they even up again by throwing down their ball sticks opposite each other to be sure that neither side has an advantage. The players wear red fringes around their necks, and cows' tails, panthers' tails, and bison tails on their buttocks. They run with the ball or throw it, whichever way will advance the ball fastest. When they are through, the winning side marches around its goal, goes home, and has a "stomp dance." The others may set a time and hold a "stomp dance" afterwards.

A man had to play on the side of his own town even against the people of the town into which he had married, but if he lived in a third town not involved in the game, he could join the town that asked him first. This, therefore, gave a man an opportunity to play on the side opposite that of his proper town, but in olden times it is probable that it did not happen very often. When preparing for the ball game at Tcatoksofka the town chief talked the players over with one heniha (of the Wind clan) and one man of the Raccoon clan, or sometimes he consulted two members of each clan. According to Zachariah Cook, at Tukabahchee there were two men known as imagàlgi who divided up the men or else called upon some experienced men to do it for them. Two mikàgi had charge of the women's dance. Although Jackson Lewis speaks of the place where the contest was to be held as being agreed upon in advance by the eight men who arranged it, this was not done finally until just before the game, each side fearing lest the opponents should bewitch it. This was given me as the reason why it was not known where the Talahasutci and Łiwahali Seminole were going to play in the summer of 1913. When the wife of a ball player was pregnant the doctor prepared a medicine for him different from that taken by the others. The middle ground, half way between the ball posts, was called wàskita; and each station halfway between that point and either goal was known as nàlkàptkā'ga. The side which threw through one goal called the other party fûlûdjī and vice versa. It is asserted that there was little or no fighting in olden times during the ball game, and this assertion is borne out by what the older writers tell us—although legs and arms were sometimes broken in the scrimmages—but in recent years it has been almost impossible to play a game through without a free fight. A game between the Nuyaka and Łapłàko towns ended 526 578 177

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526 578 177 this way, and the same fate befell one started between the Eufaula and Abihka towns. In the latter case the very first time the ball was thrown up a free fight began which lasted three hours, and, according to report, the county sheriff and his deputies were utterly unable to stop it.

526 Sometimes the parties to a ball game had to march some distance to reach the place agreed upon for the encounter. When that was the case they would go by easy stages, hold a rally in the evening, the night before, and dance all night. I have one account which states that they held such a dance the first evening, reached the place appointed the next day, held another dance there, and then began the game. A great amount of property was wagered on the outcome of one of these games by both men and women, who whould even strip clothing off of their bodies for that purpose.

It is to be observed that the Indian attitude with reference to the goals is just opposite to that taken by white men in their games, for with us the idea is to drive the ball through the enemy's goal, but the Indian considered that he was bringing the ball home to his own goal.

526 802 Among the Texas Alabama the method of counting points was different from that used by the Creeks, but it was probably a later innovation. There a straight line was drawn and transverse marks made on one side of this for one party and on the other side for the other party, twelve constituting the game. Figure 105 will illustrate.

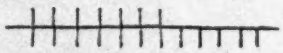

FIG. 105.—Alabama method of recording scores in the ball game

526 788 I will now give an account of a practice game between Łapłako Indians witnessed by myself in 1913. We drove from Wetumka Sunday afternoon, July 27, and found the Indians seated on logs around the dance ground while the medicine maker at the other end was blowing into the medicine (pl. 7, *b*). There were two tubs, each said to contain miko hoyanīdja, but each treated differently by the doctor, so that the men drank from both. He did his work very deliberately, sitting motionless for a long time and afterwards taking some time in blowing into the medicine. He probably did this four times, though we did not watch him long enough to be certain. He sat facing the east. After that the yatika made an announcement and all went to the medicine, formed two rows, facing east, and took the medicine in the usual manner, afterwards vomiting it out, though some did not choose to take it (pl. 7, *c*). Before and during this ceremony the chief held in his hand a short stick on the end of which was fastened two balls and a bunch of small sticks. The last were the scoring sticks; the former comprised a large ball with which they were going to play next day and a smaller ball, the "chief ball" above mentioned, used when one side has scored three goals. It is said that each side

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has such a ball but I saw only one. When they went to take medicine each player took his ball sticks and belt down from the rack, on which they were hung in pairs, and when his turn came to take medicine each first poured a little upon these. The chief led and poured a little upon the balls. When all were through and had gotten back to their seats announcement was made that the players would be scratched. This was done on the west side of a large oak tree west of the medicine man's position. Each player in turn placed one hand on the tree and raised one leg at a time to the scratcher who scratched him four times on the back of the calf and four times on the thigh in front just deep enough to draw blood. He was also scratched four times on the upper arms and four times on the lower arms. 526o 788

Meanwhile the medicine maker was treating more medicine, water having been brought by water boys, and soon after the scratching was completed they took medicine again. Previously, a number of boys had been sent to get wood for the fire to be built up that night, although a fire had been smoldering in the middle of the dance ground all the afternoon. After they had taken medicine for the last time the fire was poked up a little. The yatika, who was a Tukabahchee Indian, now made a short speech, when all ran and got their ball sticks, and marched around a little tree that had been set up near the medicine. After circling about it a few times they filed off to the stream and bathed. Some time later they came back and were dismissed to supper with another short speech. After supper they danced the "old dance" four times when the dance became free to all, both men and women joining in. Dancing continued almost all night.

On the day of the ball game, July 28, 1913, we reached the grounds about 8 a. m. The two sides were already made up. After waiting to see that all were present, each side went off by itself and held a council. Then each leader made a speech and they filed off to dress for the game. Presently they came back, part retaining their "store clothes," part wearing only the breechclout and belt with perhaps a feather in the hair. One or two had red paint on their faces and at least one wore a tiger tail strapped straight up along his back. Each party walked to its own goal and circled about it for a few minutes, shouting. Then they lined up across the center and after some parley threw down their sticks opposite each other to see that the numbers were even. Then they went to their appointed places, the ball was thrown up, and the game began. The sides were called simply "East" (hasosa) and "West" (akalatka) and the two scorers, each marking up for one side, sat on the south side of the grounds. As the game proceeded the enthusiasm increased, the rival sides shout- 526

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ing "hasosa," "akalatka." The game lasted from about 9 until 10.30 and ended in favor of the west side by a score of 20 to 16.

Another very ancient game was called by white traders the chunkey game and gave its name to the chunk yards of Creek towns, later devoted solely to the single stick game to be described presently. The chunkey, although once extremely popular, could be played by but few persons on a side and never had the significance, so far as we know, of the game already considered. It has now passed out of use so completely as barely to be remembered, but there are several accounts of it by those French writers who tell us of the tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley,[22] and Adair has the following excellent description:

"The warriors have another favourite game, called *Chungke;* which, with propriety of language, may be called 'Running hard labour.' They have near their state house, a square piece of ground well cleaned, and fine sand is carefully strewed over it, when requisite, to promote a swifter motion to what they throw along the surface. Only one, or two on a side, play at this ancient game. They have a stone about two fingers broad at the edge, and two spans round: each party has a pole of about eight feet long, smooth, and tapering at each end, the points flat. They set off a-breast of each other at six yards from the end of the play ground; then one of them hurls the stone on its edge, in as direct a line as he can, a considerable distance toward the middle of the other end of the square: when they have ran a few yards, each darts his pole anointed with bear's oil, with a proper force, as near as he can guess in proportion to the motion of the stone, that the end may lie close to the stone—when this is the case, the person counts two of the game, and, in proportion to the nearness of the poles to the mark, one is counted, unless by measuring, both are found to be at an equal distance from the stone. In this manner, the players will keep running most part of the day, at half speed, under the violent heat of the sun, staking their silver ornaments, their nose, finger, and ear rings; their breast, arm, and wrist plates, and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their middle. All the American Indians are much addicted to this game, which to us appears to be a task of stupid drudgery: it seems however to be of early origin, when their fore-fathers used diversions as simple as their manners. The hurling stones they use at present, were time immemorial rubbed smooth on the rocks, and with prodigious labour; they are kept with the strictest religious care, from one generation to another, and are exempted from being buried with the dead. They belong to the town where they are used, and are carefully preserved."[23]

[525]

[22] See Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 90-91.
[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 401-402.

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At the present time the game next in importance to the one first described is the single pole game. Every square ground is supplemented with a circular area having a single pole 25 to 30 feet high in the middle. This circular area is all that is left of the old chunkey yard already described. Sometimes there is a sacred yard and pole not used in actual games, a second pole in another place being devoted to the play. The games here were of a purely social character; I have not heard that any ceremonies or medicine performances accompanied them. They play this game down to the present time, especially on Sundays, and the men and women play against each other, although sometimes the women are allowed to strengthen their forces by choosing two of the best male players. The ball used is similar to that employed in the men's game, and the men are obliged to throw it with their ball sticks, while the women use their hands. As elsewhere described, on the top of the pole is hung a cow's or horse's skull, or a wooden image such as a fish, as in the Fish Pond towns; at Eufaula, an eagle is used. Part way up the pole is a mark and if anyone throws the ball so as to hit the pole above this his or her side scores one, while if it hits the skull or image at the top it scores more, sometimes five. The following is perhaps an older form of counting. If the skull or image is hit it counts one. If the pole above the mark is hit twice in succession by one side it counts one also, but if the side makes one hit and then the other makes one the score of the first is canceled. The whole number of points, as in the case of the men's game, was 20, and scored in the same manner by sticking ten sticks into the ground and then pulling them out again. Jackson Lewis, speaking of an earlier time, said that they generally managed to let the women win, and then the men went after game which the women cooked, the whole ending with a feast and dance. This was evidently in connection with the social feasts more specifically described elsewhere.[20a]

Hitchcock gives the following lively picture of a game which he witnessed in the Creek country in 1842:

"The players mingle, or scatter about as they please, the men on one side of the game and the women on the other aided by a few men. The men use sticks, the women their hands. The chief throws the ball up nearly vertically, standing near the pole,—the game has commenced. All rush to sieze the ball, men and women pell mell together. One gets it. His party tries to give him an opportunity of throwing it. The opposite party, to embarrass him, rush on him, catch his arm, and in the whirl he loses the ball. Another rush. A woman gets it. She holds it firmly in one hand and walks towards the pole followed and surrounded by men and women. She is about to throw it. A ball stick is interposed over her. She

[20a] See pp. [illegible], [illegible]–[illegible].

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526 sees one of her own side a little way off and tosses the ball to her. The latter catches it and, throwing it instantly, hits the pole. There is a general scream and one point is marked to the women's side. The ball is taken and thrown up as before, and again the play is all life. A man bearing the ball is pursued. He rushes along with it in his sticks with his arms extended upward, strikes his foot against an obstacle, and falls to the ground headlong, losing the ball. There is a loud laugh and a general rush after the ball. A woman is near it. The ball is rolling on. She leans forward. She thinks she can reach it by throwing herself at full length on the ground, and doing so, reaches forward to grasp it but misses it and it is seized by another. And thus the play proceeds." [24]

It is perhaps to the above game that Le Moyne refers when he says, in describing a game of the Florida Indians: "In the middle of an open space is set up a tree some eight or nine fathoms high, with a square frame woven of twigs on the top; this is to be hit with the ball, and he who strikes it first gets a prize." This description is accompanied by a picture showing such a pole,[25] but it is of doubtful reliability. This game is at least as old as the time of Adair.[25a]

In later times the Creek men and women also played against each other in a kind of game of football. Two goals were made, each of two sticks inclining to a point at a height of about 4 feet. The game was to drive the ball through these goals. It was thrown up in the middle and the men were allowed only to kick it while the women might use their hands also.

They also pitched arrows against each other. If the arrow of one player touched the feather of the other's arrow he kept it.

525 Both the Creeks of Oklahoma and the Alabama of Texas remember a game played with four pieces of cane, each half of a section made by splitting the cane lengthwise. This was primarily a women's game but men sometimes played it also. The canes were thrown into the air by each player in turn and the points determined by counting the number of canes with the convex and the concave sides up. Among the Alabama the following system of counting was in use. If all of the canes came to rest with their rounded sides up it counted 10; if all came to rest with their concave sides up it counted 5; if three came down concave side up and one convex side up it counted 3; if two were convex and two concave it counted 2; and if three were convex side up and one concave side up it counted 1.

Among the same people these canes were employed in lieu of dice in a game something like pachisi. A board was laid out as in the accompanying figure (fig. 106), sometimes not more than 10 by 15 inches in dimensions, but sometimes designed on a bearskin of a

[24] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [25] Le Moyne, Narr., p. 13 (Ill.). [25a] See p. 331.

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In this town[1] the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, Tàmi, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous. 344 621 796 526

The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai, Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

miko .....Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird)
asimbonaia .....Tàstànàk Imała (Deer)
" .....Tàstànàk Hadjo (Bird)
hilis haya .....Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther)
hilis tcàlaba .....Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer)
oidjawàlgi .....1. Fus Yàholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)
2. Hotàlgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)
3. Halàk Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry)
hilis hoboia .....1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)
2. Tàlsi Yàhola (Bird)
ta'pala .....1. Halàk Yàhola ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon)
" .....2. Hotàlgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind)
tutka oktididja ...Itco-ili Imała ("Deer Foot Imała") (Raccoon, father Deer)
yàhaikas .....1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated)
" .....2. Miko Yàhola (Bear)

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atàsa held by the leading woman is red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is white and has a feather of the fus hàtki ("white bird"), a bird found down by the creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to 14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta'palas stand about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each carries a wand called sī'dik-kika having a white feather fastened to the end. 344 621 796

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

[1] [i.e., Pakan Tallahassee. --Analyst]

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344 old coverings are never removed. they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[85] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [86] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[532 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is
614] allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

[621 "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the
531] posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[714] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[85] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[86] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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344 352 old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares, eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

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[89] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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344 [622] cilhouse where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide and rectify all grievances, complaints and contentions, arising betwixt the citizens; give audience to ambassadors, and strangers; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies or distant nations; consult about the particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens, or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three: it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded [778] place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary[*] dedicated to religion, or rather priest craft; for here are deposited all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs and other apparatus of conjurations; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail (Vultur sacra) curiously formed and displayed like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermillion. The piazza or front of this building, is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats or cabins stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sophas, and serve for a banqueting-house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females however are seldom or never seen in the public square.

344 532 "The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as an historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque or caricature, as men in variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kind of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front

[*] "Sanctorum or sacred temple; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war-chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night."—Bartram.

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344 [532]

or piazza of the council-house of the square, are ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled serpents, ascending upwards; the Ottasses being of the snake family or tribe."[86]

Taitt's description, referring particularly to Tukabahchee, is brief but to the point:

"The Square is formed by four houses about forty feet in Length and ten wide. Open in front and divided into three different Cabins each. The seats are made of Canes Split and worked together raised about three feet off the Ground; and half the width of the House, the back half being raised above the other about one foot; these Cabins serve for beds as well as seats in Summer."[87]

January 31, 1842, General Hitchcock visited the Tukabahchee Square, in what is now Oklahoma, and gives the following description:

"The *Square* consists of four shed roofs forming a rectangle 20 paces on a side within. Each roof is closed on three sides to the ground, the fourth or inner side being open for counsellors to sit in, where mats are spread made of cane for seats. The four sheds are separated on their angles 4 or 5 paces for entrance and egress and they are situated so that diagonals of the Square are nearly upon the meridian line and at right angles to it. The 3 sides of the sheds which are closed are closed with mud and are raised about 6 feet, the open front inside being a corresponding 6 feet. Each shed is divided into three parts by a partition raised only about elbow high to one in a sitting posture. Upon each partition there are two earth bowls about a foot in diameter in which live coals are placed during the council for the grave counsellors to light their pipes by.

"One of the sheds is appropriated, or two parts of the three into which it is divided, to the preservation of articles used in the preparation and drinking of the 'black drink.' The most curious part of the preparation at the Square is at the west angle a few feet from the angle outside."[88]

Another description, probably applying to the Coweta Square, is furnished by Milfort and will be found in the chapter on Creek government.[89] Still another is contained in the Creek origin myth related to Gatschet by Ispahihtca of Kasihta and refers to that town. The dimensions given are greater than those included in the descriptions of Hawkins, Taitt, and Hitchcock. Adair gives the size of the central section of the west bed as 9 by 7, which would indicate that the entire bed was not more than 30 feet long.

344 778

Attention should be called to the inclosed space behind the chief's [illegible]d mentioned by Hawkins and Bartram, and also by Adair who styles it "the holy of holies" and says regarding it: "As the Jews had

[86] Bartram, Travels, pp. 483-484.
[87] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 502.
[88] Hitchcock, Ms. Notes.
[89] See pp. 311-313.

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Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

S. 344 621

Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the east, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

C. [344 621]

Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

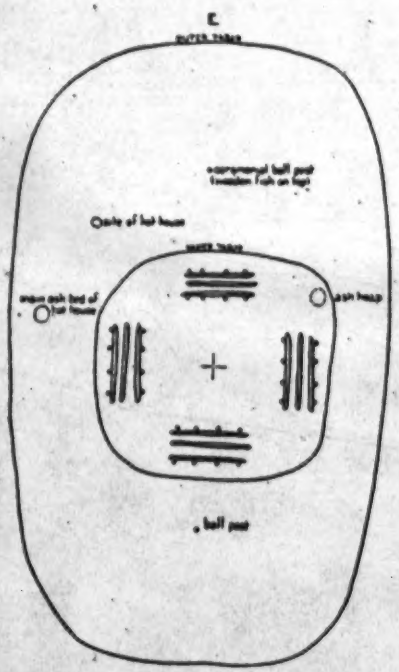

FIG. 37.—Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.[6] Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.[7] He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,[8] and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

C. 344 532 614

"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

[6] See p. 182. [7] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18. [8] Ibid., p. 184.

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614

raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy

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621]

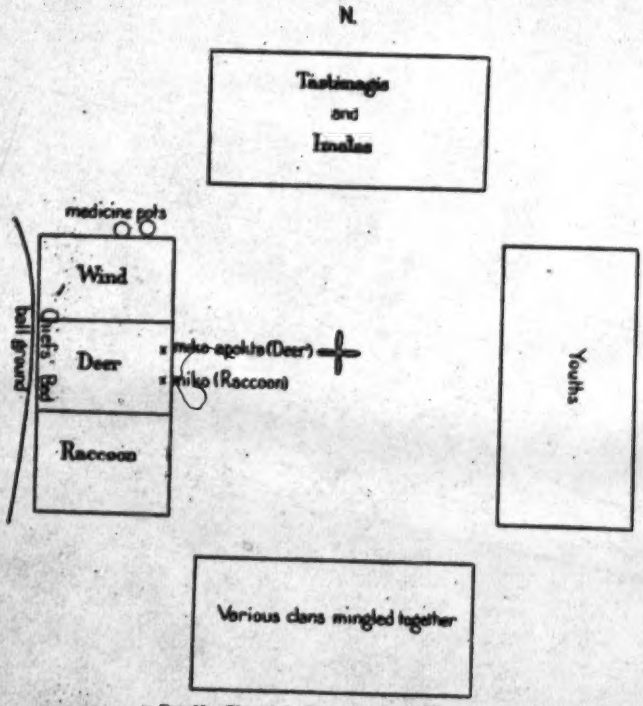

FIG. 38.—Plan of the Łáłogáłga Square Ground

ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, etc. . . .

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 30-31.

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According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each tálwa, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the miko's seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the

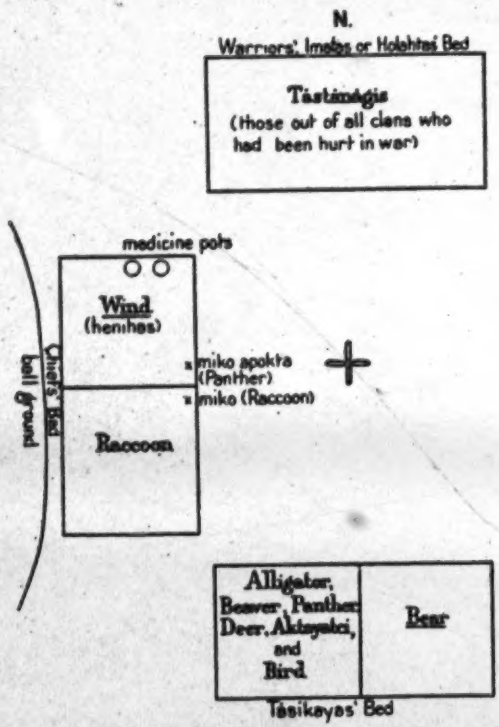

FIG. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2

four front posts of the miko's bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Koasati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the miko's bed in the Koasati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

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This is both interesting and important, and it is in line with what we know regarding the tribes living along both the lower and the upper courses of the Mississippi River. At the same time I have so far been unable to obtain confirmation of this from other Creeks. Of course, Bartram tells us that in his day the posts of the Chiefs' bed at Atasi were carved to resemble snakes, but this can not be accepted as confirmatory evidence because Judge Gregory was perfectly familiar with the writings of Bartram and other early authors. The Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas claimed some particular right

[344]

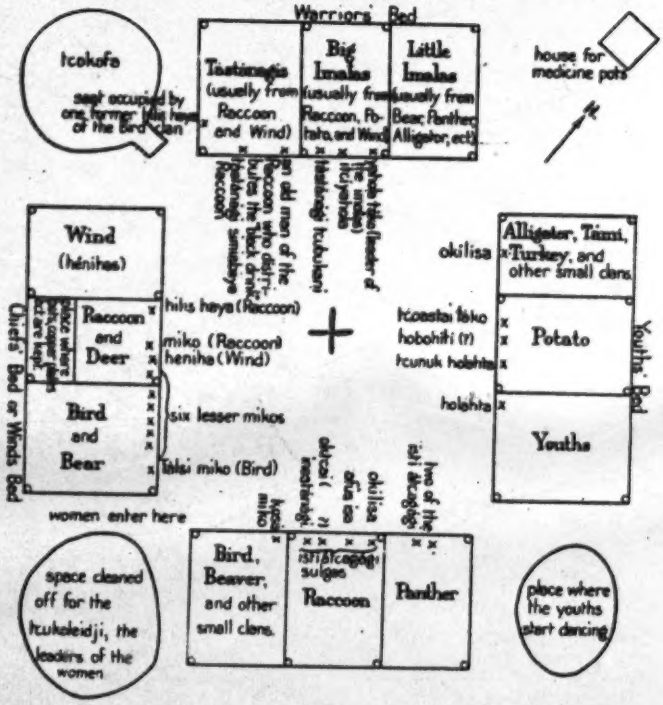

FIG. 45.—Plan of the Tukabatchee Square Ground (I)

to the garfish, but I have not secured sufficient evidence regarding this to be sure of the nature of their claim. On a previous page I have had occasion to note that the Indians of the Fish Pond towns place wooden fish at the tops of their ball posts, but according to their own explanation this mark is merely suggested to them by the town name. The Eufaula Indians have a wooden eagle in the same place, but they say that this is because the eagle is emblematic of the United States. The other towns all use skulls of horses or cows, which are said to be without significance of any kind.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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In line with the wooden eagle of Coweta mentioned by Judge Gregory is the wooden statue of a human being which Adair informs us existed in his day in "the head war town of the upper Muskohge country." Tukabahchee is the head war town of the Upper Creeks to-day, but in Adair's time it may have been Łiwahali or Atasi. Adair's words are as follows:

"There is a carved human statue of wood, to which, however, they pay no religious homage. It belongs to the head war town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed

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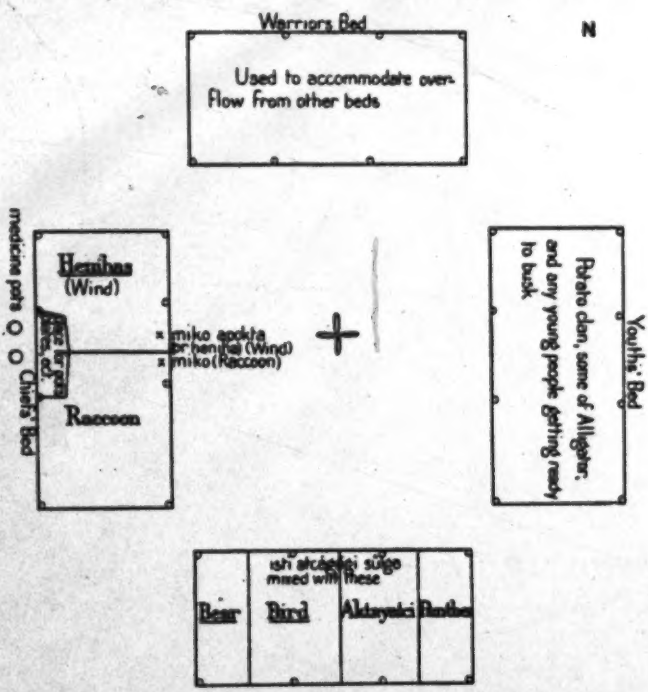

FIG. 48.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (II)

to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero, who deserved well of his country; for, when their *cusseena*, or bitter, black drink is about to be drank in the synhedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his coadjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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621 view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders
•532 who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist." [11]

[302] According to some informants the people of each tálwa formerly had distinctive face paintings, and there were men in every town particularly skilled in applying these. The design for Tuskegee was as shown in the cut (fig. 102).

[344]

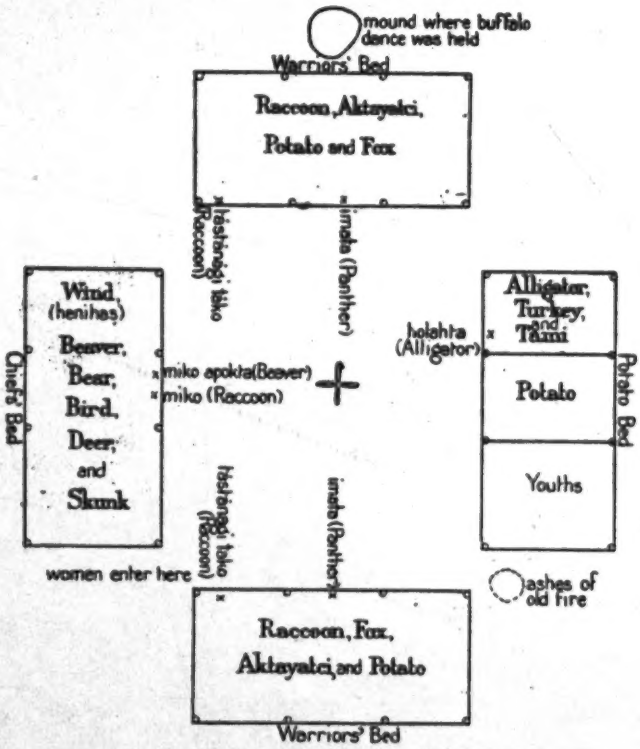

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Tuksahchee Square Ground (III)

621 A word may be quoted from Stiggins regarding the feeling of unity which subsisted within each town.

"The towns people were frequently assembled at their town house or square in order to keep them united, for the harmony subsisting among the people of a town is noted and seems to be cemented by an affection as strong towards each other as the sons of Jacob of old in their association. As the usages and customs of every town are similar and the men all know the unity and sympathy of a town

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

534 rattle as being in use in old times. It was said to be large and flat, but he had never seen one. Very likely it was the turtle-shell rattle, for we know that such a rattle was employed. The women dancers, or rather the leaders among them, as we know, had several tortoise-shell rattles fastened to their calves. Neither the drum nor the rattle
535 was painted. An experienced man or woman acted as leader, and sometimes there were two or more. The usual circuit was sinistral, and this was departed from only to introduce variety. One reason given for the accustomed circuit is that the dancers carried feather fans in their left hands to screen their eyes from the fire while their right hands, the more serviceable ones, were left free for any other purpose. Another reason was that the sun goes that way, for in almost everything observance of the signs of the sun and moon are in evidence. Purely social dances were held most often, it is said, when the moon was full, but ceremonies were performed near the period of the new moon. The fact that dances were held so often in the full of the moon, however, gave early travelers an impression that the Indians observed a ceremony every month. While there were, as we shall note presently, certain ceremonies observed from time to time, most of those that have passed as such were little more than social dances. Although nearly all Indians were intensely fond of dancing, I was told that some persons did not like to dance because they thought dancing would hurt their bones. On the other hand there was a saying among the Creeks that they had to dance after taking medicine in order to overcome it. Otherwise they thought it would get the better of and kill them.

Regarding their songs and dances Bartram remarks as follows:

"They have an endless variety of steps, but the most common, and that which I term the most civil, and indeed the most admired and practised amongst themselves, is a slow shuffling alternate step; both feet move forward one after the other, first the right foot foremost, and next the left, moving one after the other, in opposite circles, i. e. first a circle of young men, and within, a circle of young women, moving together opposite ways, the men with the course of the sun, and the females contrary to it; the men strike their arm with the open hand, and the girls clap hands, and raise their shrill sweet voices, answering an elevated shout of the men at stated times of termination of the stanzas; and the girls perform an interlude or chorus separately.

●533 "To accompany their dances they have songs of different classes, as martial, bacchanalian and amorous; which last, I must confess, are extravagantly libidinous; and they have moral songs, which seem to be the most esteemed and practised, and answer the purpose of religious lectures.

"Some of their most favourite songs and dances, they have from their enemies, the Chactaws; for it seems these people are very

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

eminent for poetry and music; every town amongst them strives to excel each other in composing new songs for dances; and by a custom amongst them, they must give at least one new song, for exhibition, at every annual busk." [15] 533•

The last paragraph records an important tendency observed in many other parts of America, and in this case we have it confirmed by personal observation, for a few days after the arrival of Bartram at Muklasa town a youth in his party who had spent some time in the Choctaw country communicated to the townspeople at their earnest solicitation certain of the songs he had learned.[16]

Swan says: 535

"In general, their dances are performed with the most violent contortions of the limbs, and an excessive exertion of the muscular powers.

"They have sometimes most farcial dramatic representations, which terminate in the grossest obscenity." [17]

The dances peculiar to the busk will be considered in connection with that ceremonial. The others were principally animal dances, some of which were danced at the time of the busk and some not. Jackson Lewis gave me the following names of dances:

Tcolàko obànga, "the horse dance."
Totolos obànga, "the chicken dance."
Yanàsa obànga, "the bison dance."
Okiànwa obànga, "the catfish dance."
Futco obànga, "the duck dance."
Akàtàlăswà obànga, "the small frog dance" (the akàtàlăswa is a small and very noisy frog).
Isàbà obànga, "the garfish dance."
Yàbifega obànga, "the sheep dance."
Yifolo obànga, "the screech-owl dance."
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Suli obànga, "the buzzard dance."
Atculàlgi obànga, "old people's dance."

[15] Bartram, Travels, pp. 503-504.
[16] Ibid., p. 505.
[17] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p 277

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the contrary he must go to cold running water in the morning, even though it were covered with ice, and, breaking the ice, if necessary, plunge into that. He must go in when daylight first showed itself and remain until the sun was up.[13a] This, of course, applies to the baths universally taken in the Southeast every morning and may be overdrawn in details.[14] 784 262

An individual taboo of my informant, or means of obtaining luck, was to drink from a cup held in his right hand while he faced the east. 789

The Natchez and Cherokee ate their food cold, believing it was better for their teeth. 262

Breaking wind was associated with manliness. 514

Among the Creeks I was told that when a story-teller finished his narrative he would spit, and then another would have to contribute a story in return, and in this way the cue was taken up by one after another "until the children went to bed." 538

MUSIC AND DANCING[14a]

Their musical instruments were the drum, rattle, and a kind of flute. Adair makes mention of a stringed instrument, and the mere notice of this would be important if we could prove that it was truly aboriginal. Pope speaks of the Indians in his time dancing for several hours to the music of the violin; but if so, this was a late innovation. The flute was used only by individuals and was never employed in ceremonies, as was constantly the case with the drum and rattle. The Alabama flute was made of two pieces of cedar hollowed out and fastened together with buckskin. There were six holes along the sides toward one end and on top toward the other was placed a separate piece of cedar covering two additional holes. All were bound with buckskin at frequent intervals. Flutes were sometimes made of cane. It may be said of the drum and rattle that the one was an almost invariable and the latter a very frequent accompaniment of their dances. 534

The drum was made by sawing off a cypress knee close to the ground and stretching a buckskin over the wide end (pl. 13, *a*). This buckskin was wet from time to time to make it sound properly. Anciently an earthen pot was also employed, and in later times they resorted to a keg partly filled with water and covered with buckskin or cowhide. The rattle was made of a gourd containing 30 or 40 small pebbles, with a stick about a foot long run through it as a handle. In later times a coconut was substituted for the gourd. The chief of the Mikasuki remembered to have heard of still another kind of

[13a] Or as another informant expressed it, "from the second call of the crow until sun up."

[14] See pp. 365-366.

[14a] The interested reader should consult "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," by Frank G. Speck, in Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1911.

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•534

a. Drum

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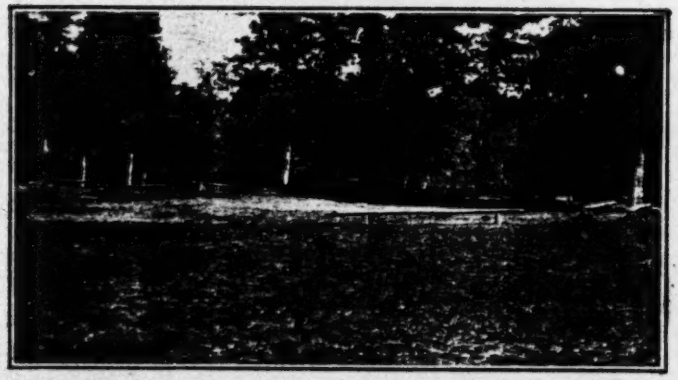

b. Ceremonial ground near Braggs, Okla., used by the Natchez, Creek, and Cherokee Indians

342

c. Home of the Kila or Prophet Yahola

THE CREEK AND NATCHEZ INDIANS

p. 588 (F)

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616 621 526 [177] the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

614 582 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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[15] Bartram, Travels, pp. 503-504.
[16] Ibid., p. 505.
[17] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p 277

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•535 Poko imobánga, "the ball dance." (I presume this was danced in connection with the ball games.)

My most complete list was from the Alabama in Texas and was as follows:

Tcitcoba bitka, "the horse dance."
Nita bitka, "the bear dance."
Yanasa bitka, "the bison dance."
Kono bitka, "the skunk dance."
Tcoskáni bitka, "the duck dance."
Tcola bitka, "the fox dance."
Tcintcuba bitka, "the alligator dance."
Kitini bitka, "the horned-owl dance."
Ōfolō bitka, "the screech-owl dance."
Akága bitka, "the chicken dance."
Tcofkoni bitka, "the bone dance."
Wokaskila bitka, "the tree-frog dance."
Łálo bitka, "the fish dance."
Isbák tokolo bitka, "the double-headed dance."
Páspa bitka, "the bread dance."
Sátápo bitka, "the wood-tick dance."
Sinte bitka, "the snake dance."
Sátá bitka, "the terrapin dance."
Okadjibándja bitka, "the parroquet (?) dance."
Itibitilga bitka, "the war dance."
Oktcál'ā bitka, "the blackbird dance."
Kowegi bitka, "the quail dance."
Tcukfi bitka, "the rabbit dance."
Tcokce bitka, "the pumpkin dance" (a very old dance).
Itéheci bitka, "the friends' dance."
Pátka bitka, "the bed dance."
Bitka atcōba, "the old dance."
Taske bitka, "the scalp dance."
Akita bitka, "the ākita dance."
Kinia bitka, "the kinia dance."

The aged chief of the Mikasuki knew of the horse, chicken, quail, skunk, old man's, duck, garfish, alligator, terrapin, crow, corn, hair, and chigoe dances, the last four of which do not occur in the other lists. David Cummings knew of cow and wolf dances, and Zach Cook of leaf and hináta dances. My most complete account of the native dances being from the Alabama, the following descriptions will be based upon them.

535 When they dressed for the dances the Alabama men frequently
302 painted a large red spot on each cheek and a red line down the nose. The women put a smaller red spot on each cheek and omitted the line. Occasionally yellow was used instead of red, and in the times of which my informant had any remembrance the paints were obtained from stores. Charcoal was used to blacken the upper lip.

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535 [302]

These colors were for appearance only; they had no religious or other significance. The silver crowns and the pouches hung at the side and fastened by straps over the opposite shoulder were worn only at dances, except that the last were taken when traveling or going to town. New buckskin leggings were also worn at dances, but the handkerchief turbans were worn all of the time. The silver gorgets were generally assumed only for dances, but occasionally old ones were carried about at all times. While the hair was always made into four braids the beaded ornaments at the ends were for festivals or when the owner was going to town.

[784]

Two of these dances, the horned-owl dance and the snake dance, were never performed by the Alabama in June, July, or August, because in both they followed a serpentine course like that of a snake and people feared that those reptiles would be offended with them and bite them. The horned-owl dance is said to have been danced only in September. Every night, after these dances were over, the participants put their feet up to the fire so that the snakes could not see to bite them, and they warmed their hands and rubbed their eyes with them so that they themselves could see the snakes easily and would not step on them. The snake dance was danced a long time ago. All that I can add regarding it is Jackson Lewis's statement that it was danced entirely by women, and an implication on the part of Swan that the leader of this dance carried a wooden snake in his hands, but what Lewis said does not seem to be in agreement with what my Alabama informant had heard.

535 574

The horned-owl dance was evidently a greater favorite and was danced more frequently, and it was connected with those feasts to which reference has already been made. To summon people to this dance a man went around on horseback—sometimes accompanied by a second—carrying in his hands a peculiar baton. This was made of a cane about 12 feet long, at the outer end of which was a hoop made of hickory, white oak, or some other suitable wood. About five deer tails, and sometimes a loaf of bread, were fastened to this. Bearing it, he visited every house to make the announcement.

The horned-owl dance was always in September. There was no drummer but one old man walked about perhaps 10 feet from the fire shaking a rattle and singing, while the men and women danced around the fire inside sinistrally. The rattler was also song leader; the men sang with him but the women did not sing. There was no definite order in which the men and women danced, except that one man did not immediately follow another. Each man held a handkerchief by one corner and a woman following held the opposite corner of the handkerchief. If another woman, or other women, danced beside her, they held her by the elbows. The dancers were

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•535 574 led by a second old man, and all of the men carried turkey-tail fans. They danced for a while sinistrally, and then turned around and danced dextrally. When they were through the women remained standing in a row southeast of the fire. Then the old man took the baton already mentioned, stood opposite them and let the hoop fall on the head of each woman in succession, saying as he did so, "pàtciepàlō', make bread." This was because the women were to make bread while the men were off hunting. Another old man stood beside the first and counted the women off, "one, two, three," etc., and when he made the last count all of the men said "Ōh" in a very high-pitched voice. Then all the men went after venison, and at the end of two weeks all brought roast venison to the dancing ground on the same day. When they were within about half a mile they discharged their guns and shouted to let it be known that they were coming. They took the venison to a house at the dance ground built like a corncrib and laid it down there. That night they began the horned-owl dance again, and after it was over the men sat down on sheepskins, bearskins, or blankets all around the fire. Then the women came with dishes of bread and set them down by the men, one dish by some, two by others, three or four by others, etc., as they chose. Two old men now came, each with a kolbe' (a large flat basket made of cane). They gathered up the bread and redistributed it to all of the men and boys. Then the old men went to a scaffold near by and brought a number of sharp sticks already prepared. They laid one of these by every man who had received one dish of bread, two by those who had received two dishes, and so on. Then the two old men took their kolbes again and brought the venison which they also distributed. The men took it and put one, two, three, or more pieces of meat on each stick. Then they held these up in their hands and each woman got a stick of venison and her dish. Then the men began to sing while still seated, one man leading with a rattle. All sang four times and then they stood up and sat down in their usual places, on logs about 20 paces back from the fire. They now stood up again and formed a circle surrounding and facing the women. First the men danced backward, the women following facing them; then they filed off round the fire in couples, a man and a woman together. They went around four times and then went off to one side of the fire, the north for instance, danced inward in an ever narrowing spiral, turned around and danced out again in the same way, danced around the fire four times more, and then danced in a spiral in and out to the west of the fire. In this way they went all the way round, dancing on the south and east sides also. Finally they danced four times round the fire. Bread and venison were given out for four successive nights, and the same dance followed.

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This dance was known to Zachariah Cook and William Berryhill and the latter gave the following account of it which shows that it was the same thing and was known over the entire Creek country: 535 574

The men started out to hunt while the women were making bread. If the men brought home a deer the first day they gave it to the women who cooked it and put the flesh into the meat house. That night they danced, and they did the same thing four days in succession, putting what they killed each day into the meat house. Then they sacked the bread and meat up, and the women carried the sacks into the square and danced with them on their backs—though it was rather hard work. After the dance they handed these sacks to the male waiters, who distributed them to everyone in the town. Enough was usually left to supply the visitors among the various camps—i. e., those who happened to be in the town camping about the square, not persons especially invited. Then they usually dispersed, eating their food at once or carrying it with them. This dance was danced just after all the snakes were supposed to have gone into their holes for the winter. They would not dance it in summer lest the snakes should bite them. The words of the song were like this: Dje'hose djehō'se yū'liwà yuhe'à.

Conversely from the custom with regard to the last two, the Alabama avoided dancing the bear dance in winter, for they went hunting then and they were afraid if they did so a bear would catch and hurt one of them or one of their dogs. This dance was always at night, the music being furnished by a drummer and a singer, the latter without a rattle. The dancers circled about the fire in single file, men and women alternating and pawing at the air with their hands in imitation of the bear. [784]

Nearly all of these dances were at night, but the bison dance was, among the Alabama, always held in the morning before sunrise, though it could be performed at any time of the year. One man stood near the fire and furnished the music by beating on a drum and singing while the participants ran around the fire very rapidly and at a certain beat of the drum all shouted. This agrees with what Zachariah Cook says of this dance as seen by him. He states they went two and two around the fire and at a certain beat came down together on the ground with both feet. The dance would seem to have been brought by the Alabama from their old home, for they say that when they came to east Texas there were no bison there.[18]

[18] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277. It was made the subject of a painting by Mr. J. M. Stanley, which was one of those destroyed in the Smithsonian fire. He has the following note regarding it: "This dance is enacted every year during the season of their busk or green-corn dances; and the men, women, and children all take an active part in the ceremony. They invest themselves with the scalp of the buffalo, with the horns and tail attached, and dance about in a circle, uttering sounds in imitation of the animal they represent, with their bodies in a half-bent position, supporting their weight upon their ball-sticks, which represent the forelegs of the buffalo."—Smithsn. Misc. Colls., no. 58, p. 10. He is the only observer mentioning the participation of children.

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•535 796 With the Mikasuki, the Chiaha, and probably the Creeks generally, the bison dance was held just at sundown of the day of the busk, but while there was still light.[18a] The music was furnished by one drummer and one rattler. At the beginning these two men stood near the ball post and the dancers assembled there, the male dancers each carrying a cane. When all was ready the musicians walked into the yard between the beds and the dancers followed them in couples, two men and two women alternating. Then they danced around the fire until the three songs belonging to this dance, which were rather long, were finished. This dance was followed by the long or old dance.

535 The fox, ākitá, kinia, and skunk dances are said to have been danced exclusively by women. Jackson Lewis and Cook confirmed this for the Creeks so far as the fox dance is concerned and the chief of the Mikasuki asserted it for the skunk dance. Therefore the custom must have been fairly widespread. At least among the Alabama these dances were always in June, July, or August. Before the fox dance was held two men went all around the grounds to drive the dogs away, for, if any dogs should come in or any men except the two musicians, it would be unlucky. The two musicians, a drummer and a rattler, sat near the fire and they did all of the singing. One of the women acted as leader of the dancers and they went around the fire in sinistral circuit. The dance began slowly and increased in rapidity until it became very fast at the end. The two "dogwhippers" were provided with long sticks with needles, gar teeth, or crawfish claws at the ends, and, if a woman was slow or lazy in dancing, they reached these out and scratched her ankles. Sometimes old women performed this function. My informant himself never saw this, but he has often heard it described. The fox dance may have had some of the other features of the skunk and kinia dances.

The ākitá is said to be a small animal living in the woods and looking like a rat. Charlie Adams, my informant, has never seen one and the creature may be entirely fabulous. During this dance every woman carried in each hand a stick about 2 feet long. On the ends of each stick were four crane feathers of different colors—white, black, blue, etc. The leading woman and the last woman each had entire crane wings on the ends of their sticks. The women would dance around for a certain time sinistrally, and when the singer struck a certain note all turned about, the last woman leading, and danced around dextrally until the note again sounded. They danced twice each way in all.

The kinia is said to be an animal like the ākitá. In this dance the women started around sinistrally, and at certain beats stopped and danced where they were and then at other beats went on again and again stopped. This was repeated about ten times.

[18a] See pp. 573-574.

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The skunk dance was like the kinia, but in this two men came out in front of the file of dancing women holding a stick, one at each end, about 3½ feet from the ground. The women dodged under this one after the other and if one of them touched it, even with her hair ribbons, she, in company with all other women who had touched it, had to cook for all the men and bring the food up to the dance ground. Otherwise the last three dances were like the first.

The chief of the Mikasuki said that the skunk dance took place when peanuts, beans, etc., were ready for gathering—i. e., in September. A drummer and a rattler furnished both instrumental and vocal music for it, but, unlike most dances, in this the women sang in response.

According to Silas Jefferson it took place in October. One man sang the skunk songs while the women danced dressed in men's clothing. They danced four times every night for four nights and on the morning after the last the men went out to drive deer.

From what William McCombs, a Chiaha Indian, has told me of this dance there must, if his memory serves him well, have been considerable variation. He says that this dance was the most sacred of all the animal dances and that for some reason the skunk was considered as chief of all the animals. It was held at the square ground in winter, but without secret ceremonies. A person starting in to dance in this had to keep it up during all four nights. After it was over a great hunt and a great feast took place.

Another dance confined to women was the snow dance, regarding which I have no other information.

The pumpkin and bed dances were danced a long time ago, and my informants knew nothing about them but the names. The same was true of the war and scalp dances.

The blackbird dance is also obsolete, the following reason being given for it. The last time it was performed by the Koasati, whose town was near that of the Alabama, they somehow offended the blackbirds, who bewitched them, causing them to die out. Therefore this is now considered a "wrong dance," and it is used no more.

In the duck dance two men sat on a bench to furnish the music, one drumming and one singing. The dancers formed two files in the following manner: First two men, then two women, then two men, and so on, but the men danced around the fire sinistrally and the women dextrally, the women between the two files of men. Each of the two pairs of men held one end of a handkerchief, and the women passed under it. They danced around the fire four times slowly and four times rapidly, completing the dance. The Mikasuki chief described it in exactly the same way, except he said the dancers danced a minute in front of each other before the women passed under and the men clasped their hands instead of using a handker-

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•535 chief. They used a rattle but no drum. The men danced dextrally; the women sinistrally. Three songs belonged to it. Cook merely stated that they imitated ducks.

The horse dance was as follows: The music was furnished by two drummers near the fire—or sometimes by only one. They drummed and sang. The men danced in two bands and in single file. The two came from opposite sides of the fire, one from the south, we will say, circling sinistrally outside, and the other, from the north, circling dextrally inside. As the two lines passed the men would kick out at each other like horses. Meantime the women were standing on the outside, each holding a handkerchief by one end, and the second time around each man seized the end of a handkerchief and danced around, the woman following him dancing, until they had danced four times in all. Then all went back to their places and the same thing was repeated three times more, four in all. The Mikasuki horse dance was practically the same except that there was no drummer and but one rattler. There were two songs.

In the alligator dance there was no rattle or drum and no special singers, the men furnishing all of the singing. They danced in one file, men and women alternating, holding the ends of handkerchiefs in front and behind so as to make a continuous string. Although they moved rapidly they arrested their feet in midair for a moment before letting them down, probably imitating the supposed gait of the alligator. There were two songs, repeated indefinitely. This was danced at any time, summer or winter. My informant had seen this twice.

The Mikasuki varied this somewhat. There was one rattler who stood by the fire around which the dancers passed in single file. A man and a woman danced together, the man going backward and holding by both hands the woman, who danced forward. At a certain turn in the music they reversed their positions, the woman dancing backward and the man forward. There were about seven songs to this dance.

The screech-owl dance was performed at any time and it was like the alligator dance but there were five or six songs. The songs were like those of the horned-owl dance except that there were over 30 songs for the latter.

In the chicken dance two men sat by the fire, one beating a drum, the other helping him sing. The women came together on the east side of the fire and from there danced all around it once when the drummer struck the drum hard. All the women then went out and each got a man, and brought him in. The partners then clasped hands and danced around the fire, the men going backward first until a certain drumbeat, when they turned around and the women danced backward. There was just one song and they danced until the song

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had been repeated four times. Then the women assembled at the same place as before, only the men came and got them in their turn; the same thing was repeated four times in all, when they stopped. It was danced at any time, but usually in summer. The Mikasuki had one rattler for this dance and the dancers went around about as in the alligator dance. 535

In the tree-frog dance there were also two men by the fire singing, one beating on a drum. The dancers were in two files, two men alternating with two women. When the drummer beat the drum all of the men squatted down on their haunches, the woman remaining standing. Then the two singers and the squatting men all sang a song. At a certain beat of the drum all stopped singing and began dancing around again. They danced around the fire four times and stopped, and the men squatted down once more. The whole was repeated four times. It was danced at any season.

The bone dance was danced at night at any time of the year and it was very fast, "like a nigger dance." Because it was so fast some women did not like to participate in it. One man beat the drum and sang. The dancers were in couples, a man and a woman side by side, holding hands. They danced forward for a while and at a certain beat turned round and danced backward, at another beat danced forward, and so on. They went around the fire four times. There were two songs, one sung while they were standing still, another while they were dancing.

The dance often spoken of as "the fish dance" (Łálo obánga, in Creek) is identical with the garfish dance, although, as we have seen, there was a catfish dance. Among the Alabama the garfish dance was said to be just like the chicken dance, only faster. There was one drummer and one person to help him sing, and there were eight songs. According to the Mikasuki chief it was almost the same as the alligator dance except that the songs were shorter. This dance seems to have been in especial favor with the Koasati, and according to one informant the garfish was their tribal mark. It would seem from the account of it, however, that the Koasati garfish dance was either a distinct dance or very much modified. David Cummings, who passed his early youth with the old Koasati, had the following to say about it:

In the fall, September or October, the men went out hunting and stayed out about a month. When they got near home on their return they uttered whoops, and when the women heard that they said, "The hunters are coming home with deer meat and turkeys." After that they appointed a day on which to dance the fish dance. Every man who danced this had a stick made like a garfish its mouth being open and a piece of cedar placed in it. About a dozen men were invited to take part in this dance, word being sent to them by two ta'palas. 535 574

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•535 574 They formed a complete circle under the roof which covered the Koasati square and, holding the wooden fish in their hands, jumped up and down and danced. The musicians sat in the chiefs' bed. At a certain time in the song all of the dancers said "yū+ē" and all changed places, each moving to the station vacated by the man next in front of him. In this manner they moved about the entire circle. Except for the above exclamation the singing was all done by the musicians in the chiefs' bed. Afterwards there was a great feast (hompila), consisting of all sorts of cooked foods, everybody being invited into the square ground. Then they danced the common or stomp dance all that night, and everyone was compelled to attend, the old women and children being the only persons exempted.

535 William McCombs stated that in the garfish dance, as he knew it, the participants grouped themselves together in four circles at each of the four corners of the square in succession, beginning at the southeast and passing in the usual direction. This appears to have been like the Koasati dance just described, as was probably the fish dance mentioned by Swan in which the leader, male or female, carried a wooden fish.[19]

In the double-headed dance, there was one drummer and one other person to help him sing. There were two parties of dancers and a leader for each, which went round the fire in opposite directions, one outside of the other. After they had gone round four times the leaders took each other by the hand and all of their followers did the same, and they danced backward and forward a few times, away from and toward the fire. Then they let go and danced around the fire in the same manner four times more. After dancing backward and forward for the fourth time all shouted and stopped. There were two songs.

When the quail dance was to be undertaken one man sat close to the ball posts away from the fire beating a drum and all of the men and women danced around him. The men and women alternated and walked like quails. There were two songs and they made four circuits during each. This was danced at night and sometimes just before a ball game. The Mikasuki used a rattler instead of a drummer and he stood close by the fire. The dancers went by couples, a man and a woman holding each other's hands. There were four songs.

In the terrapin dance a drummer and an assistant singer sat by the fire to furnish the music. The dancers went in single file, men and women alternating. Each dancer clasped both hands together and moved them about to right and left, jumping a little at times. The leaders kept repeating "kwi'" over and over and the rest of the dancers said "haha." There was only one song, and they stopped

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p 277.

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after they had danced around four times. According to the Mikasuki chief the dancers went in double file, men and women alternating but not holding each other's hands. One rattler furnished the music and there were four songs. 535

In the tick dance no drum was used and there were no special singers, the men doing all the singing. They went in single file, men and women alternating, and holding the ends of handkerchiefs to make a continuous line. They assumed a kind of staggering step. There were 10 songs and when the last was sung they raised a shout and stopped. This might be danced at any time.

The Okâdjibândja dance was almost the same as the tick dance. It was danced by men and women in two files side by side. All of the men were outside and all of the women inside. The men and women held each other's hands and all went around the fire with an undulating motion, sometimes near the fire and sometimes removed from the fire. There were two songs. They danced eight times and then stopped. The men all sang; there was no other music. It was danced at any time.

In the rabbit dance there was no drummer, only one man with a rattle who was assisted in singing by all of the other men. There were three songs. The dancers were arranged in couples, a man and a woman, the women all being inside, with one old woman acting as leader. They danced around the fire four times and then stopped. They went faster and faster until some fell down. After they had gone round the fire twice more they went out to one side as in the horned-owl dance, then round the fire twice more, out at another side, round the fire again, and so on until they had been to all four sides. They sang the first song while standing still, the second song while going round the fire, and the third song while circling at the side of the fire.

In the friends' dance one man sitting on a bench near the fire drummed and was assisted in singing by a second man. When they began singing two men came in, walked all the way round the fire, went out again, and brought in two women. The four walked around the fire, a man and a woman side by side, and then the two women went out and brought in two more men. They went around again when the two last men went for two more women. This was kept up until all were brought in. After they were thus made friends the women danced around inside and the men outside about four times and then all stopped. There were two songs, one sung after all had been brought in. This could be danced at any time.

The following dances were described by the Mikasuki chief, but were unknown to, or forgotten by, the Alabama.

In the crow dance they went around in two files, first two women, then two men, and so on. At a certain time in the dance the women

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535 turned around and danced backward facing the two men and then turned back again. There were two songs; a rattle only was used.

In the corn dance they went in two files, a man and a woman side by side. The rattle was used alone and there were six songs.

In the hair dance two women went together and then two men alternately. There were four songs and the rattle only was used.

In the chigoe dance men and women mingled, joined hands, and danced round the fire in single file. A rattle was used and one song.

The old men's dance was danced about the time when pokeweed berries are ripe—i. e., about the middle of October. Young men were usually the performers. They fixed themselves up in imitation of old-time Indians. Each wore a mask made out of a pumpkin, gourd, or melon, holes being cut for the eyes and mouth and the latter provided with teeth made out of grains of corn. A headgear was constructed out of leaf stalks of the sumac, the small ends of which were tied together and the body opened out and fitted over the head. Long earrings were fastened to the mask and a shawl thrown over the head behind. They stained the outside of the mask with the berries of the pokeweed (osá in Creek). Finally the performer fastened tortoise-shell rattles on his legs, drew a blanket round himself, and performed all sorts of antics to make people laugh. He carried a bow and arrows improvised for the occasion, pretended to see game, and did other things supposed to be amusing. The children were scared half to death with his performances and William Berryhill, one of my informants, well remembers how frightened he was at them. The dance was known also to the most of my other old informants.[19a]

Regarding the catfish, small frog, sheep, beaver, cow, crane, and wolf dances I have no information other than that they existed. In the mosquito dance the women played jokes on the male dancers by pricking them with pins. The buzzard dance is said to have been a very pretty affair, the arms of the dancers being spread out and made to flap like the wings of buzzards.

The drunken dance was used just before gatherings broke up. The people formed a circle, acted as if they were intoxicated, and gradually scattered backward into the bushes and disappeared. It is said to have been like the skunk dance.

CEREMONIES

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

796 In the section on music and dancing I have spoken of the monthly ceremonies which early writers, including Bartram and Du Pratz, allege were performed by the southern Indians. This may be explained partly on the ground that social dances took place oftenest near the full of the moon. But, while most of the dances and feasts which I have described elsewhere can be explained as furnishing

[19a] See p. 556.

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last for a limited time only, are terminated, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, each of the members rests in the cabin which belongs to his class; but as soon as the sun appears above the horizon, a drum calls all of the chiefs to the assembly, which remains in session until sunset.[21]

In another place he makes certain amplifications regarding the time when such conventions took place. He says:

"These assemblies, which I have attended for twenty years, are held usually at the end of April or the beginning of May, as I have already said. To them are carried complaints and demands of all kinds, where the interests of the entire nation and its allies are discussed and regulated. They are held sometimes in the month of September, before they separate to go hunting, but then they are not general, few interesting things happen, and strangers are rarely present." [22]

Milfort is almost the only writer who gives a hint regarding the manner in which the chiefs and officials of the various towns were seated. It is probable that their individual merit often outweighed the numerical importance of the town.

Speaking in these assemblies was a high art and was, next to success in war, the major means of social advancement. Religious sentiment was attached to it, and before a public speech the Creek speaker used to spit four times with deliberation and repeat a formula. The oratorical language was full of metaphorical allusions, and irony and satire were resorted to rather than denunciation. Says Adair:

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"I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches—and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomohawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing: and, lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, 'Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.' They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoðp, and struck up the solemn, awful song, *Yó*, etc." [23]

And in another place:

"Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver

[21] Milfort, Mém., pp. 209-206.
[22] Ibid., pp. 204-205.
[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 64.

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•537 a very pathetic, elaborate, allegorical, tragic oration, in the high praise, and for the great loss, of their great, judicious war-chieftain, *Shu-las-hum-mash-tà-be*, our daring, brave friend, *red shoes*. The orator compared him to the sun, that enlightens and enlivens the whole system of created beings: and having carried the metaphor to a considerable length, he expiated on the variety of evils, that necessarily result from the disappearance and absence of the sun; and, with a great deal of judgment, and propriety of expression, he concluded his oration with the same trope, with which he began."[64]

642 Stiggins tells us that the confederate council was in reality without power. He says:

"The form of Government under which they live is a tyrannical oligarchy in its principles and practiced under that head to the full extent. At a slight view the most of people suppose and say that it is a democracy on republican principles but it is far different, for all public business whether of a national or private character is done by the chiefs. Though the nation is summoned in what is termed their grand council, when the state of the nation is supposed to be examined into, and their oral laws made, the assembly say not a word in the matter. For while in their sittings the assembled body of the nation sit as mutes, without being consulted in any manner until a few chiefs in their council house make the laws for their government without condescending to ask an opinion or approbation in any case, the national body being merely convened to hear what is done, for after a law is digested by the chiefs the national convention is informed of its tendency by the orator of the nation in a very exact and precise manner, who moreover informs them of all that has been transacted, which new law when they are made acquainted with its tendency, let it be as it may, they are the most obedient subjects under the sun to the penalties of it, be it oppressive or not. Should they infringe the law they will suffer beating, confiscation of their property or even death without a murmur or family resentment. Moreover, should an Indian be obstreperous in contending for his right of property or otherwise or obtrude on the right or even interests of a chief, the chiefs can so far tyrannize after a consultation as to have him beaten or slain, as a common disturber of the peace, without any other imputation of guilt than a law breaker as they term it.

642 648 177 "In former days in the time of their self importance and undisturbed government, before an agent was located in the nation by the U. S. to improve their morals and reform their customs, their ordained chiefs were more rude, active, and despotic and more frequent in their mandates of tyranny, and not near so uniform and circumspect in their deportment as now toward the common men. In later years the principal chiefs or great men of the nation have been

[64] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 11.

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The supposed derivation of the name Tulsa is, of course, fanciful. The story of the man turned into a serpent is well known among the southeastern Indians and I have several versions of it, but this is the only one in which it appears as explanatory of an historical event or social custom.

Legus Perryman and other informants told me that Kos istâgi is the old name of the Tulsa people; that it was used frequently in speeches on the busk ground; and that names beginning with Kos were common among them. One informant stated that the term was applied, not to the entire people, but to one of the two moieties, perhaps the Whites. The same terms were used by the Okfuskee, and, although some informants knew nothing of a connection between these towns, it is practically certain.

There is a story, the origin of which I do not know, to the effect that the Tulsa were once captured by the Tukabahchee.

Of course the native explanations of the names Coosa, Tulsa, and so on are the results of later reasoning. I met with two interesting cases of this linguistic phenomenon in which the English language was haled in to give point to the story. One affirms that there was once a great feast at which the Coweta Indians consumed so much more than any body else that they came to be called "Cow eaters." The other amounts to a myth built up to explain the name Eufaula and was related by as competent an authority as Jackson Lewis.

"In very early times the Eaufaula lived on one side of a certain stream and some Choctaw, with whom they were at war, lived on the opposite side which had a high bank. Every now and then a party from each would creep over to the other side, take a scalp, and, after their return, celebrate the event in the usual manner. Finally the Eufaula formed two bands of warriors which crept around back of the Choctaw town, one on each side, made an attack upon it and drove its occupants over the bluff, compelling them to jump into the water. From this circumstance that place came to be called "Where the people jumped down in" (isti aktaski) or "Where the people fell down in" (isti aklatki), and the Eufaula are said to have gotten their name from that circumstance. These names do not resemble the term Eufaula, but it is thought that that term is an English translation of them."

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The French memoir which I have assigned conjecturally to about the year 1755 contains the following curious story purporting to be the origin myth of the Creek Indians, or at least of that part of them living on Tallapoosa River. As it seems to emanate from Fort Toulouse, perhaps it should be still further restricted to the Alabama-speaking Indians about that place. The apparent European elements which it contains—for instance, the production of human beings from

[Cf. cat. 11b, p. 72--Analyst]

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men who had obtained eagle feathers,[95] and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer. 703 554

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kila), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mysteries were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries. 756 538 791

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation: 177 888

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[96]

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[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 93.

[96] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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It is interesting to compare with this the notes on the subject by Tuggle, written at a much earlier period: 776 821

"The Muskogee say of lightning that a little man rides a yellow horse, and when he shoots his arrows, it thunders. Sometimes he shoots at a tree.

"When lightning—'Ah-tee-ya-hal-tee' (Atoyahâti)—strikes a tree and slightly injures it, some say this is caused by the terrapin. When the tree is torn to pieces, this is caused by the big noise (thunder)."

Tuggle recorded the following regarding the wind:

"The Wind was very destructive. The people wanted him to go away.

"The Wind said: 'I am going away to the other end of the world. I will sometimes send some of my servants back to visit you. Some will be soft and gentle, some will be rough and loud. When the end comes, the last day, I will come with great power and will sweep all to one place from the four corners of the earth.'

"So the Wind went away."

Reference to the earth as an island has already been quoted. Further light on the native conception of it may be gained from the several creation stories, which are in fact stories of how the present order of things was instituted out of a previous order of things of an analogous nature. I have been told that there was once a long myth of this kind, most of which has been lost. The following fragments will, however, present the native idea in general outlines very well. The creation story and the flood story are so mingled that it will be well to include both. 773 [538]

The agent Eakins, who obtained most of his information from an Alabama Indian, says on this point:

"They believe that before the Creation there existed a great body of water. Two pigeons were sent forth in search of land, and found excrements of the earth-worm; but on going forth the second time, they procured a blade of grass, after which, the waters subsided, and the land appeared."[29]

Speck secured the following myth from a Tuskegee medicine maker:

"The time was, in the beginning, when the earth was overflowed with water. There was no earth, no beast of the earth, no human being. They held a council to know which would be best, to have some land or to have all water. When the council had met, some said, 'Let us have land, so that we can get food,' because they would starve to death. But others said, 'Let us have all water,' because they wanted it that way.

"So they appointed Eagle as chief. He was told to decide one way or another. Then he decided. He decided for land. So they

[29] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 266.

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the contrary he must go to cold running water in the morning, even though it were covered with ice, and, breaking the ice, if necessary, plunge into that. He must go in when daylight first showed itself and remain until the sun was up.[13a] This, of course, applies to the baths universally taken in the Southeast every morning and may be overdrawn in details.[14] 784 262

An individual taboo of my informant, or means of obtaining luck, was to drink from a cup held in his right hand while he faced the east. 789

The Natchez and Cherokee ate their food cold, believing it was better for their teeth. 262

Breaking wind was associated with manliness. 514

Among the Creeks I was told that when a story-teller finished his narrative he would spit, and then another would have to contribute a story in return, and in this way the cue was taken up by one after another "until the children went to bed." 538

MUSIC AND DANCING[14a]

Their musical instruments were the drum, rattle, and a kind of flute. Adair makes mention of a stringed instrument, and the mere notice of this would be important if we could prove that it was truly aboriginal. Pope speaks of the Indians in his time dancing for several hours to the music of the violin; but if so, this was a late innovation. The flute was used only by individuals and was never employed in ceremonies, as was constantly the case with the drum and rattle. The Alabama flute was made of two pieces of cedar hollowed out and fastened together with buckskin. There were six holes along the sides toward one end and on top toward the other was placed a separate piece of cedar covering two additional holes. All were bound with buckskin at frequent intervals. Flutes were sometimes made of cane. It may be said of the drum and rattle that the one was an almost invariable and the latter a very frequent accompaniment of their dances. 534

The drum was made by sawing off a cypress knee close to the ground and stretching a buckskin over the wide end (pl. 13, *a*). This buckskin was wet from time to time to make it sound properly. Anciently an earthen pot was also employed, and in later times they resorted to a keg partly filled with water and covered with buckskin or cowhide. The rattle was made of a gourd containing 30 or 40 small pebbles, with a stick about a foot long run through it as a handle. In later times a coconut was substituted for the gourd. The chief of the Mikasuki remembered to have heard of still another kind of

[13a] Or as another informant expressed it, "from the second call of the crow until sun up."

[14] See pp. 365-366.

[14a] The interested reader should consult "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," by Frank G. Speck, in Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1911.

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young buffalo, and translated into English, as soon as delivered. . . . The said skin was set in a frame, and hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster."[3] Of course this means that pictures had been made on the blanket similar to those in the Delaware Walam Olum, to mark the various important events narrated by the speaker. It has unfortunately been lost, along with the accompanying English text, but a German translation of the English was preserved, and from this Doctor Gatschet had the legend rendered again into English and also into Creek for his "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians." This version, including one or two corrections made by Doctor Gatschet in one of his personal copies of the work, is as follows:

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"WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO 1735, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS:

"[Speech, which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by][4] Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks; Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head-chief of the Cussitaws, Tomechaw, War King; Wali, War-captain of the Palachucolas, Poepiche, King; Tomehuichi, Dog-king of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War-chief of the Okonees, Tuwechiche, King; Whoyauni, Head War-chief of the Chehaws and of the Hokmulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Osoches; Opithli, King of the Jawocolos [Sawokli]; Ewenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War-captain of the Eufantees [misprint for Eufaulees?]; and thirty other Warriors.[5]

"At a certain time the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The Earth opened and the Cussitaws came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the Earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so. Their children, nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

"They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river—came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years;

[3] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 256.

[4] This bracketing is copied from Gatschet.

[5] The following transliterations and translations of a part of these names were furnished by the late G. W. Grayson and A. S. Gatschet: Anstitci, to wound; Ilitci, to kill, or putting something down; Osta, four (?); Tometca, (a number of creatures) flying; Wali, from wahali, south (though Gatschet suggests the name of the coast province of Georgia, Guale, see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80 et seq.); Poepitca, to cause to win; Hoyahini, to pass by; Stimelakostci, somebody having caused something to come; Hopili, fog.

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but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain was a sound as of singing. They sent to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountains. It thunders to this day; and men are very much afraid of it.

"They here met a people of three different Nations. They had taken and saved some of the fire from the mountain; and, at this place, they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and of other things.

"From the East, a white fire came to them; which, however, they would not use. From Wahalle [the South] came a fire which was blue; neither did they use it. From the West, came a fire which was black; nor would they use it. At last, came a fire from the North, which was red and yellow. This they mingled with the fire they had taken from the mountain; and this is the fire they use to-day; and this, too, sometimes sings. On the mountain was a pole which was very restless and made a noise, nor could any one say how it could be quieted. At length they took a motherless child, and struck it against the pole; and thus killed the child. They then took the pole, and carry it with them when they go to war. It was like a wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and of the same wood.

"Here they also found four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed their virtues: First, *Pasaw* [pasa], the rattlesnake root; second, *Micowsanochaw* [miko hoyanidja], red-root; third, *Sowatchko* [sowatcko], which grows like wild fennel; and fourth, *Eschalapootchke* [hitci laputcki], little tobacco. These herbs, especially the first and third, they use as the best medicine to purify themselves at their Busk. At this Busk, which is held yearly, they fast, and make offerings of the first fruits. Since they have learned the virtues of these herbs, their women, at certain times, have a separate fire, and remain apart from the men five, six, and seven days, for the sake of purification. If they neglected this, the power of the herbs would depart; and the women would not be healthy.

"About this time a dispute arose, as to which was the oldest, and which should rule; and they agreed, as they were four Nations, they would set up four poles, and make them red with clay which is yellow at first, but becomes red by burning. They would then go to war; and whichever Nation should first cover its pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of their enemies, should be the oldest.

"They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered their pole first, and so thickly that it was hidden from sight. Therefore, they were looked upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest. The Chickasaws covered

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their pole next; then the Atilamas [Alabamas]; but the Obikaws [Abihkas] did not cover their pole higher than to the knee.

"At that time there was a bird of large size, blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter than an eagle, which came every day and killed and ate their people. They made an image in the shape of a woman, and placed it in the way of this bird. The bird carried it off, and kept it a long time, and then brought it back. They left it alone, hoping it would bring something forth. After a long time, a red rat came forth from it, and they believed the bird was the father of the rat. They took council with the rat how to destroy its father. Now the bird had a bow and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bow-string, so that the bird could not defend itself, and the people killed it. They called this bird the King of Birds. They think the eagle is also a great King; and they carry its feathers when they go to War or make Peace; the red mean War; the white, Peace. If an enemy approaches with white feathers and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle, they dare not kill him.

"After this they left that place, and came to a white footpath. The grass and everything around were white; and they plainly perceived that people had been there. They crossed the path, and slept near there. Afterward they turned back to see what sort of path that was, and who the people were who had been there, in the belief that it might be better for them to follow that path. They went along it to a creek called *Coloose-hutche*, that is, Coloose-creek, because it was rocky there and smoked.

"They crossed it, going toward the sunrise, and came to a people and a town named Coosaw. Here they remained four years. The Coosaws complained that they were preyed upon by a wild beast, which they called man-eater or lion, which lived in a rock.

"The Cussitaws said they would try to kill the beast. They digged a pit and stretched over it a net made of hickory-bark. They then laid a number of branches, crosswise, so that the lion could not follow them, and, going to the place where he lay, they threw a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth in great anger, and pursued them through the branches. Then they thought it better that one should die rather than all; so they took a motherless child, and threw it before the lion as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw the net, and killed him with blazing pine-wood. His bones, however, they keep to this day; on one side, they are red, on the other, blue.

"The lion used to come every seventh day to kill the people; therefore, they remained there seven days after they had killed him. In remembrance of him, when they prepare for War, they fast six days and start on the seventh. If they take his bones with them, they have good fortune.[6]

[6] This war medicine is also mentioned by Hawkins. See p. 423.

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"After four years they left the Coosaws, and came to a river which they called *Nowphawpe*,[7] now *Callasi-hutche*.[8] There they tarried two years; and, as they had no corn, they lived on roots and fishes, and made bows, pointing the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-stones, and for knives they used split canes.

"They left this place, and came to a creek, called *Wattoola-hawka-hutche*,[9] Whooping-creek, so called from the whooping of cranes, a great many being there; they slept there one night. They next came to a river, in which there was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatunka-river*.[10] The next day they reached another river, which they called the *Aphoosa pheeskaw*.[11]

"The following day they crossed it, and came to a high mountain, where were people who, they believed, were the same who made the white path. They, therefore, made white arrows and shot at them, to see if they were good people. But the people took their white arrows, painted them red, and shot them back. When they showed these to their chief, he said that it was not a good sign; if the arrows returned had been white, they could have gone there and brought food for their children, but as they were red they must not go. Nevertheless, some of them went to see what sort of people they were; and found their houses deserted. They also saw a trail which led into the river; and, as they could not see the trail on the opposite bank, they believed that the people had gone into the river, and would not again come forth.

"At that place is a mountain, called *Moterell*, which makes a noise like beating on a drum; and they think this people live there. They hear this noise on all sides when they go to war.

"They went along the river, till they came to a waterfall, where they saw great rocks, and on the rocks were bows lying; and they believed the people who made the white path had been there.

"They always have, on their journeys, two scouts who go before the main body. These scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a town. They shot white arrows into the town; but the people of the town shot back red arrows. Then the Cussitaws became angry, and determined to attack the town, and each one have a house when it was captured.

"They threw stones into the river until they could cross it, and took the town (the people had flattened heads), and killed all but two persons. In pursuing these they found a white dog, which they slew. They followed the two who escaped, until they came again to the white path, and saw the smoke of a town, and thought that this

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[7] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 365.

[8] A misprint for Tallasi-hutche.

[9] Wattoola, sandhill crane; hatki, sound, noise; hutche, creek, river.

[10] Owatunka River.

[11] Cf. aphoosa, thread; fehatki, to sprinkle, scatter out.

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173 must be the people they had so long been seeking. This is the place
• 539 where now the tribe of Palachucolas live, from whom Tomochichi is descended.[12]

"The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded; but the Palachucolas gave them black drink, as a sign of friendship, and said to them: 'Our hearts are white, and yours must be white, and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk, and show your bodies as a proof that they shall be white.' Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk; but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion, and buried it under their beds. The Palachucolas likewise gave them white feathers, and asked to have a chief in common. Since then they have always lived together.

"Some settled on one side of the river, some on the other. Those on one side are called Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; yet they are one people, and the principal towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Nevertheless, as the Cussetaws first saw the red smoke and the red fire, and make bloody towns, they cannot yet leave their red hearts, which are, however, white on one side and red on the other. They now know that the white path was the best for them: for, although Tomochichi was a stranger, they see he has done them good; because he went to see the great King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and hear his talk, and had related it to them, and they had listened to it, and believed it."[13]

173 Doctor Gatschet has already discussed the Kasihta line of migration as unfolded by Chekilli in the above narrative.[14] I will merely review it briefly. The muddy river spoken of early in the narrative might well have been the Mississippi, for "Muddy River" was a name given to it by the Creeks. If this is so, however, the red river which they afterwards reached could not have been the Red River of Louisiana. In later versions of the legend the origin of the Creeks is traced to the historical Red River, and perhaps this may be the result of an attempt to localize the red river of the Chekilli legend. The first place to which a name is given is "Coloose-hutche," but the interpretation contained in the text, "because it was rocky there and smoked," is not traceable to any known Muskhogean tongue. "Hutche" is of course the Creek hátci, "river," but the balance of the word has a striking resemblance to a common abbreviation of the Choctaw Oka lusa, "Black Water." For this reason Brinton has suggested that the name referred to the Black Warrior River of western Alabama, though the Black Creek of Walker and Winston Counties, a tributary of the Black Warrior, would correspond more

[12] Tomochichi was chief of the Yamacraw tribe, settled where Savannah now stands when Oglethorpe established his colony. See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 105-108.

[13] Gatschet in Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 41-51. An earlier translation had appeared in Brinton's Lib. Aborig. Lit., vol. iv, pp. 344-351.

[14] Trans. St. Louis Acad. Sci., vol. v, pp. 98-102.

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173 story tellers or that the Creeks were able to record historical events in some relatively permanent manner. The first would at the outset appear the more probable explanation, but we know from several [211] sources that these tribes had mnemonic devices similar to quipus, and it is therefore possible that the movement took place along the line laid out. Certainly this earliest narrative localizes much more closely than any of the legends recorded later. Gatschet missed much of its value by thinking of the Kasihta and Coweta as two among 40 or 50 coordinate bodies, while in fact Kasihta and Coweta repre- [101] sented, in early times, the entire Muskogee element among the Lower Creeks, and the Abihka and Coosa the bodies of Muskogee from which most of the Upper Creeks originated.[17] This legend therefore involves the origin of the greater part of the Muskogee people.

Adair speaks several times of Indian traditions of a western origin, but usually he has in mind the Chickasaw. However, he says in one place that the Muskogee "believe their original predecessors came from the west, and resided under ground," [18] and by "predecessors" here he evidently intends ancestors.

173 Another long version of the legend is contained in a work by Gen. 539 Milfort,[19] who claims to have lived among the Creeks from 1776 to 1796, and to have been made "tastanégy ou grand Chef de guerre de la nation Crëck."[20] We know that there was no such position as "grand war chief of the Creek nation," every town having had its own tástánágis and its head tástánági. Still, under McGillivray, with whom Milfort claims to have been associated, a kind of despotism existed under which a friend of the Creek leader might have been advanced to considerable power. Though Milfort's work is written in an intensely egotistical vein and contains numerous exaggerations and misstatements it is evidently founded on fact. The migration legend which it reproduces is probably correct in fundamentals, but Milfort has identified rivers and other geographical features in such a reckless manner that he carries the Creeks over a large part of the central United States and into places where the nation was scarcely known even by name. The legend is probably a form of the version current at Otciapofa, McGillivray's home town, and has especial interest for that reason. It is as follows:

"When the Spaniards conquered Mexico everyone knows that this fair country of North America was inhabited by a gentle and peaceable people which, having no knowledge of firearms, was easily subjugated. It had only courage and numbers to oppose to the murderous arms of its enemies; in a word, it was defenceless; for

[17] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 218-234.

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 268.

[19] Mémoire ou Coup-d'Oeil Rapide sur mes différens voyages et mon séjour dans la nation Crëck. Paris, 1802.

[20] On the title page of Milfort's work.

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what availed a bow and arrows against the artillery of an army, feeble in numbers indeed but warlike, intrepid, and led on by an insatiable thirst for gold, which this too trusting people had been unfortunate enough to display to their eyes.

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"Montezuma reigned then in Mexico; seeing that it was impossible to arrest the progress of the Spaniards, he called to his assistance the peoples which were neighbors to his states. The nation of the Moskoquis, known now under the name of Creeks, who formed a separate republic in the northwestern part of Mexico, and who had numerous warriors, offered him assistance, formidable for any enemy other than a disciplined army, such as that of the Spaniards commanded by Fernan-Cortéz.

"The courage of this warlike people resulted, then, only in its more prompt destruction, and was not able to save Montezuma, who lost his life and his empire, which was almost entirely depopulated. After the death of Montezuma and many other chiefs, the Moskoquis, considerably weakened by this terrible war, which they were no longer in a condition to maintain, determined to abandon a country which offered them in exchange for their past happiness only the most terrible slavery, to search for one which would secure to them the abundance and peace of which the Spaniards had just deprived them.

"They directed their march toward the north, and ascended in fifteen days as far as the source of Red River, that is to say a distance of about a hundred leagues. This river throws its waters into the northern part of America, across immense prairies, a fact which fixed their determination to follow its course. They traveled therefore eight days in this direction through a plain brilliant with the most beautiful flowers, and covered with wild animals, which offered them all the resources necessary for their existence. This country would have attracted them to settle in it for all time on account of its richness in every respect; but, fearing still for their safety, in a country which did not offer them any natural defense, they continued their journey. In the different excursions which they made along this river, they did not discover any other, not even a stream joining it; but they often found lakes and ponds, many of which had salt water; these were generally covered with aquatic birds of all kinds, notably such as are met along the shore of the ocean. The prairies were alive with partridges, hares, rabbits, turkeys, and other animals. There are such great quantities of this sort of game in these countries, that, when it is pursued from different points at the same time, and is forced to flee, the air is obscured and the land covered with it.

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"After having traveled thus for many days they found some groves where they made a halt. The young warriors were sent in different directions by the old men to examine the face of the country. At the end of a month they returned announcing that they had discovered a forest, on the edges of which, and at the same time along Red River, were fine subterranean dwellings. The entire nation set out; and, when they arrived near these caves, they discovered that they had been dug by bison, or wild oxen, and other animals who inhabited them because the earth there was a little salty.

"The Moskoquis found in this country the peace and quiet which they needed in order to repair the considerable losses which they had suffered in the Mexican wars. The colony having brought along a little corn which was left to it, it was planted immediately in order to assure them a means of subsistence. As they lacked the necessary utensils with which to make a settlement they made use of sharp stones, instead of axes, to cut and sharpen sticks of wood which they afterward hardened in the fire and used in cultivating the ground.

"When the Moskoquis had thus performed the first labors connected with their new settlement, they marked out a field, as large as was necessary for the common needs of the colony, and they surrounded it with old pieces of wood and stakes planted in the earth, in order to guard against the incursions of bison and other wild animals, which are very fond of corn. They then allotted to the families the ground contained in this enclosure, and sowed it for their sustenance. The young people of both sexes worked the ground together while the old men smoked their pipes. In this manner they lived for many years, enjoying perfect tranquillity, living by hunting and fishing, and on the products of their land, and regretting little their separation from the country where they had suffered so much. They would no doubt have remained there permanently if the unhappy fortune which seemed to pursue them had not compelled them to undertake a second emigration.

"They were discovered by the Albamos or Alibamons, who killed many of their people. Then the old men, the natural chiefs of the nation, called together the young warriors, and sent them on the trail of the murderers, but without success, because there was no unity in their operations, and they lacked a common chief; they then felt the necessity of selecting one. The old men of the nation assembled and chose the one among them who had rendered the greatest services to the fatherland, and they named him their Tastanégy or grand war chief. . . .

"The Moskoquis are very warlike and are not cast down by defeat; the day after an unsuccessful battle, they march to meet the enemy as courageously as before. It was after this arrangement that they resolved to continue their course toward the northwest. After

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having marched in this direction for some time, and crossed immense plains, they stopped in a little forest on the banks of the Missouri. There they encountered the Alibamons, whom they had pursued for a long time. They made preparations for the combat. The Tastanégy, or great war chief, arranged the march in the following order: The family of the Wind, from which he had been chosen, crossed the river in the first line; it was followed by the family of the Bear, and then by that of the Tiger [Panther], and so on. When this river was crossed, as the entire nation was on the march, it was necessary to take measures to avoid a surprise on the part of the enemy; and, in case of an encounter with the enemy, to protect all those who were unable to fight. For this purpose, the young people, with their war chiefs, formed the van; the old men the rear guard; those of an age less advanced were on the flanks; the women and the children in the center. They marched in this order until the moment when they encountered the enemy. Then the young men advanced alone with their Tastanégy at their head, and left the main body of the nation in a place of safety, and under the protection of the old men. By a stealthy and well planned march they surprised their enemy, and reached the caves which the Alibamons inhabited, before the latter were warned; and, not allowing them time to rally, they made a great slaughter. The fright into which such a surprise threw the foe caused them to abandon their dwellings; they fled along the Missouri, and rallied on the banks of this river, while the Moskoquis were gone to rejoin their countrymen, in order to march again on the trail of the enemy. The Alibamons, fearing a new surprise, had made their old men, women, and children march in advance, the young warriors forming the rear-guard; then they continued for some time to descend this river on its right bank. The Moskoquis, following their trail, caught up with them, and defeated them many times. The Alibamons, seeing they were thus pursued, had made the body of their nation pass over to the left bank of the Missouri, and had given them time to get some distance in advance, by delaying the march of the enemy by various skirmishes. But, fearing that they would be unable to resist their attacks, they took advantage of the darkness one night to rejoin their fathers, the Moskoquis not observing them. The latter not finding any enemy when day came and suspecting the course they had taken, crossed the river in order to pursue them again. After a march of some days they again encountered them, and forced them to accept a general battle in which the Alibamons were defeated and fled to the banks of the Mississippi. The Moskoquis, pursuing them with fury, forced them to throw themselves into the river, where a very great number perished. The young Moskoqui warriors, having thus weakened their enemy considerably, ceased to pursue them until they had been rejoined by the body of the nation,

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which followed by short stages. They remained eight days on the bank of this river in order to rest.

"During all this time the Alibamons had marched rapidly and gotten far in advance. The Moskoquis, trying to catch them, buried themselves in an immense forest which is on the left bank of the Mississippi; they camped, but, as there appeared to be no advantage in establishing themselves there, the old men decided to continue the march, and, for this purpose, to send the young warriors in pursuit of the enemy. They marched many days without meeting them; but at length, having discovered their tracks, they returned to report to the council of old men who decided that they would go in pursuit. They advanced again; and, after a march of some days, they came to the river Ohio, which the French call Belle-Rivière. They went up along the banks near the Wabash; and, perceiving that the Alibamons had crossed the Ohio, they also crossed it. When they were on the other side, finding a region with a very beautiful climate, and very rich in all kinds of game, they determined to establish themselves there, and fixed their dwelling in what is known as the Yazau country. As the season was much advanced, they ceased their pursuit, and contented themselves with sending some young warriors to try to discover the route which the Alibamons had taken. The Moskoquis, profiting by some caves which they found and some which they made, took possession of the Yazau lands, where they passed many years, and where the caves which they excavated exist to this day.

"The Alibamons had advanced as far as the banks of the river Coussa; not seeing themselves pursued, and finding themselves in a fertile country, they stopped there; but as they were always in fear of some surprise they sent youths to find out what had become of the Moskoquis and whether they were still pursuing them. Although the war which the Moskoquis waged at this time on the Alibamons had originated in an aggression on the part of the latter, who had killed Moskoqui warriors, the youths who had been sent to discover the Moskoqui had the imprudence to kill the first whom they met. The old men, having been informed of this new aggression, had them march against the Alibamons. The Moskoqui warriors, having learned that the country which their enemy inhabited was toward the rising sun, in a region where the rigors of winter are little felt, and where a great quantity of game of all kinds is to be found, resolved to pursue them a third time, and to populate that country, which is between the two Floridas. With this object in view they crossed the river Cumberland and the Tennessee,[20a] and followed from the north the river Coussa, on the banks of which the remains of the Alibamons had established themselves. The latter, having learned of the march

[20a] It is, of course, nonsense to speak of crossing the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in going from the Yazoo country to the Coosa.

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of the Moskoquis, did not think it well to await them; they abandoned their position and scattered. Some went to seek an asylum among the Tchactas, and the rest repaired to Mobile, under the protection of the French, who had then just taken possession.

"The Moskoquis, no longer finding enemies to fight, took peaceful possession of the country which they had just conquered. They established themselves on the rivers *Coosa*, *Tallapoosa*, *Chattahoochee*, *Flint*, *Ocmulgee*, little and great *Oconee* and *Ogechee*, and pushed their settlements as far as the river Savannah in Georgia, where the city of Augusta is now built.

"After having taken possession of this immense territory in this manner and having established their settlements, the youths were sent as far as Mobile in pursuit of the Alibamons; but, as they had placed themselves under the protection of the French, the French commandant endeavored to obtain peace for the Alibamons from the chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors. The chiefs of the Moskoqui warriors, not wishing to take it upon themselves to make a treaty without the consent of their nation, referred the matter to the decision of the council of old men; and, while awaiting this decision, they consented to a suspension of hostilities, promising not to kill any Alibamon before they had received the reply of their council, to which they even promised to recommend their enemies, on the express condition that the Alibamons, on their side, would equally respect the Moskoquis, and would avoid as much as possible frequenting the hunting grounds where they must pass the winter, marking out for both separate territories. This truce lasted six months, at the end of which time the old Moskoqui men went down to Mobile with their warriors; and, not only was peace made between the two nations, in presence of the French commandant, but the Moskoquis also agreed to unite the Alibamons with themselves; and, to induce them to do this, they gave them a piece of land on the river of Mobile, which is still called river of the Alibamons. The latter accepted the proposition, under the condition that they might preserve their customs and their usages. Then all of the separated portions were reunited and came to establish themselves on the river which has received their name, and form one little town which bears the name *Coussehaté;*[20b] and, since this time, they have formed an integral part of the Moskoqui nation, which took at this period the name of Creek nation. This name signifies source river, and is derived from the situation of the country which they inhabit, which, as has been shown above, is surrounded or cut by a great number of good sized rivers.[21]

[20b] The Coussehaté (Koasati) really constitute an independent tribe, though related, it is true, to the Alabama.

[21] For the real origin of this term see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 215.

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"About the same time an Indian tribe which had been almost destroyed by the Iroquois and the Hurons came to ask for the protection of the Moskoquis, whom I will now call Creeks. The latter received them among themselves and assigned to them a territory in the center of the nation. They built a town which is now very considerable, which is named Tuket-Batchet from the name of the Indian tribe. The great assemblies of the Creek nation, of which it is an integral part, are sometimes held within its walls. The warlike reputation of the Creeks, and knowledge of the good reception which they had given the Alibamons and the Indian tribe of which I have just spoken, rapidly spread among the other savage people of North America; and those among them who were too weak to resist the attacks of an enemy, came at once to beg for their help. The Tasquiguy and the Oxiailles [Okchai], who had experienced from their neighbors the same fate as the Tuket-Batchet, having learned of the good treatment which the latter had experienced from the Creeks, came to ask of them an asylum and protection. They were both received into the nation; lands were given them to cultivate, and they [the Tasquiguy] established themselves at the junction of the rivers *Coosa* and Tallapoosa, where they made a village which still bears the name Tasquiguy. The Oxiailles went ten leagues to the north and established their dwelling in a beautiful plain on the banks of a little river; they formed a town there to which they also gave their name.

"A short time afterward the remains of the little Udgi [Yuchi] nation, which had been partially destroyed by the English, also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who assigned them lands on the banks of the river Chattahoochee. A part of the Chickasaw nation also came to seek refuge among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Yazau, at the head of the river of the Wolves [the Neshoba]. They built their settlements there, extending them as far as the mountains of the Cherokee, behind which runs the Tennessee River, which takes its rise in these mountains, near Tougoulou, back of South Carolina, at a short distance from the source of the Savannah in Georgia.

"The immense extent of territory of which the Moskoquis, now Creeks, had taken possession after the flight of the Alibamons, provided them with means of receiving in this manner all of the peoples who asked the favor of them, and giving them lands to clear. They thus augmented their reputation and their means of sustaining it.

"Although the nations received by the Creeks became integral parts of them encounters took place in which they alone were concerned; but, in case of defeat, they were allowed to claim the protection of the Creeks who aided them either by their arms, or their mediations . . ."

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[Here follows an account of the Natchez and their incorporation into the Creek confederacy; it contains little new information. Milfort also speaks of the admission into the confederacy of the Seminole, whom he treats as having been originally Florida Indians and Apalachee.]

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"A short time after the American revolution, a part of the Savanhaugay nation, which inhabits the upper part of the river Savanha, which has taken the name of this nation, retired to the north to the banks of the Ohio, near Quintockey [Kentucky]; the other part retired among the Creeks, who gave them lands on the river Tallapoosa, near the Alibamons. This nation established itself there and has built a little town, and follows its own peculiar usages and habits, which differ much from those of the Creeks, a fact which does not prevent perfect agreement between them. Their interests are common; they go hunting together, and on the same territory; in case of war their warriors march together, and obey the same grand chief. However, when a Savanhaugay marries a Creek woman, he is obliged to follow the laws, customs, and usages of the Creek nation; which does not happen when a Creek marries a Savanhaugay woman.

"The Creek nation, being thus augmented by a great number of emigrations from neighboring nations, has acquired a unity which makes it now very powerful and capable of putting on foot a very strong and very warlike army. Finding itself the most powerful on the continent, it is that fact which regulates every year, in the grand council of the old men, the conduct which shall be pursued during the year, not only by the different nations of which I have spoken which compose it, but also that of the savage nations of almost all North America." [22]

The narrative given by Swan is very much disordered and is worth little, the origin of the Seminole, for instance, being set down as antedating that of the Creeks. Perhaps this part of the story contains a reminiscence of an original occupancy of southern Georgia by the Creeks and their subsequent retirement to the Chattahoochee and even to the Tallapoosa. His account runs thus:

"Men of the best information and longest acquaintance with these Indians give the following account of the rise and progress of the nation.

"Tradition, handed down from one generation to another, has established a general belief among them (which may be true), that a long time ago some strange, wandering clans of Indians from the northwest found their way down to the present country of the Seminoles; there meeting with plenty of game, they settled themselves in the vicinity of the then powerful tribes of the Florida and Appa-

[22] Milfort, Voy., pp. 229-234. The true circumstances involved in the incorporation in the Creek Confederacy of the several tribes mentioned, so far as these are known, have been given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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lachian Indians: that for some time they remained on a friendly footing with each other. The new-comers were styled Seminolies (signifying wanderers, or lost men).[22a]

"These wanderers from the north increased, and at length became so powerful a body as to excite the jealousy of their Appalachian neighbors. Wars ensued, and finally the Seminolies became masters of the country. 'The remnants of the Appalachians were totally destroyed by the Creeks in 1719.'[23]

"In the process of time, the game of the country was found insufficient to support their increasing numbers. Some clans and families emigrated northward, and took possession of the present district of the Cowetas; having established themselves there, other emigrations followed, and in time spread themselves eastward as far as the Oakmulgee river, and other waters of Georgia and South Carolina, and westward as far as the Tallapoosee and Coosa rivers, which are the main branches of the Alabama. Here they were encountered by the Alabama nation, whom they afterwards conquered; and by restoring to them their lands and river, gained their attachment, and they were incorporated with the Creek nation. The Creeks became famous for their abilities and warlike powers; and being possessed of a well watered country, were distinguished from their ancestors (the Seminolies of the low barren country) by the name of Creeks or Muscogies.

"The kind soil, pure water, and air of their country being favorable to their constitutions as warriors, has perhaps contributed to give them a character superior to most of the nations that surround them.

"Their numbers have increased faster by the acquisition of foreign subjects than by the increase of the original stock. It appears long to have been a maxim of their policy, to give equal liberty and protection to tribes conquered by themselves, as well as to those vanquished by others—although many individuals, taken in war, are slaves among them; and their children are called, of the slave race, and can not arrive to much honorary distinction in the country on that account.[24]

"The Alabamas and Coosades are said to be the first who adopted the ceremonies and customs of the Creeks, and became part of the nation. The Natchez, or Sunset Indians, from the Mississippi, joined the Creeks about fifty years since, after being driven out of Louisiana, and added considerably to their confederate body. And now the Shawanese, called by them Sawanes, are joining them in large numbers every year, having already four towns on the Tallapoosee river, that contain near 300 war men, and more are soon expected."[25]

[22a] Properly people who camp at a distance from the large settled towns.

[23] Probably Swan's informants had in mind the dispersion of the Apalaches by Moore in 1704. By referring to Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 109-120, it will be seen that the destruction was by no means complete.

[24] There appears to have been little truth in this statement.

[25] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 259-260.

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In his paper in volume 3 of the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society William Bartram states that the Creek nation in his time consisted of about 60 towns, "thirty of which speak the *Muscogulge tongue*, and are the progeny or descendants of a powerful band of a nation bearing that name, who, many years since (on their nation becoming very numerous, and filling their native country with inhabitants, by which the game and other necessary produce of their country became scarce and difficult to procure) were induced to separate themselves from, and go in search of, new and plentiful regions. They directed their migrations eastward, leaving with great regret and difficulty their native land, containing their relations and friends, which was on the banks of a large and beautiful river, called the Red River, from great quantities of red stone, of which they formed their tobacco-pipes.[25 a] Their migrations continued a long time, and under great hardships and embarrassments, they being continually attacked by hostile Indian nations, till at length they arrived at the banks of the *Great River*, i. e., that which they crossed, when they began to think of establishing a permanent residence; but, being yet assaulted and disturbed by surrounding nations, they pushed eastward as far as the *Ockamulge*."[26] In the narrative of his travels Bartram covers the same ground in fewer words, and adds that "they were obliged to make a stand, and fortify themselves in this place [Ocmulgee], as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes. Having formed for themselves this retreat, and driven off the inhabitants by degrees, they recovered their spirits, and again faced their enemies, when they came off victorious in a memorable and decisive battle. They afterward gradually subdued their surrounding enemies, strengthening themselves by taking into the confederacy the vanquished tribes."[27]

Nearer to the original is Hawkins's narrative obtained from Tussekiah Mic-co, evidently of the town of Kasihta:

"There are in the forks of Red river, (We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fuskee,)[28] west of Mississippi, (We-o-coof-ke, muddy water,) two

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[25a] The Red Pipestone Quarry was in Minnesota and of course had nothing to do with the Red River of Louisiana.

[26] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 12.

[27] Bartram, Travels, p. 53.

[28] The Muskogee words used by Hawkins in this story and requiring explanation are the following: We-cha-te-hat-che Au-fus-kee (Wi tcati hátci akfáski, "water red river forks"). We-o-coof-ke (Wi ogufki, "water muddy"). Hi-you-yul-gee (Hayuya + ólgi, see footnote 30). Tote-kit-eau (totka itka "fire place," "where the fire burns," the busk fire). E-eau-ga-tuh E-mis-see (Isagita immisi "breath its holder or keeper"). Mic-co-ho-yon-clan (miko hoyánkija "chief purgative"). Auche-nau (atcina "cedar"). Too-loh (tólia "sweet bay"). E-mau-li-ga-tuh (immaleigita "clan"). Nee-cooee-ul-gee (Nekosi + ólgi "Bears" or "Bear people"—i. e., "Bear clan"). Mic-ul-gee (Miko + ólgi "Chiefs"). Is-tau-nul-gee (Istani + ólgi "Istani (Spanish?) clan"). E-ne-han-thloo-ul-gee (Henliha + iáko + ólgi "Big Henlihas"). Thlot-lo-ul-gee (Zólo + ólgi "Fishes," "Fish clan"). Au-tus-eau (Atúsá "war-club"). Te-po-lux-o (tipolukso). E-eau-halpe (Ika halpi "head skin"). Itlo chate (Ito tcati "red stick," "red wood," "red tree"). Cha-chu-see (tcatcusi "my younger brother or brothers"). Chat-la-hau (tcáláhá "my elder brother or brothers"). Um-mau-mau-yuh (probably ámá' mayi "my tall, high, or grown people"; the ceremonial name of Coweta was Coweta ma' mayi, "tall Coweta"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 295). Tool-eau-hat-chee (Tukaba'tci). Au-lit-chul-ul-gee (alíktca + ólgi "doctors"). O-cheese-hat-che (Otcíki hátci "Otcíki River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 218). Chic-ka-tal-lo-ém-hat-che (Tcíska tálólo hátci "Chiska-town River"—See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 288). Sau-va-no-gee (Sawánki). Tote-kit-eau humgeee (itétka + itka + hómkusi "square-ground fire one only").

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mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh, and Chickasaws found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the Hi-you-yul-gee,[29] four men who came from the four corners of the world. One of these people asked the Indians, where they would have their fire, (tote-kit-cau). They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down around it. The Hi-you-yul-gee directed, that they should pay particular attention to the fire, that it would preserve them and let E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, (master of breath,) know their wants. One of these visitors took them and showed them the Pas-sau; another showed them Mic-co-ho-yon-ejau, then the Auche-nau, (cedar,) and Too-loh, (sweet bay.) (There are one or two other plants, not recollected. Each of these seven plants was to belong to a particular tribe (E-mau-li-ge-tuh).) After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came.

"The three towns then appointed their rulers. The Cussetuhs chose the Noo-coose-ul-gee, (bear tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (mic-cos,) and the Is-tau-nul-gee, to be the E-ne-hau-thluc ul-gee, (people second in command.) The Cowetuhs chose the Thlot-lo-ul-gee, (fish tribe,) to be their Mic-ul-gee, (miccos.)

"After these arrangements, some other Indians came from the west, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club, (Autus-sau.) They fell out, fought and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the Au-be-cuh at Coosau river. Here they agreed to go to war for four years, against their first enemy; they made shields (te-po-lux-o) of Buffalo hides, and it was agreed that the warriors of each town, should dry and bring forward the scalps (E-cau halpe) of the enemy and pile them; the Aubecuh had a small pile, the Chickasaws were above them, the Cowetuhs above them, and the Cussetuhs above all. The two last towns raised the scalp pole, (Itlo chate, red wood,) and do not suffer any other town to raise it. Cussetuh is first in rank.

"After this, they settled the rank of the four towns among themselves. Cussetuh, called Au-be-cuh and Chickasaw cha-chu-see (younger brothers). The Chickasaw and Aubecuhs, called Cussetuh and Cowetuh, chat-la-hau (oldest brothers). Au-be-cuh, called the Chickasaw Um-mau-mau-yuh (elders, or people ahead of them). Chickasaws sometime use the same expression to Aubecuh.

"This being done, they commenced their settlements on Coo-sau and Tal-la-poo-sau, and crossing the falls of Tallapoosa above Tool-cau-bat-che, they visited the Chat-to-hoche, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the Cussetuh

[29] I have been told that Yahola and Hayuya were "very pure spirits" who presided over the annual ceremony or busk. Hi-you-yul-gee would be the plural of Hayuya. See p. 488.

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fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic makers (Au-lic-chul-gee) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats.[20] They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this they spread out eastwardly to O-cheese-hat-che (Ocmulgee), Oconee, O-ge-chee (How-ge-chuh), Chie-ke-tal-lo-fau-hat-che (Savannah), called sometimes Sau-va-no-gee, the name for Shaw-a-nee. They met the white people on the seacoast, who drove them back to their present situation.

"Cussetuh and Chickasaw consider themselves as people of one fire (tote-kit-cau humgoce) from the earliest account of their origin. Cussetuh appointed the first Micco for them [the Chicaksaw], directed him to sit down in the big Savanna, where they are now, and govern them. Some of the Chickasaws straggled off and settled near Augusta, from whence they returned and sat down near Cussetuh, and thence back to their nation. Cussetuh and Chickasaw have remained friends ever since their first acquaintance.

"During the late war between the Creeks and Chickasaws, Cussetuh refused her aid, and retained her long established friendship for the Chickasaws; and when the Creeks offered to make peace, their offers were rejected, till Cussetuh interposed their good offices. These had the desired effect, and produced peace."[21]

We now know that those versions of the legend which represent the Muskogee as having come as far east as the Georgia coast from which they were pressed back by the whites have better foundation in fact than was formerly supposed.[22] Bolton[22 c] has shown that the location of the great body of Creeks on Ocmulgee River prior to 1715 was ephemeral, but there can be no doubt that some Creek tribes were elements in the population of Guale on the Georgia coast.[22 b] As we have seen, Swan brings the Creeks into Florida and Gallatin had obtained a similar legend, perhaps through Swan himself.

"Their traditions say that they emigrated from the Northwest until they reached Florida, when they fell back to the country between the headwaters of the Alabama and Savannah Rivers . . . Those

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[20] Most Muskogee traditions recognize that the country into which they came was already occupied. Besides references in several of the myths here given, a contributor to Schoolcraft's first volume states that the "Creeks believed the land they occupied was held before their coming by another people of whom they had no definite knowledge, but not by other people than Indians and not by a more civilized people." They conquered these earlier occupants and the latter "wended their way south." This authority differs from many others in affirming that "the circular breastworks in their country they believed were built by themselves for protection." (Schoolcraft, Am. Inds., I, pp. 289-297.) Pope mentions a war waged by the Creeks with "a numerous Tribe of Seminoles, whom the Creeks after a long and bloody contest of 20 years exterminated, and re-peopled the deserted villages by slow emigrations from their own victorious tribes." He modestly places this event 10,000 years before his own time (Pope, Tour, p. 32).

[21] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pt. I, pp. 81-82.

[22] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 86-109.

[22c] H. E. Bolton, Spain's Title to Georgia, Univ. of Calif. Press, Berkeley, 1925, pp. 52-56.

[22b] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., loc. cit.

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173 remaining in Florida were called the Seminoles, or Isti-semole (wild
•539 men). The nation became a confederacy of tribes, speaking other languages, modifying somewhat the original Muskogee, but who, nevertheless, numbered seven-eighths of their whole number."[33]

A few references to this legend appear in the American State Papers and in other publications, but, with one exception, they add little or nothing to it, their value being purely confirmatory. The one exception is the statement attributed by Gallatin, to "the chiefs of the delegation, who attended at Washington in the year 1826," and who "agreed that the prevailing traditon amongst them was, that the nation had issued out of a cave near Alabama River."[34] Unless this was in reality the Alabama story[35] instead of that of the true Muskogee, it stands entirely by itself.

173 Practically all of the older Creeks retain some belief in a western origin.[36] The place from which they came they call "the navel of the world," and it is now supposed to have been at Ikâná la'foni, "the backbone of the earth," a name they give to the Rocky Mountains. There is always mention of their having crossed waters, and of the course of their migration having been supernaturally guided by means of a stick which they set up in the ground and which bent of itself in the direction they were to take. This stick is said to have been a ball stick, and it is often spoken of as red.[37] One informant explained the color by saying that the pole was made of cedar. Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, told a somewhat different story. According to him, when the Muskogee came out of the navel of the earth near the Rocky Mountains they had a red arrow which they shot a long distance in advance, marching in the direction of its flight until they had reached it. They repeated this action every day until they found the arrow lying pointing backward. At that spot they halted and established their nation.

173 Legus Perryman, formerly interpreter for the Creek chief Pleasant
539 Porter, and at one time chief of the Creeks himself, gave me the following versions of the migration legend, as told by the Tulsa and Coweta Indians, respectively:

"The people who were afterward known as Coosa or Tulsa Indians traveled eastward toward the rising sun until they came to a big water too wide to cross. They went back from this to a certain place and lived there a long time. By and by they came to the same water again but here it was narrow. The other shore was well wooded

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[33] Gallatin, quoted in Ann. Rept. Smithson. Inst., 1885, part II, p. 211.

[34] Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., II, p. 95.

[35] For the Alabama origin myths see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 191–192.

[36] Early in the nineteenth century, according to the American State Papers (Ind. Aff., II, p. 571), four Creek chiefs denied that their people had come from the West and obtained their lands by conquest, but a misunderstanding is quite possible, and, besides, this testimony concerned their title to the lands of the old Creek Nation in Alabama and Georgia, a fact which they very well knew.

[37] In the oldest legend, as we have seen, it is represented as a war club (see p. 35).

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and pleased them, and they wanted to get over to it. Their leader, however, said: 'We ought to cross, but I am going to try an arrow.' If it landed on the other side he knew they could get over. He shot, therefore, and his arrow went into the woods. The people remained there until they had gotten together some boats and rafts on which they crossed in safety. Then they established themselves where they found quantities of game. After a while they began moving east again, and they did this at intervals, always in the same direction. At last they settled permanently, became very numerous, and established square grounds.

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"One night, a long time afterward, a dance was held at which all persons were present except a newly married couple who were in some manner delayed. When these arrived at the square, late at night, they found nothing there but a lake. They remained on the shores of the lake watching and noticed that the birds which tried to fly across fell in and were drowned. One big crane, however, flew all the way over. It said 'koos, koos, koos,' and they thought that that was its name. As time went on this couple had children and their descendants formed another big town; and because the bird did fly over the submerged village in safety they named the town after it, saying 'We shall be called Coosas.' And in the town orations to-day their descendants, the people of Tulsa, begin by saying 'We are the Coosa people.'

"The Coweta say that they came out from under the earth and found the surface soft and muddy, difficult to travel upon. By and by it became dry and hard. They were on the top of a mountain from which they could see the setting and the rising of the sun. Then they debated whether to go toward the sunset or the sunrise but finally they agreed to go toward the sunrise. So they traveled eastward slowly, stopping a long time where the hunting was good and then going on again, until they came at last to a river. This river was very muddy and so wide that they stayed on its banks longer than anywhere else, and there they inaugurated the ball play. At last they made boats and crossed. Then they traveled on again eastward until they came to the ocean ('big water'). They found that the water of the ocean would come up and go out again, enabling them to collect oysters and other things good to eat, and they stopped there and lived on those products, being unable to pass beyond. They claim that they traveled side by side with the Kasihta, and some add the Abihka, which some deny. The place from which they started they call Ilafoni, 'the backbone,' and they identify this with the Rocky Mountains."

The following version of the migration legend was told by Ispahihtca, of the Kasihta town, a former chief of the Creek Nation,[37a]

[37a] See p. 321.

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to James R. Gregory, by whom it was repeated to the writer in May, 1912:

"Some people anciently lived together in the west. In course of time they became so evil that they could find nothing pure in the world except the sun, and they determined to travel eastward to find the place from whence it came. On the way they became separated into three bodies. The first of these were called Chickasaw because on the morning when they were to set out they were the first to see the sun rise and said Tcika ha'sà [hitcika hasà], 'See the sun!' The second body said to the first Kobasita,[376] 'Where is the sun?' from which circumstance they received the name Kasihta. The Chickasaw moved first, the Kasihta following them, but the third body of people had some difficulty in passing around a brier thicket and were left a long distance behind, so that the parties in advance began to call them Ko-aoita, 'Those that are following us,' whence the name Coweta.

"During their travels these tribes came to a great river which they crossed, and presently the Chickasaw entered upon a beautiful country where were small prairies abundantly supplied with strawberries and other wild fruits and having deep pools of water. Then the Chickasaw did not want to go any farther and said that they did not care where the sun came from. So they settled in that country, while the remaining bands held on their course. By and by the Kasihta, who were still in advance, crossed a river smaller than the first. On the other side they raised a mound, leaving a great chamber in the center in which to fast and purify their bodies. They left their women, children, and other noncombatants there and went on toward the east. Afterward, the Coweta arrived on the opposite side of the river and sent word over that they intended to cross and kill everyone in the place because the Kasihta warriors had not waited to have them join in the expedition. But among the Kasihta women was one who had a magic white stone or pebble, the mate to which was in the keeping of her husband among the warriors. By means of this stone she informed him of the serious state of affairs, and the Kasihta warriors immediately retraced their steps, cut switches, and, passing over to the Coweta warriors, whipped them severely. But they did not strike them with a weapon of war. They then told the Coweta to take charge of the mound, and, gathering together their own noncombatants, they went eastward once more.

"After the Kasihta had left, the Coweta made medicine and went inside of the great mound in order to purify themselves, but while they were there a Cherokee war party attacked the camp. Great was their surprise, however, when the Coweta warriors poured up

[376] Kō is not the usual word meaning "where?" but is probably an exclamatory particle.

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from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws. 173 539

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white." [526 631 829]

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breathholder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

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earth being created, the second thing is water, the third the trees and grass, and the fourth the things having life.' Even down to the smallest things they were created.

"And, continuing, he said: 'A last day will come.' That is what he said to him. Continuing, he said: 'Fire will destroy this world, and when it comes the dead people will arise out of the earth and fearful things that were existing within it will arise out of it. Everything will gather together in the interior of the earth. At that time there will be no more death.

"'When that occurs I too will come.' he said. 'I shall come to seek those who have not killed anyone, and those who have not told a lie, people who are really humble, those who love people much, and persons who are unselfish, and persons who abase themselves. And when I take them up, "Take me up, too," the others will say, holding their hands up. Then those left on that day which is bright and hanging will be lost together.'[38]

"And when he departed they stood still looking about, and when they saw the rising sun, they wanted to see the place from which it came, and they started thither. And while they were on the way, they considered, supposing the sun to be hot, how they should light a fire with it. Then they took a stick of wood dried in the sun's heat and bored into it with another dry stick until it caught fire. Then they named the wood with which they had made the fire 'the slimy wood' (afo's'lipa'kfa—the slippery elm).

"Afterward they remained there four years, fasting for eight days [each year!]. When the four years were completed, providing themselves with the fire, they again set out toward [the sun]. And while they were still traveling east the Chickasaw stopped saying, 'My moccasins are worn out, and I will stop to mend them; even if you go on I will catch you.' 'All right,' he [Kasihta] said. He made a spring for him, by sticking his elbow down into the ground and turning it around four times. Having made a big spring for him, he said 'Stay here drinking this until you can go.' Then [the Kasihta] went away. But [the Chickasaw] settled there for good.

"When they came to the end of the dark grass they continued to obtain things for themselves.

"Whenever they stopped they remained there for four years; they marched with an advance guard moving about in front. When they saw the ocean and found that they could not go farther they stopped there. They rested by a large river. Then they learned that some people were living on the other side. They wanted to know what sort of people were living there and went near, when a fog covered them so that they were moving about in it and so stopped

[38] The material in the latter half of the first paragraph and in paragraphs 2 and 3 is, of course, from Christian sources.

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not able to see anything. They discovered that the strangers had something which smelt very good and they wanted it, and they considered how they could get it.

"While they were considering over it they made a long mound and another round mound. They said that this action would give them help. When they were ready they caused a wind to blow on the people covered with fog living there, and the fog was cleared away. Then they killed [part of the stranger people] and took many captive and exterminated that town.[20] They built a town there of their own. While doing this they were in the habit of sending out guards. They made the guards go out for one year, and when those returned [who had been away during the war] and found that [stranger] people had been killed, they said 'You did not save any for us,' and they wept in anger at having been deprived of the opportunity to kill. The two men were projected across the river, hanging to the ends of arrows, and going along the stream they trailed [their enemies]. Presently they found two persons lying asleep who had been throwing up the earth into mounds. They killed them there and by so doing wiped away their tears. Then the locality was named 'Shoveling place.' After four years [the Kasihta] left their women and children together in that place and set out to get scalps. Not anticipating any danger the men all started out. The women continued to live there alone. Afterwards the Coweta people, following their trail, came to the big river and camped on the nearer side. Then they sent out scouts who reported that people were staying near by. Then they said 'We had better kill them,' and they said 'Watch them closely.' Watching them closely they discovered that only women were in that place. Then they went near and spoke to them. And they said to them 'What has become of the males?' They answered 'They went away to war a long time ago. It is now nearly four years since they left.' And [the new comers] answered 'They can not be alive.' But an old woman said 'The men are still alive.' Then they (the Coweta) said: 'Being an old woman she tells lies.' When it got dark that old woman put a stone into the fire, and when it was red all over she took it out and laid it down pointing in the direction in which the Kasihta had gone, and she stood upon it; and after she had stood there for a while she came back and said 'The men are alive.' Although she said so they did not believe her. And when they said 'She is lying' some of the women thought 'It is probably so,' and finally some married these men. The little old woman tried to dissuade them, and many obeyed her. After a time she said 'Now the warriors are near,' but they did not believe her. 'Now they are close by,' she said, 'Fix your-

[20] From a note these people would appear to have been considered Yuchi.

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selves. Comb yourselves.' She kept on encouraging the whole town. When the warriors had gotten near to the town she went out to their camp and said 'Things have been thus and so while we have been settled here,' and she informed them about all that had happened. But when people had been to war it was their custom not to enter the town on their return too hurriedly. Therefore they waited some time to attend to [i. e., purify] themselves and then passed into the town. Then they held a council and said 'What shall we do with these men? If we kill them it will be of no benefit and they may be of use to us.' And while they were sitting in council they gathered the male Coweta together. Then they built a large fire and made them dance, pushing them down into the fire so that they jumped over it to escape. They did this for some time. They also took sticks and beat them on the front parts of their calves, and they cut off theirs ears, and they made a law of this.[36]

"Then they continued to play tricks on the Coweta by putting strings of dog excrement around their necks. They said 'It shall be our law that if a man cohabits with a married woman his ears shall be cut off and also his nose. And if a person is whipped inordinately and he dies the leader of the whipping party shall be killed. And if a man cohabits with a married woman in the middle of the summer at the time of the big harvest when the busk is over, and the aggrieved party finds it out, if the man runs away and lives by himself for a whole year, in midsummer after the busks of all the towns are over, the man and the woman can not receive the penalty of the law.' Then they continued 'We have constructed a long mound and a round mound in order to protect ourselves. You must sit down and watch them.' So the tall Coweta were told. They also made a chief for [the Coweta]. And they used for this purpose the Fish clan. 'If you lose him by death you must consider for yourselves [how to replace him],' they were told. And there they made a tribe of the Coweta. Then they were told to live inside of the two mounds. And on top of these hollow mounds they drank âsi every morning. And when the âsi was cooked a great pan of it was set out before them at daybreak every morning. Every morning when it was taken they set it away for them. They established themselves there permanently as a tribe. They told each other what they had been doing. Then the Kasihta put a question to the Coweta, and they answered: 'We came along the trail on which others had gone. We came because we wanted to see what they were doing.' And the people said 'since it came (awit) afterward the tribe shall be named Awita,' and it was so named.

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[36] Having reference to the Creek laws against adultery; see pp. 249-254.

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"And, continuing the Kasihta said 'We came out of the center of the earth.' The Coweta answered 'We came out at the same place but, the root of a tree extending in front of us, we emerged only after a delay.' Then they learned that they had been created one people. And they said 'We shall have to return again the way we came, and when we reach the place of our creation we shall be annihilated.' The names of the two rivers near that town were Big River (Hátci Łáko) and Confluent River (Háto Afa'ski). 173 539.

"There was a place for killing fish at that point; it was found out that it was a place to which fish would come. The Kasihta having found it broke off a pine limb and laid it upon a rock. And the Coweta found it afterward and broke off a black weed called ata'k la-lasti[355] and laid it down in the same place. Then the Coweta said 'I have found a fish-killing place.' The Kasihta said 'I found it first. I broke off a pine limb to mark it and laid it upon a rock.' And the Coweta said 'I, too, broke off a black weed and laid it there.' They wrangled with each other about it. Then they said to each other 'Let us examine the place.' And when they went to see the marks they found two lying there. When they had examined the matter they found two fish-killing places close together and one was abandoned to the Coweta. Near by was their own fish-killing place where they lived catching and eating fish. They continued there, beginning and carrying on things for their amusement. There they built their big house.[356] They erected four structures which they called houses (tcuko). They placed one to the west, another across from this,[357] another toward the south, another toward the east,[358] and another toward the north. They made the length [of each?] eighty times the length of a person's foot and the breadth thirty times. And they made the measure of the arena between them eighty foot-measures each way. The round big-house stood toward the west.[359] They constructed it with a pointed roof, and they covered it with pine bark stripped from the trees. They made only one door, looking toward the east. And they built a fire exactly in the middle so that when it was raining or snowing they could dance there. And in the one of the four houses which stood toward the west the miko of the tribe sat with his vice-chief (apokta). It was called the house of the mikos (mi'kálgi i'ntchuka). And those who sat in the house to the south were known as 'the owners of the white (há'tki ipu'tcasi).' If the miko and vice-miko both died they appointed new ones. The one lying across toward the east was called the house of the women (hu'ktagi i'ntcuka). And that on the north side was called 'the house of the warriors' (tástánágálgi i'ntcuka). They 173 539 361

[355] This has yellow flowers which appear at the time of the fall hunt.
[356] The ceremonial square.
[357] Probably by inadvertence the eastern structure is mentioned twice.
[358] The tokuko or town "hot house."

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173 539 [361] were their war talkers (inhułupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tâdjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[40b]

173 539 796 "And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obânga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[40c] (its obânga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obâ'nga tcâ'ɒko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obânga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[40d]

173 539 796 526 "[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

[40b] See pp. 174-180 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.
[40c] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 809.
[40d] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 546-554.

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time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. The distance between them in either direction was two hundred yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.[40]

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"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,[41] was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved.

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"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.[42] The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

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[40] See pp. 452-455 for a description of the ball game.

[41] "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

[42] The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee *yamasi* is the word meaning "gentle."

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top of the bluff scolding at a dog in his own language. He became interested and went out. Presently he saw a Muskogee family sitting [by their dwelling] talking. When he got to the place he saw a great camp extending to the creek. The person to whom he went said 'Sit down' and he sat down. Then the Cherokee surrounded him and he sat still unable to do anything. They said to him 'What do you want?' and he answered 'I am here because I was directed to go and see the Cherokee chief. They said to me "When you reach Ikan tápikxi (Level land), anywhere in that country you can obtain an interpreter."' Then the Cherokee said 'The chief is living at a distance, but he will arrive four days after having been sent for.' Then he remained there as a prisoner.

"It was a custom of the Cherokee to send out scouts and as soon as they had come home ask each of them what he had learned concerning their enemies. They did so at this time, and he sat listening to them. And when the returning scouts had all gotten through they thought that nothing was the matter. While he was sitting there the returning scouts were all examined as to whether they had seen anything that might give concern to the town, and they finished. Then they examined them again saying 'Did you hear a shot fired?' and one said 'I heard one.' And each of the Cherokee said in turn 'I have not fired a gun.' Then they said to Good-child Chief who was sitting near 'Did you shoot?'

"He answered 'I did.' 'At what did you shoot?' they asked him. 'I shot at a deer' said he. 'Did you shoot near by?' they asked. 'I shot at him very near' he said, 'and I thought I hit him but I came here instead of going to see.' Then they said 'Let us go and see where you did this,' and they took him along. Presently he said 'I shot it here and it went on and died without going very far away.' Then they tried to find it and did so, and they brought it back. 'He has spoken the truth' they thought, and they watched him closely during the four days. At intervals the young men of the Cherokee came in whooping saying that the chief of the Cherokee was coming. On the fourth day he came and they prepared very large round sticks of wood. When all were in the house Good-child Chief and his interpreter were called in. Then his interpreter said to him 'Where the Cherokee are assembled to observe their customs sit still without paying any attention to them.' Then they said 'It (the council) is ready.' So the two went up and sat down. What the interpreter had said about the way they exercised their law was going to be carried out. One man danced the whooping dance holding the ax with which people were killed. He struck the ax into the ground between [the prisoner's] feet. After he had done this for a considerable time he twisted his breechclout to one side and pushed his buttocks toward the stranger's face. Although

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Good-child Chief did not like this he could not resent it and remained seated. After the man had danced around for a while he stopped and sat down.

"Then they gave Good-child Chief permission to speak. 'Let him make known what he wants' they said. Then he said: 'Brothers, we have caused each other suffering for a long time. I was told to come and see the Cherokee chief.' [My people] said 'While our mother is the same and our father is the same we punish each other, and it has come to such a pass that even our children are inspired with terror. Hereafter it shall not be so. The white path shall extend from our doors,' my people said. 'Even if red is on that path we shall not think it is human blood,' they said, 'and even if we find blood near streams we shall not think it is human blood. We shall think thus. We shall think it is the blood of the many things that are to be found in the water,' they said. 'And afterward, if we find on the white paths that converge to our doors the blood of anything sticking, we shall suppose it is the blood of the many four-footed game animals that have it,' they said. 'And after this, if he (a former enemy) shakes hands with me he must smoke of my tobacco. If I shall see a cloud arising and hanging in the air, we will think, 'He is shaking hands with me,' they said. Then he handed to them white beads strung together which he had with him and said 'They said "This is the image of the earth island."'

"When this speech was ended the Cherokee chief agreed. And the Cherokee chief said to his men 'Take him to the place from which he came and leave him there.' And they conducted him thither and left him. Then he returned to his tribe. And he said: 'I have spoken to the Cherokee chief,' and he informed them what he had done. Then peace making spread and became general."

The old chief from whom the last two stories came informed Mr. Gregory that such traditions must be repeated in a certain manner word for word, for a mistake would cost blood. Yet, such a mistake has been committed either by the chief himself or by one of his interpreters, since we find some striking differences in detail. For instance, the item regarding the attack by Cherokee on the Coweta when they were living inside of the mound does not appear in Gatschet's version.

A curious modern note is introduced by one of my own informants who said that the Muskogee came from the west, out of "the navel of the earth," and moved eastward after the sun until they reached the ocean. Then it was said: "As long as you can't go all of the way around the earth you can not see the sun."

It is noticeable that all stories emanating from the Lower Creeks speak of their ancestors as having come up out of the ground at "the navel of the earth," the connection of the navel with birth

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173 evidently having been responsible for this designation.[43] An old woman told one of my informants of the Okchai town that for a long time after mankind had come out of the ground great caves remained there. Once some Indians bearing torches entered these in search of bee martins. They found trails of human beings and could make out the marks of moccasins, but the cave people threw stones at them, they were afraid that their torches would be put out, and so they turned back. Another informant remembered a belief that men had come out of the water, but still others quoted "the old people" to the effect that mankind had come from above, and when we examine the matter we seem able to trace this type of origin myth to Tukabahchee. Alindja, an old and well-informed Tukabahchee Indian, told me the following legend:

173 "The Indians were sent down from the world above to some place
539 in the west. They had with them the two principal busk medicines, the pasa and miko hoyanīdja, and among them were seven mikos. They also had fire. Originally there were two camps of them, but after a while one camp decided that they would return. They kept their intentions to themselves, however, until toward night. Then they said 'We are ready. We are going,' and up they went into the sky. By that time it was so late that the people in the other camp, among whom were the seven mikos, said 'We will go tomorrow.' But before morning one of their number died, and, as they could not leave the body in this world or take it with them, thay had to remain.

"After they had stayed in that place for a while they said 'Let us travel,' and they got up and started off. First they went toward the north, but after they had proceeded some distance they set a walking stick up in the ground. Forthwith it leaned toward the south and they said 'That must be the way we should go.' They set off toward the south, and presently they set up the walking stick again. This time it leaned toward the east, so they went east. They went on eastward for a time and set the stick up again. It remained exactly perpendicular and they said 'Here is the place,' and they settled there, having traveled across the whole world to reach it. The word is that our companions, our blood relatives, are in the world above. The chiefs who remained were to be the kings of this continent and they were the seven mikos of Tukabahchee town."[44]

173 This story was paralleled in its main outlines by another informant. As I have stated elsewhere,[45] the origin of Tukabahchee seems to have been distinct from that of the Muskogee proper. According to

[43] In his communication to Schoolcraft regarding the Chickasaw Indians the agent of that tribe says that they did not know the origin of the artificial mounds in their old country and called them "navels." "They thought that the Mississippi was the center of the earth, and these mounds were as the navel of a man in the center of his body." (Indian Tribes, I, p. 311.)

[44] See p. 263.

[45] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 278. As also indicated in that work, the Tukabahchee had several special names. One of these was Isti ispokogi isti fátoksiko toyayat, "Spokogi who deviate from the strict order or way of doing things." I have mentioned this in the place above indicated but unfortunately omitted the negative after fáto. Another name applied to them, according to Mr. Grayson's notes, was Sokáfáki Tástánági, Isti Ispokoki toyayat.

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a migration story collected by Tuggle and given in Bulletin 73 they marched south instead of east and claim to have been in Georgia when the white people entered the country. The latter part of this tradition is confirmed by Nuttall,[46] and if it is correct, as seems to be indicated in the case of some constituent elements of the nation, it would account for a tradition remembered by Zachariah Cook to the effect that they had migrated from the east and had crossed a ditch on a footlog which they placed across it with the greatest difficulty. After they were once over they could not get back. 173

Following is the Tuckabahchee origin myth as related to me by Cook who had it from a Creek Indian, now dead, known as Judge Nokosi. Judge Nokosi told him that it was fragmentary, and that the last person to know it in its completeness was an old man named Napoleon Yahola, who died before the Civil War. 173 539.

"In the beginning the Indians came pouring out of the earth like ants. Those who got out first looked back, saw in what crowds the others were coming on, and said 'It will not be good. It must be stopped.' And it stopped. In those days they laid down the towaka (logs) about the stomp ground. After they had arranged these and were seated upon them—they were then in the country where later they built their towns—up came the tall Coweta and found them. The Coweta said 'Who are you?' 'I am the little Tukabahchee.' 'What have you?' 'I have only the miko hoyanīdja and my whoop.' The Tukabahchee miko held the miko hoyānīdja in his right hand. 'Let us hear you whoop,' said the Coweta. 'No.' 'Yes, let us hear you whoop.' The Tukabahchee behaved very humbly and refused to whoop for some time but finally they agreed in order to please the strangers. Then their leader arose, stamped upon the ground, and whooped, and the earth quivered as if there were an earthquake. After the second whoop the Coweta leader said, 'My friend, that will do,' but, having started, the Tukabahchee was obliged to complete the four cries. When he was through the Coweta chief said 'We will be friends. Here is my medicine; let us combine the two.' So they united the pasa (button-snakeroot) of the Coweta with the miko hoyanīdja of the Tukabahchee, and the combined medicine is the sawatcka.[47] Thereafter each used both.

"About this time two Ispokogis came down from above, approached the ball ground and saw that there were people there and that it was

[46] "The Creeks entertain a tradition of coming from the west side of the Mississippi, and that, too, at so recent a date, as to have heard of the landing of white people on the Atlantic coast soon after their arrival."—Nuttall in Early Western Travels, vol. XIII, p. 305.

[47] Alindja, one of the best informed Tukabahchee, also stated that the pasa and the miko hoyanīdja were the two standard medicines, although he said that the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska or spicewood. See below. Nevertheless, by others the sawatcka is given as a third medicine, and this is the statement of Hawkins. (Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 79.)

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good, so they remained with the people. One of these Ispokogis made a dugout canoe, and, when it was completed, he got in and began floating up into the air. But, when it was some distance off, he looked back and saw all of the people standing still gazing after him. Then he said 'I can not leave them.' So he came back and, when he landed, the other Ispokogi lay down and died. The surviving Ispokogi remained with the people after that, and with reference to this event the word was 'There shall be a link of brothers, life without ending.' This meant that when one Ispokogi died there should always be another to take his place. Old Tukabahchee miko, who is known to have visited Washington, and who died on Red River about the year 1864, was the last Muskogee to preserve a knowledge of the identity of the Ispokogi. Theoretically there always is such a chief, but since the death of Tukabahchee miko the knowledge of him has become lost. This knowledge was anciently preserved by means of a certain council formed about the sacred fire in the busk ground."

Benjamin Hawkins had heard of this chief, for he says "They have, in this town, a Mic-co of another family, the Is-po-co-gee Mic-co, the ancient name of the town."

It is interesting to be able to add that we have some notes regarding the Ispokogi from that Tukabahchee miko above mentioned, recorded February 1, 1842, by Gen. E. A. Hitchcock. According to the story, as obtained from this source, seven persons of both sexes were sent down from heaven in very old times; later they attempted to return, but one of them, thought to have been a man, died, whereupon the others came back. They then sat down in a square and performed some ceremony which the Indians wished to learn. At first they were unsuccessful, but at last they discovered something about it, and the strangers then taught them how to make a fire and how to worship the Great Spirit. They also brought certain plates from heaven which they gave to the Creek chiefs. Colonel Hawkins, their former agent, said that these had come from the King of England, or at least from the British, but the Indians believed that they were from heaven and were to be worshipped.[476] The new comers told them to make a new fire once a year by friction, after having extinguished the existing fire, and to thank the Great Spirit for his blessing; at that season they were to exhibit the plates. When this happened the Indians were using bows and arrows and lived entirely by hunting, but after a time they found some white people and from them obtained knives and other useful articles. At a similar early period the Tukabahchee met the Coweta. They smoked the pipe of peace together and agreed to an eternal friendship which they have ever since maintained, and all of the other Indians are obliged to look up to them.

[476] Elsewhere Hitchcock says that some Indians had a tradition that they had been presented by a Spanish King, and this was probably not far from the truth.

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This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanīdja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanīdja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [622] [475]

Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[475] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cock's version of the legend.

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173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atàsà). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

[609] "'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilàlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 619 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[48]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[48] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

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story is not, however, ancient, since it is a well-known historical fact that on the outbreak of the Creek-American war the Tukabahchee were hard pressed by other Upper Creek towns until the Coweta came to their assistance.

Undoubtedly there were once myths similar to those told about the Tukabahchee and Coweta, to account for the friendships and differences of all the principal groups of towns in the confederacy, but not many have come down to us. The following fragment tells of the relations between the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali, the latter probably the most ancient Red Town among the Upper Creeks. It was related by an old Indian named Kasihta Yahola, since deceased, who belonged to Łapłáko, a branch of Łiwahali.

"The ancestors of the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali were once in a fog or vapor which prevented them from seeing each other. The Łiwahali wanted to see the Tukabahchee very much, and finally the fog was blown away so that they could do so. For some time the Ispokogis (Tukabahchee Indians) would not speak to them. At last they said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the Holiwahalis ("those who cut the war in two")'. Then the Łiwahali asked in their turn who the strangers might be and they answered, 'We are the Ispokogis and Tukabahchee.' Then said the Tukabahchee, 'All right, you shall be our younger brothers.'"

The following is told regarding the Tukabahchee, Atasi, and Łiwahali:

"Once, in ancient times, the Łiwahali became angry with the Atasi and determined to destroy them. But the Tukabahchee said to the Łiwahali, 'Don't do that. They might be of use to you in picking up spoons or something of that sort.' The Łiwahali persisted in their determination, however, until the Tukabahchee said, 'If you destroy them, you will have me on your back,' when they gave it up."

This story was perhaps evolved to express or explain the friendship which grew up between Tukabahchee and Atasi. In later times the former called the Atasi, "the carers of our medicine."

Another set of myths deals with the ancient town of Coosa and its offspring, although the latter are mentioned but seldom, the myth usually confining itself to a mere account of the origin of the mother town and an explanation of its name. One of these stories has been given already in the Tulsa migration legend.[486] Another informant said that Coosa was called Taloksû'mgi ("Town-lost-in-the water") by the Creeks, and that it had sunk into the water until nothing could be seen of it except the ball post. According to still another, the town was swallowed up by an earthquake. Two persons escaped by jumping into Coosa River and swimming to land. When they were found by people from other towns they were making little bows.

[486] See p. 58.

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The place where this happened is said to be called "the rocky sunken place in the Coosa River." Owing to "some powerful attraction" no birds could cross at that point except one called the koskosa, and from this fact both river and town obtained their name. The last circumstance was also known to Jackson Lewis. A story related to the above was told by a Nuyaka Indian and is to the effect that the Coosa were a people found in the river of that name in vessels—which must have been canoes—carrying white flags at either end. They were taken out and made into a town by the Hickory Ground (Otciapofa) people who protected them. Therefore they came to be considered as the offspring of Hickory Ground.

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The longest and best version which I myself obtained was related by an old man of Hilibi named Woksi miko and runs thus:

"An unmarried woman in the town of Coosa (Kosa or Koza) went to draw water from the spring and was afterward found to be pregnant. When her child was born it was spotted. Then her brothers and some of her relatives thought this was the offspring of a water tiger (wi katca), which the Muskogee now identify with the leopard, became angry with her, and wanted to kill it. But she had some old relatives who opposed them and finally prevailed. The busk ground and 'hot house' where they councilled about this stood near the river, and the girl ran to the water tiger and said 'There is an effort being made to kill my child, but they have not killed it yet.' Then the water tiger said 'Let those who are disposed to defend the child move away from the rest.' The woman told these what the water tiger had said, so they moved away from the town, and that night the water tiger brought on a great inundation which covered Coosa, with its square ground and all, but for years after people could see there the main timbers that braced the old tcokofa. The water tiger took the woman home to live with him. Then the few persons who were left alive came together and said 'We were once a great town but now there are very, very few of us and we are ashamed of having fallen off so in numbers (istá'kosi). Nevertheless let us get together and make another town for ourselves,' and they did so, establishing the town we now know as Tulsa (istalsosi).[42b] Those who were engulfed in the river did not all die, and afterward people could hear a drum beaten there when they were dancing and having their good times. There is now a whirlpool on the site of the old town and close to the river. Sometimes people used to see beams whirling round in this eddy, and occasionally men sitting upon them. No bird could fly over the whirlpool, and those which tried always fell into the center of it and were drowned. But there is a small bird with a yellow breast which seems to say 'koskoza' and this could fly across

[42b] The first word seems to be a contraction of isti álsakosi, "many people ashamed," while the second is isti alosi, "one (or a few) ashamed." The first is a pun on Kosa; the second on Tulsa.

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with perfect ease. Some maintained that the people beneath the water favored these birds and let them fly across. We name them from the noise which they make."

A version, differing from all of the above in certain particulars, was recorded by the late G. W. Grayson from Caley Proctor, one of the leading "reactionaries" among the Creeks at the present time, and I insert it here through the courtesy of the Grayson family:

"Cosa, according to this legend, was the original name of the Muscogees, two of whom, at a very early day, went away from home on a hunting expedition in the wild woods as was the habit of the people in those times. Having gone as far as they cared to travel the first day, they encamped near a stream of water. Near their camp stood a large tree, from a certain part of which the men noticed that drops of water occasionally fell. Regarding this as a rather strange phenomenon, one of the men determined to investigate it, and he climbed the tree to ascertain the cause, while his companion awaited the result below. He found the tree to be hollow at a certain point, containing a considerable quantity of water collected therein from rainfall, from which descended the drops of water they had observed. In this water were a number of fishes. With his hands he caught some of these which he brought down, cooked and ate against the protests of his companion, who said, 'We have always been counseled not to undertake to do anything unusual without the advice or consent of persons older than we and of greater experience, and I think you should not eat the fishes taken in so strange a manner lest something terrible befall you.' But the young man could not undo his rash act, and soon its effects began to show clearly; in a little while, that same evening, his human head and face changed into the head of an immense snake, while his arms and legs also changed, completing his metamorphosis into a large serpent of horrible appearance.

"Next morning he bewailed his plight to his companion, saying: 'You in all friendliness advised me not to eat of the fishes lest evil befall me, but, not regarding your friendly caution, I ate them and am now suffering the consequences of my obstinacy. Go now and inform my parents of my plight, tell them how it came about, and say to them, if they desire to see me, to come here. I will be in the creek near by. When they come let them discharge a gun as a signal of their arrival and I shall come out of the water to meet them.'

"So saying he entered the waters of the creek and disappeared, leaving his friend alone in camp. The latter thereupon returned to the town of Cosa, and to the parents and relatives of the now metamorphosed man he related all that had occurred and told how he had been deputed by his unfortunate friend to relate the story of his mishap and how they might once more see him if they desired.

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"The parents and relatives and all others who had heard the story were greatly concerned and, assembling in full force, repaired at once to the place indicated where they discharged the gun as their friend had directed. On hearing this signal the snake man came forth from the creek and stretched himself affectionately across the laps of his parents as they sat in the midst of the assemblage. Upon this they gave way to their grief and set up a great *wahketa*,[46] expressive of sorrow for the loss of their son. The monster said sadly: 'You see me in this pitiable condition, the circumstances of which have, I presume, been explained to you so that you understand how it came about. I now suggest that my relatives and friends return to their homes and on the fourth day from the present gather at the Tcook-u'-thlocco ("Big House"—i. e., the Square Ground) where I will meet them later.' Saying this, the snake-man returned to the water and his relatives and friends went back to their homes.

"On the fourth day the relatives and friends of the snake-man gathered at the Tcook-u'-thlocco, as had been requested, and many others came near but remained on the outside. Presently the snake-man made his appearance, coming from the stream in which he had taken refuge, and he was followed by a stream of water. When he entered the grounds occupied by the public buildings they all sank, along with the people gathered there, and this was the origin of Coosa River.

"Those who did not enter the Square Grounds with the friends and relatives of the snake-man were not destroyed, but gathered themselves together and became what was subsequently known as Cosa town, the members calling themselves Cos-is-tuggees, 'people of the Cosa town,' though the name is more properly Cos-ulgee. The residue of the Cosa people, having thus formed a town, bitterly lamented on account of the calamity that had thus robbed them of so many of their valuable citizens. In grievous distress they cried out, 'Woe is our nation! We were the greatest of all the nations; our *tus-e-ki-yas* were numerous, reaching out and known and dreaded the world over. But it is not so now. We have lost even our *Tcook-u' thlocco*, and a great number of our common people and great is the humiliation that has fallen on us. Shame and humiliation is now our portion. We can occupy only the place of the *e-yas-ke* (the humble, lowly, weak, unpretending).' The Cosas indulged in other similar jeremiads and changed their name to Tulsee, *ulsee* signifying in the Muscogee language 'to be ashamed,' 'bashful,' while from it may be derived *ul is ke ta*, 'shame,' 'disgrace,' but how the letter *t* could have become prefixed to *ulsee* is neither explained nor conjectured."

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[46] Wahketa, a lamentation for the dead.

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The supposed derivation of the name Tulsa is, of course, fanciful. The story of the man turned into a serpent is well known among the southeastern Indians and I have several versions of it, but this is the only one in which it appears as explanatory of an historical event or social custom.

Legus Perryman and other informants told me that Kos istâgi is the old name of the Tulsa people; that it was used frequently in speeches on the busk ground; and that names beginning with Kos were common among them. One informant stated that the term was applied, not to the entire people, but to one of the two moieties, perhaps the Whites. The same terms were used by the Okfuskee, and, although some informants knew nothing of a connection between these towns, it is practically certain.

There is a story, the origin of which I do not know, to the effect that the Tulsa were once captured by the Tukabahchee.

Of course the native explanations of the names Coosa, Tulsa, and so on are the results of later reasoning. I met with two interesting cases of this linguistic phenomenon in which the English language was haled in to give point to the story. One affirms that there was once a great feast at which the Coweta Indians consumed so much more than any body else that they came to be called "Cow eaters." The other amounts to a myth built up to explain the name Eufaula and was related by as competent an authority as Jackson Lewis.

"In very early times the Eaufaula lived on one side of a certain stream and some Choctaw, with whom they were at war, lived on the opposite side which had a high bank. Every now and then a party from each would creep over to the other side, take a scalp, and, after their return, celebrate the event in the usual manner. Finally the Eufaula formed two bands of warriors which crept around back of the Choctaw town, one on each side, made an attack upon it and drove its occupants over the bluff, compelling them to jump into the water. From this circumstance that place came to be called "Where the people jumped down in" (isti aktaski) or "Where the people fell down in" (isti aklatki), and the Eufaula are said to have gotten their name from that circumstance. These names do not resemble the term Eufaula, but it is thought that that term is an English translation of them."

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The French memoir which I have assigned conjecturally to about the year 1755 contains the following curious story purporting to be the origin myth of the Creek Indians, or at least of that part of them living on Tallapoosa River. As it seems to emanate from Fort Toulouse, perhaps it should be still further restricted to the Alabama-speaking Indians about that place. The apparent European elements which it contains—for instance, the production of human beings from

1/1 [Cf. cat. 11b, p. 72--Analyst]

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stones reminiscent of the Greek story of Deucalion and Pyhrra and the objective illustration of the "in union there is strength" aphorism—render it doubtful how much we should credit to a purely Indian origin. At any rate it stands apart from all the stories above reported.

"They pretend that their first father having escaped with two male children from a universal deluge, for they all declare that there was one, went to consult the oracle. This told him to ascend a designated mountain covered with stones, some white and others black, collect as many of both kinds as he could before sunset, he and his two children, and carry them over their lands, and the next day they would find as many men and women as they had carried stones; and that one of his little sons would become chief of a great nation made up of the fragments of many others, rendered fugitives by wars. The truth of the prediction of the oracle was demonstrated next day by the number of men and women they saw around their cabins, of whom they formed many villages. The good father finding himself on his deathbed, exhorted his children to live in a firm union; he had a bundle of canes brought which, having fastened together, he told them to break, which they could not do. But having detached these canes and given them out one after the other they broke them easily. Upon this he told them that so long as they were united, their enemies would not be able to destroy them, but they must take care not to separate, or they would infallibly fall into slavery. While these things were taking place there arrived a beautiful Indian woman, almost white, who by her fine face and noble bearing showed that she was not of the lowest rank. She told them that she had come from a distance, that she had left her village when it was on the point of falling into the hands of enemies, and asked of them an asylum. This they generously granted, so much the more willingly as she began to move the affections of the eldest son very deeply. The father on his side encouraged his son to take her as his wife and had the pleasure of seeing her become his daughter-in-law before he died. But scarcely had he closed his eyes when the other brother, jealous of the possession of such a beautiful wife by his brother, disputed with him over the leadership, and raised a part of the people who were in his interest. A war followed in which the elder brother was killed. Immediately after his death a white bear made its appearance. As there were only black bears in that country, this appeared astonishing. This bear was followed by a number of black bears, which waged a cruel combat against the white bear in the presence of the people, but it remained victor after causing a general carnage among the black bears, and disappeared immediately. When everyone had recovered from his astonishment, the victorious brother went to find his sister-in-law but he could not discover her

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anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.[1] 173 539.

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death." [778

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Łapłáko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis- 173 177 609 648

1 [Cf. cat 11b, p. 74 -- Analyst]

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Of an entirely different type is the following trivial tale which pretends to account for the separation between the Bear and the Wolf:

"There were two old women who were sisters, each having a great number of children and grandchildren. One time one sister said to the other: 'We have been together a long time and have many children; I will go this way.' The other said, 'And I will go this way.' All the children of the first were Wolves; the children of the second were Bears."

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Regarding the origin of clanship itself, which is practically bound up with the origin of several of the larger clans, such as the Wind, Bear, Panther, Raccoon, Alligator, and Deer, there are several stories, some simple, some more complex, but all we have left is evidently only a fragment of the original mass of lore on the subject. While I was told, as a matter of common report, by certain very good informants that the people of each clan were descended from the totem animal,[87] such a suggestion is almost always lacking in the myths dealing with the subject, as, for instance, the Wolf-Bear myth just related. According to Legus Perryman, each clan, or, rather, each exogamous division, was descended from an eponymous female ancestor called Bird-woman, Panther-woman, etc. The female ancestor of the Bear clan was not, however, named from the common black bear, but from one called the Howling or Whooping Bear. The people now identify it either with the grizzly bear or the polar bear.

Doctor Speck's Tuskegee informant said that clans were "created in the beginning by the Master of Breath, deriving their animal characteristics from certain traits displayed by beings as they passed in review before him. He enjoined them not to marry their own kind lest they die out, and since that time they have observed the exogamous principle."[88]

A Coweta Indian stated that in the beginning human beings and animals were coming across the ocean in a gar-skin boat. On the way the human beings named themselves after the different animals. One said "I belong to the Panther family," another, "I belong to the Bird family," and so on. They kept on this way until they were about to land, when all of the animals were used up. One man remained, however, and they said to him, "To what clan will you belong?" He answered, "To the clan of that which you hear making a noise above my head." He referred to the wind humming overhead, and therefore his family came to be called the Wind clan. According to another informant the people formerly came to a body of water,

[87] The descent of the Wind clan was explained by saying that it came from the Skunk, the Skunk clan being a branch of the Wind. Also see Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

[88] Speck, in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

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and they jumped into it one after the other As they did so one said, "I'll be a Bird;" another, "I'll be a Bear;" and so on. In accordance with still another legend, people came out from a cavern in the earth, and as they emerged a man standing at the entrance bestowed their various clan designations. In fact, they seem to have been in animal forms or to have been accompanied by animals, for it is related that when the Beaver appeared he plunged into a near-by pond, and on a tree by the bank the Bird was sitting. Then the Bear came out so fast that he slid on into the water where was the Beaver. That is how the clans so named came to be together as Whites.[386]

The association of the White clans in this manner brings us to a series of stories which seem to be versions of some common myth detailing the origin of at least a part of the major clans. A man belonging to Eufaula Hobayi said that, according to the story he had heard, in the ancient times people were sitting about in groups enveloped in darkness. When light began to break in upon them they caught sight of animals, first one, then another. As the various groups saw these they called out successively, "I will be a Bear," "I will be a Deer," and so on, according to the animal which first met their gaze. Finally a wind arose "which swept the remainder of the darkness away"; therefore the last group called itself the Wind clan.

The following was told by Big Jack, a Hilibi Indian:

"The Bird, Beaver, Panther, and Wind people were enveloped in a fog. The Panther was chief (mĭko) among them; the Beaver was his heniha. The Panther undertook to parch some âsi (*Ilex vomitoria*), stirring the mixture with his tail. His tail was scorched, however, and turned yellow, so he gave it up. The Beaver then used his tail, but it got too hot and he dived into the water. The Bear then took his turn, rooting about in the âsi with his nose. In this way the ring was formed which is about the nose of the bear. Afterward Wind was sent to blow away the fog, and as it was sent to them part of the people adopted it."

This rather gives an account of the doings of the eponymous animals than the origin of the clans, but the intention is to show that the later association between these clans was founded on events which took place at that supposedly early date.

The following myth from the Tuggle collection is in part another version of the preceding, but it has additional interest as showing the relation of the Fish clan to the Panther and Wind. Tuggle entitles it "The origin of the Tiger clan."

"In the beginning a great fog covered the earth. In a certain valley there was a large fountain. Close to this fountain a tiger (Cooch-ar [really the panther, Katca]) lived.

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[386] See pp. 136-138.

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"The Wind came to Coochah and said: 'What are you doing? It is dark and gloomy.'

"Coochah said: 'I am making my tea, my black drink,' and he stirred the tea, which he was parching, with his tail.

"The Tiger said, pointing to the fountain, 'There are my friends, my mates, the fishes. When I make my black drink they drink with me.'

"The Wind said: 'If you will make peace with me, I will blow the fog away and all will be bright.'

"Coochah consented to make peace with the Wind.

"The Wind blew the fog away and all was clear and beautiful.

"Coochah made his tea, and his mates, the fishes in the fountain, drank with him.

"They sang a song of joy and friendship, and since that time the Tiger clan has been at peace with the Wind clan, and Fish clan, and when trouble comes to one the others always give aid."[29]

The ever present element of the fog driven away by the wind appears again in a myth related by William McCombs to the late G. W. Grayson and by him kindly placed at my disposal. It is as follows:

"When the Creek Indians came to know anything of themselves, it was to find that they had been for a long series of generations completely buried and covered as it were in a dense fog impenetrable to their powers of vision. Being unable to see, they were dependent on their other senses, especially that of touch, in their efforts to obtain subsistence.

"In their quest for food the people very naturally became separated, straying away from each other in groups, and each group was aware of the existence and locality of its neighbors only by calling to them through the obscuring fog, each adopting the precaution not to stray out of calling distance of some other of the scattered groups.

"After a great while there arose a wind from the east that gradually drove the fog from the land. The group of people who first saw clearly the land and the various objects of nature now rendered visible by the dissipating fog, were given the name of the Wind clan. It is related that, among the many things they were now able to see, the first animate objects observed by the people of the Wind clan were a skunk and a rabbit which appear to have accompanied them during their existence in the obscuring fog. While the people did not adopt either of these as their patronymic, they did declare them their nearest and dearest friends. So well is this understood by the full blood Creek Indian, that it is universally understood to be the duty of the sons of the Wind clansmen always to extend to these animals protection and defense from physical injury or ridicule, saying 'They are my fathers.'

[29] Tuggle Coll. of myths, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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"As the fog continued to recede and disappear before the driving east wind, other groups of people came to light; and, as each looked about, it adopted as the patronymic of the clan by which it would thereafter be known, the first live animal which had emerged from the fog along with it.

"In this manner three other clans—the Beaver, the Bear, and the Bird—were established, who, together with the Wind, have always been known as Hut-hak-ul-kee [Hathagálgi] (the Whites) and recognized as leaders in the establishment and maintenance of peace in the nation. The Wolf clan is kindred to the Bear clan, but without the political prestige of the latter. All the other clans, which are very numerous, were formed in the same manner, and are known as Tsi-loak-hok-ul-kee [Tcilokogálgi] (speakers of a different language) as distinguished from the Hut-hak-ulkee, or Whites."[80]

There is a story in the Tuggle collection intended to explain the origin of the Bear clan specifically. It is as follows:

"At first the Indians had no horses and when they hunted they traveled in canoes, carrying their wives and children.

"One day they went up a stream and landed in a wide bottom or valley. They cut a trail through the woods with their knives. Then they sent the women and children to drive the bears towards this trail, and they took their stand near it so that they could see the bears when they ran across.

"One of the little girls while driving the bears was lost in the woods. The people hunted everywhere, but could not find her. An old she-bear met her and said 'Come and live with me.' She took the little girl home with her and kept her four years, treating her as her child.

"One day the old bear said to the little girl: 'The hunters are coming again with fire. They will kill me, but you must run to Cho [Deer] mountain. After the hunters have passed us a little shaggy dog will run to the place where we are standing and bark at us. Then all the other dogs will come. I will run away, but they will pursue me and kill me. You must escape and, when the hunters have gone, you must return. You will find a coal of fire which the hunters have left. Take this fire and return to your people. They will receive you and you will become the mother of the Bear clan. Name your first son "Bear."'

"It happened as she had said. The hunters came and the old bear was killed. The little girl did as she was directed and escaped. She

[80] In 1926 Mr. McCombs himself told me this story and in much the same words. He expressed his belief that when these events took place the Muskogee were coming from the south, perhaps from South America, and that the fogs arose from the low, marshy countries near the sea. The first group of people to see the sunshine said: "We were the first to see the sunshine; therefore we shall be the first of the clans and shall own the wind, rabbit, and skunk." Another group saw a plot of wild potatoes and near by a raccoon and a fox, and therefore they had these things, and hence the Potato, Raccoon and Fox clans are one people.

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found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan."[a]

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Tciloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Tciloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

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This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

"The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families.— By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns."[b]

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The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

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[a] Tuggle Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[b] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 32.

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One of these two
moieties was called Hathagàlgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogàlgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanàlgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafàskàlgi, which is, however, applied to the tàstànàgàlgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan Tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagàlgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askà'màlgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tàgi or Hola'tàlgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagàlgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste. 616 [619]

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans. 616 773 539 526

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the 621 616 101

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619 town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little
631 Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was
642 referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the
648 state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that
177 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

423 A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the
642 volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by
648 Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in conse-
539 quence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand, the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. ii, p. 573. [56] Ibid., p. 786.

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423 missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same way, but not to sell the land."[57]

642 It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship
648 of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of
•539 Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

649 But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native
631 traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe
642 Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

642 Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the
646 confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 862.
[58] French Ms. of 1758.
[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlococtcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Likatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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846 789 strength, cunning, and a prodigious spring, they reckon such a bed is the first rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; these they lay on the skins of fawns, or buffalo calves, because they are shy and timorous: and, if the mother be indisposed by sickness, her nearest female relation suckles the child, but only until she recovers."[85]

•539 The following cradle songs are from the Tuggle collection, but the phonetics have been modernized, and the translations corrected in some places.

I

FIRST VERSION

No'tcâlit o	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit o	That is what we say
Tcî'tckît o	Your mother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit o	Hunting
Ayâ'nkit o	Went
Notci, notci.	Sleep, sleep.

SECOND VERSION

No'tcâlit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	That is what we say
Tcîpo'si	Your grandmother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit	Hunting
Ayâ'nkît	She went
Sha'la ka'lis	She would come back [with]
Maka'tcukîn	That is what she says
[Lalaka'li] istce'	The end ("Like Selah")

THIRD VERSION

Notca	Go to sleep!
Notca	Go to sleep!
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Tcî'îkît	Your father
Ma'kît ayunks	That is what he said and went
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	He said
Lutca ho'poa.an	Terrapin hunting [he has gone]
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep

[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 420-421.

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II

A hunter passing a bear's den heard an old she bear singing to her cubs the following song: 539

A'tàn	Down [the stream]
Ayatco'kse	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Hà'tci yo'ksàn	Up the stream
Li'tkatcokat'[86]	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
A'libà	Up the stream
Ayatco'kse	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Łàn iyo'ksa	To the top of the bald peak
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen

FREE TRANSLATION

If you hear the noise of the chase
Going down the stream
Then run up the stream.
If you hear the noise of the chase
Going up the stream
Then run to the top of the bald peak
Then run to the top of the bald peak

EDUCATION

Among early writers Swan and Adair have the most to say about the education of children. Swan declares: 855

"The father has no care of his own child. The invariable custom is, for the women to keep and rear all the children, having the entire control over them until they are able to provide for themselves. They appear to have a sufficient natural affection for them; they never strike or whip a child for its faults. Their mode of correction is singular: if a child requires punishment, the mother scratches its leg and thighs with the point of a pin or needle, until it bleeds; some keep a jaw-bone of a gar-fish, having two teeth, entirely for the purpose. 861

"They say that this punishment has several good effects; that it not only deters the child from mischief, but it loosens the skin, and gives a pliancy to the limbs; and the profusion of blood that follows the operation, serves to convince the child that the loss of it is not attended with danger, or loss of life: that when he becomes a man and a warrior, he need not shrink from an enemy, or apprehend that the wounds he may receive, and the loss of blood, will endanger his life." [87] [826]

[86] This seems to be the nearest word to Tuggle's "Lit kahte chem."
[87] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 273-274.

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776 their superior position. It should be added that some of the beings by which they believed themselves to be surrounded were purely imaginary. Their attitude toward these was theoretically the same as that toward the common creatures, but as they were not of everyday experience, the supposed encounters with them were of course always believed to have supernatural significance.

825 According to both the early writers and the present day Indians, in ancient times the Indians would not willingly kill a wolf or a rattlesnake. I was told that not many stories were related about the former because it was considered the friend of the red men and they were afraid it would injure them.

Not many stories were told about snakes for fear of receiving injury, and Bartram says that the Indians whom he met would not willingly kill any sort of snake, believing that if they did so the spirit of the snake would excite or influence his living kindred or relatives to revenge the injury done to him when alive.[44] Upon one occasion he killed a rattlesnake that had driven some Seminole from their camp, whereupon several of them came to him and performed a kind of ceremonial dry scratching upon him. This was evidently in order to make the relatives of the snake believe that the injury had been atoned for.[45] Adair records that misfortune was predicted by a Chickasaw doctor because he (Adair) had killed one of these reptiles.[46]

A great deal was made of "masters of waters," water creatures such as the beaver, otter, and water snake. They are often associated together in the linking of clans. When I was in Oklahoma during a very dry season, which had been preceded by two or three very dry seasons, some of the Indians said that this was due to the fact that since the coming of the whites the masters of waters, who anciently protected the earth from dryness, had lost control.

776 Just as we find on the north Pacific coast and elsewhere that the
825 supernatural beings live when at home like men on earth, we hear in Creek stories of animal towns scattered about like those of the
539 Indians, each with its square ground, though of course there are always supernatural accompaniments, and curious features reminding one of the animals which live there. The following story gives an experience with the under water people.

A man who was at some distance from his town fasting in order to obtain medicine was once out after wood, and saw a man up the creek from him, whom he presently met and conversed with. When he got back, he picked up his kettle and started after water, but, on reaching the branch, he threw his kettle into it. Then he stripped off

[44] Bartram, Travels, p. 361, note.
[45] Ibid., pp. 258-261.
[46] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 272-273.

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his shirt and dived under water after it. Two little snakes then took hold of him and guided him along, making a way for him so that he could breathe exactly as if he were on land. By and by they came to a place like a Creek square ground, but the beds were all made of snakes plaited together, and there was a big turtle in front for a footstool. Then the old snakes said "Why did you bring that person here?" But as long as they had done so, the old people told him to sit down. When he tried to step on the turtle, however, it raised up, and it did this three times. The fourth time it stopped and he stepped on its back. When he was about to sit down the snakes began crawling, but at the fourth attempt they also stopped and he seated himself. Then they asked him if he wanted a feather which was fixed in the roof above his head, and he said "Yes," but, when he tried to seize it, it flew up out of reach. At the fourth attempt he got it. Again they said to him, "Do you want that hatchet?" "Maybe I do," he answered. This also rose out of his reach three times and the fourth time he got it. "If you are a man," they said, "let us see you strike off the head of that turtle." So he got off of the turtle's back, aimed a blow at its neck, and, zip! off flew its head while its blood spattered round about. "This will do for you," they said, and they gave him all sorts of instructions as to how he could visit them. From that time on he went back to see them frequently, but presently he began violating their instructions, and they in turn began to dash water on him, so that at last he could not reach them. The man's name was "Horned" (Yábi odjá). He used to dive under water and return about noon with a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark. There was a whirlpool under some rocks in the South Canadian below the standing rock near the mouth of the North Canadian, and there he said he saw some creatures that looked like dogs and he thought that they might be dangerous, but he said that they did him no harm. One day, however, he got drunk and was found dead on the bluff just above that place.

Another boy, a grandson of the preceding, was able to stay under water so long that his companions thought he was drowned. But one time he saw something that scared him, and afterward he remained on shore. He said that the place to which he went was like an open space. It was thought that his grandfather must have taught him how to stay under water, as he would come out in the same way carrying a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark.

My informant affirms that these are true stories, and that an old Indian named Judge Nokosi with whom he was acquainted knew "Horned" personally. "Horned" was a Tukabahchee; the grandson, a Łapláko.

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A similar experience is related thus. It shows how a supernatural object was obtained for the inside of the "chief ball" used in the ball game.

An old Alabama doctor living in Oklahoma told a certain man to go into a creek to get part of the nest of a corduroy snake (tie snake) from a cave there, and he gave him a magic cane with which to quiet the serpents. The man went to the water, but, when he saw the snakes, he was afraid and went back. Then the doctor gave the cane to another man. This person went to the creek and began walking into the water, when it was just as if he were walking on dry ground. He saw the cavern with the snakes lying all about. Then he touched them with his cane and they did not hurt him. So he got a little of the nest of the snakes and brought it back, and that was what they put into the center of the ball with which they played.

According to one of my informants the "tie snake" referred to in this story was a long slender snake which made progress by a succession of jumps or flips and was so powerful that it could carry a full-grown horse along with it. Upon one occasion such a snake seized a horse near Wetumka, Okla., and was carrying it along to its den in this manner when the horse in its struggles kicked the snake on the head and killed it. Jackson Lewis, however, gave a somewhat different account of this snake, which I quote along with a story regarding it said by him to belong to very recent times.

The "tie snake" is an inch and a half in diameter and short, but it is very strong. It is white under the throat, but black over the rest of the body, and its head is crooked over like the beak of a hawk. It lives in deep water, usually in small deep water holes from which it makes excursions into the woods, drawing its prey down into the water to its den. There are many tales told of this tie snake, of which the following is a specimen.

A Creek Indian named Ogue hili īmāla, now dead, who used to live about 3 miles from Eufaula, told this to Lewis as a personal experience. He once owned a mare which had a colt. Having missed his mare from the range, he hunted for some time, and finally found her by means of the colt, which he saw running about but always returning to a certain spot. Finally he went to this place and saw that a large tree had been uprooted there, leaving quite a hole where its roots had been—a hole partially filled with water. There he found his mare with her hind quarters under water and her head and shoulders out. As he could not get her out alone he gathered his neighbors together and they went to the place with ropes which they tied about the mare's body and pulled on all together in order to draw her out. But their efforts were at first fruitless. Making a supreme effort, however, they were successful, whereupon the water seemed to flow in from all quarters and fill up the hole. The

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mare was not much hurt, and they took her away and cared for her until she recovered. Her hind quarters were at first numbed, however, and upon them was a spot about an inch and a half across from which the hair had been rubbed. The skin there became black and finally scaled off. When the hair came out again it was black and the animal was quite a curiosity on account of the black ring. Everybody, including Lewis, felt perfectly satisfied that a tie snake had caught this mare and dragged her into the water hole.

This snake is said to have originated from a transformed human being. Two hunters were out together and in a certain place they found two eggs. One of them was suspicious of these but the other was a rash, heedless youth, and he ate them. That night he began to feel strange and his companion observed that he was changing his shape. This change went on until he became a great serpent which continued to live in a water hole near by. Afterwards his mother came to see him and he recognized her but returned again into the water.[47]

In the Tuggle collection there is a note of another snake, known as "the sharp breasted snake,"[48] but I obtained a very much better account of this creature from Jackson Lewis. The two accounts disagree in no particular. Lewis's account is as follows:

The sharp-breasted snake is a serpent which goes along with its head up and its breast advanced. It is rarely seen but you can tell where it has passed along. These snakes are not thought to be very long, but they appear to vary in size. The largest would probably measure a foot and a half in diameter. With its sharp breast this snake tears up the earth, making a deep furrow. It is supposed to be covered with a crust of scales, and where it has touched against stones, and even rocks, it can be seen that they give way to its great power. It can cut through the roots of trees, making the trees keel over, and throw mud high up on the trunks of trees near by. These snakes, when they move in this way, appear to be changing their places of residence and this is always done during a rainstorm. You can see where lightning has struck all along where this snake has been. Such things prove to the Indians that such a snake exists. A Choctaw Indian named John Wesley, in the old Choctaw country south of the Canadian, told Lewis that one of these snakes had in some way been mortally wounded and lay up in the mountains. A number of people saw it and told Wesley about it, and he thought of going to see it but did not. The snake lay there until it was dead, however, and the skeleton was seen by people and spoken of frequently. Wesley knew where this could be found and told Lewis that if he came over they would go over there together and see the bones, but Lewis did not go. This happened in 1905.

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[47] For another version see pp. 71–72.

[48] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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while dancing imitate the bellowing of bison. The women have terrapin shells loaded with peas and fastened to strips of leather in rows of three or four tied below their knees. The night of the fourth day the men and women dance together and then disperse to their homes except certain persons appointed for the purpose who remain at the square and sleep there three or four nights. After dancing around the plates on the third day, they deposit the latter in their appointed place of safety where they remain carefully protected until required the next year.

"During the ceremony . . . the young men frequently engage in a ball play or other amusement and . . . everything wears the appearance of rejoicing and gladness, and thanksgiving for the blessings of a plentiful promise of the productions of the earth." [56]

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To these may be added an account of a visit to the Tukabahchee busk of July, 1917, by Mr. G. W. Grayson, late chief of the Creek Nation, found among his papers and copied by the writer with the kind permission of Mr. Grayson's family. Unfortunately, one page of the manuscript is missing. I have found it necessary to make a few changes in the wording for the sake of smoothness. The most important contribution contained in this narrative is the insight it gives into the customs observed in receiving a guest from a friendly town. A stray note informs us, on the authority of one of the oldest men in Tukabahchee, that the Power Above who had instituted the ceremony said, "You shall not call my name openly in the congregation; if you do, it will not be well with you."

"[I] arrived at Tuckabatchee Busk ground on July 27, 1917, while the women, twenty-six in number, were dancing. Most of them were apparently of middle age and probably mothers of families. They appeared to be very respectable women and were adorned with long wide ribbons of silk flowing gorgeously from their heads, very much like the women whom we saw some five years ago in the dances of this kind as then conducted by the Okfuskeys near the present town of Eufaula.

"After the women had executed several rounds, they were required to surrender their vttussa vhake ['like war-clubs,' little wooden sticks carved in a manner supposed to resemble the forms of the ancient war-clubs], when the men engaged in the Old dance (punka vcale) mixed up with the women in their ribbons and finery. One round of this was danced and that ended the exercises. At night the people danced until about 10 o'clock and recessed until the morrow.

(Here a page is missing.)

". . . Since last night the buskers have been fasting and must continue it all this day [July 28], and tonight and until tomorrow morning when they will be permitted to partake of food. It is with

[56] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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regret that they admit that the correct practices of the Busk as they obtained in the olden days are not now correctly known to any of the members. This fact became painfully evident some years ago when the old men counseled together over the subject and decided that they would hereafter confine the exercises of the Busk to what is known as the 'Boy's Fast' (Chebunuckochee im Pusketa), since no member appears able to instruct in or conduct correctly the proper exercises for the adults, while there were many who could conduct the Boy's Fast correctly. So all that we can now see of the Busk is what is known as the Boy's Fast.

"The copper or brass plates are so sacred, and their exposure and handling by incompetent hands so liable to be attended by dire consequences, that we cannot get a view of them. It appears that the town has no medicine men who are sufficiently educated in the mysteries to uncover and handle them. The tradition respecting these plates is that when the Town becomes unable to handle them properly, they are to be surrendered to the Shawnees, and the old man Sardy says they may come now and demand them any year.

"Late this evening I was informed that since the Cowetas, of which I am a member, have ever been the 'big friend' of the Tuckabatchees, and I, a Coweta, though unknown to the majority of the Buskers, had paid them a visit the town owed me a formal reception in keeping with the ancient custom of the respective towns which they desired should be tendered me in accordance with that custom. It transpired, however, that no one save the old gentleman Conchart Emarthla, by whom I had been entertained all day at his camp, knew anything of the ancient customs to be observed at such receptions, and he was lying prone on his back in his camp and in misery from muscular rheumatism. He was solicited by several different messengers from the town chief, sent at several separate times, to go to the dance circle and conduct the reception ceremony, which, despite his ailment, and in deference to me, he was willing to do provided he could be conveyed from his camp to the dance circle. After a number of consultations on the subject, during which the people were busily engaged in the common stomp dance in the square near by, it was decided that the old gentleman should be conveyed in his daughter's $1,600 automobile, standing a few steps from his camp. I accompanied him in the automobile, which his son drove for us, and on the way to the square he instructed me to remain in the auto while he went to confer with the authorities on the subject, after which a messenger would soon be sent to conduct me in as was customary on such occasions. I was to follow him and, when near the seats, say in a voice clearly audible to the assembly, 'I have arrived.'

"Accordingly, on our arrival at the square the old gentleman went in and after some little delay delivered a characteristic, old-

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fashioned speech treating in part of the ancient friendship subsisting between the Tuckabatchees and Cowetas. He told the audience that one of the Cowetas had arrived and that he should be received with all those formalities 'that it was the custom of our forefathers to observe on such occasions in times past.' The old gentleman, in short, delivered a splendid address in the ancient manner, the kind that was once so common with public speakers among the Creeks. After this address, I was conducted into the circle by a special messenger. When I came before the men, who were disposed on seats made of logs, I exclaimed as I had been previously instructed, 'I have arrived.' The old man then instructed the audience as to the order of the hand shaking that was now to be performed. After the hand-shaking I exchanged small bits of 'Star' tobacco—a brand of the manufactured weed much in vogue at this time with chewers of tobacco—with each of the audience, and when we finished the proceeding the pockets of my coat were well loaded with these bits of tobacco. When we were through with this performance, the old gentleman at whose side I sat called up Arbeca Micco, a son of Geo. Long deceased, and, informing him that I was of his own, the Tiger, clan, directed him to conduct me to a seat among the members of his clan where I could be with the other Tigers. This he did and I sat conversing with the Tigers, while the dance was going on, for about an hour, when I retired to my pallet in a tent assigned to me by John Harjo at his camp. The dance was continued until daylight Sunday morning.

"Sunday, July 29th, 1917.—I arose quite early this morning and after breakfast went out to the dance circle where a few men were lying about on the ground and on the old wooden log seats asleep and a few others were sitting in small groups conversing lazily, though much fatigued by the exercises of the all night dance. The only sight that I got was a better view of the United States flag, which floated from a staff near the town chief's seat. This flag the Indians call in their language A-book-he Tca-te ["red flag"]. I also saw the old pine box, about 30 inches square I should judge, sitting on the log seats provided for the chiefs' shed, in which I was informed were inclosed the Brass or Copper plates of which we have so often heard."

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If two families lived a long way from their own busk grounds but near each other's, they sometimes swapped duties, each going to the nearer ground. Such swapping usually took place only between towns in the same fire clan but Cook has known of such an exchange between Tulsa and Tukabahchee Indians. If a man had married outside his town, he was obliged to attend the busk in his wife's town as well as the one in his own, but he could not dance at the former. If he stayed away from the busk of his wife's people, he

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796 *Obânga tcâpko, "the long dance."*—This was danced in the evening. At Tukabahchee it was danced on the evening of the third day, the dancers carrying feathered wands as in the feather dance, and it was also danced on the afternoon of that day, the dancers holding the shields. It is not now much used.

Tabotcka obânga, "the gun dance."—This was usually danced early in the morning after the fast day and took place on the ball ground. In this dance firearms were discharged, and human effigies were made and shot at. Sometimes they painted these with pokeberry juice, made them look as if they had been wounded or killed, and carried them out in that condition. The presentation was frequently so realistic that the uninitiated were very much frightened.

Obânga atcūli, "the old dance."—This was danced on the evening of the fast day after the fast was over and marked the time when the fasters were perfectly free. It was, however, danced only by the men, who at that time wore tortoise-shell rattles on their legs.

Obânga hadjo, "the drunken dance."—This was danced on the night after the preceding and usually when the concourse was ready to break up.

Paihka obânga, "the war dance."—This was danced at the time of the first stomp dance of the season at Tukabahchee by a man named itci yâhola.[33a]

The dumpling dance was sometimes danced for amusement at Tukabahchee on the evening of the fourth day.

Anciently Hawkins tells us that the turkey dance was performed by women of the Turkey clan on the first day of the busk and later on the same day came the tadpole and henīha dances, the latter at night.[34]

Many other dances, especially the animal dances, were introduced on the last night. They began then with the common or stomp dance (sătkita obânga) which lasted until about midnight, after which the animal dances were introduced and continued until morning.

796 539 Speeches were usually made by the chief's yatika, but the war speaker (holibonaia) might be called upon on occasions of national emergency and if any good speaker was known to be present among the visitors he would be invited to address the assemblage. According to one man a tâstânâgi was chosen to make a speech several times during the night of the general dance, and according to another speeches were made by men of the Tcilokis, but it was the general opinion that the yatika was chosen from any clan. Before he spoke a man would spit four times very deliberately to each side and repeat a formula. Formal speeches usually began with the word Ta-a-a intukâ'stci, "Now everybody's attention."

[33a] See p. 557. [34] See pp. 577–578.

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These speeches were couched in a particular form, contained certain peculiar words, and were uttered in a rhythmic manner which may be likened to the intoning of a religious service. The late Chief G. W. Grayson, of Eufaula, Okla., supplied a short speech after the ancient type which is incorporated herewith. Such a speech was known as the "long talk" and it was delivered by the chief's yatika or "long talker" just before the women danced the Itcha obânga or "daylight dance."[84a] Mr. Grayson says: "You will notice the speaker often ends his sentences with 'he says so,' because the chief never makes a public address. You will understand that this is not a stereotyped copy of a talk that would in every instance be delivered at such a gathering, but *about* such as I have often heard, only this is abbreviated, as it fails to touch upon many subjects usually included in such talks. . . As I have told you, if this style of public speaking was ever the only way the Creeks spoke, it is now long since obsolete, except at the 'busks' and just before entering the ball play." Mr Grayson has kindly furnished both a line for line and a free translation of this speech, the original being in the official Creek orthography.[84b]

Text With Interlinear Translation

Ta intukvstai!

1. Hayomate:
   Now:
2. Momet umvres en kuhmit?
   Thus it shall be I thought for them,
3. Tvsekvyv tate netta-kvcekv em vruecicit omvyenken
   and caused broken days to go about among the men.
4. Tvsekvyv, cuku-lice elkv-vhuske emvhunkvtkv hvyomvteket
   and the men, and those interned in the house, so great a number left of death
5. "Upunvkvn okvtetisos" vn kuhmit
   "He meant talk" they thought of me
6. Tak fettv tate vn cukulahken hecvyofv,
   My dooryard they two have come in when I see
7. "Muntos komit es vm ahlvpvtke estvmahet os," maket omes ce.
   So it is, I think, and am greatly satisfied, so he says:
8. Momen hvyomate?
   And now.
9. Pun cuku-pericvlke fullvranet omes.
   Our visitors will go about among us.
10. Momen ometo estomis.
    Even if that shall be.

84a See p. 609.

84b This system has the following peculiarities: v=ȧ (a obscure); r=l (surd l); e=i; i=ai; c=tc.

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11. Mvnnetvlke afvcketv eten haye omet,
The young sporting among themselves.
12. Etepelice omis momo ocet omes.
Laughing at each other they ofttimes do.
13. Mv tat momen umekares;
That must not be.
14. "Vnen ukhoyis omes" komvranat ocet ometokv,
"They probably mean me" because they may think.
15. Mvt momen umekares maket omesce.
That must not be, so he says.
16. Munkv este e vhericet.
Therefore the people must be careful of themselves.
17. Tak kaket umvres;
As they two sit down;
18. Momen enhesse take em vlaket unt on omatehkvn.
And if their friends shall come to them.
19. Humpetv hulwakusat en kvlepet.
Victuals no matter how humble, you must break with them.
20. Umvranet omes komis maket omesce.
Is the way I want it to be, so he says.
21. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
22. Este en hesse take.
Person's friends.
23. Hupvye estvmaher sehokvteto estomis.
Although they two may have stood very far away.
24. Hvyomat em vcukuperet.
If they are now visiting them.
25. Em fullet unt on omatehkvn.
And going about among them.
26. Vhericet vseket.
Take care to shake hands with them.
27. Em vpelet.
Laugh with him.
28. Etem punahoyet omvres.
Talk with him they should.
Maket omesce.
So he says.
30. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
31. Vmvculke sehokof.
My old people when they two stood.
32. Heyvt em afvcketvt omvtetis.
Although this was their amusement.
33. Vmatehkvn es cvhuse omo hakvtet unt omis.
And although I have about forgotten it.

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34. Hvyomat vhuckapkuse tayate.
Now that which will at least resemble it.
35. Afvcketv hayit.
Amusement I shall make.
36. Hvyomate tak kakin.
And I too shall sit.
37. Vm estomvranet omes komis maket osce.
Until it shall happen as it may, is my purpose, so he says.
38. Momen cuku-lice tate afvcketv tat.
And the interned-in-the-house, amusement.
39. En hayvrabvyet omes, maketos.
For them I shall provide, so he says.
40. Munkv cuku-lice a.
Therefore the interned in the house.
41. Awet estomet em vculvke tate em afvcketvt omvte.
They must come up, how their old ones that were, their amusement was.
42. En kerket ometokv.
As it is known to them.
43. A awet vsehoket umvres maket omesce.
They must come up and stand by it, so he says!

Free Translation

I deemed it proper for our people, and a few days since caused notice (broken days) to be given out among them; and when I see so many men and women who have been spared from death and who have heeded my notice, and come into the public square, I am greatly pleased, he says. And now we will have visitors coming to be with us to enjoy with us these exercises. We are glad to have them and when they come, let there be no loud and boisterous laughing indulged in by our young people, lest the visitors construe such hilarity as having been excited by their appearance and thereby be made to feel embarrassed. This must not be. Our people therefore are enjoined to keep close watch over themselves, doing nothing that the visitor might become offended at while we are here. And if friends shall come to your camp, you are enjoined to set before them such scanty table fare as you are able to offer, be it ever so little.

You will doubtless be visited by friends living in distant parts of the country; when they shall come you are asked to give them the glad hand of friendship, laugh and talk with, and make them feel perfectly welcome; this is my desire. And now, when my old people practiced their old customs in their entirety, the purpose for which we meet here to-day was their joy and glory. And although I have well-nigh forgotten those beloved customs, I shall at least attempt a semblance of them as best I may, and continue in the performance

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596 to the end, so he says. I propose to provide some amusement for our women, so he says. So I enjoin upon our women that they promptly
539 take their places; and as they understand the custom of our forebears, they are asked to carry them out on this occasion, so he says.

796 During the busk names and titles different from those ordinarily used were employed. The women were called Hŏmpita haya ("food preparers"), or Tcukole'idji ("having a house"). This last term is said to have been extended also to the children—that is, it included all of those who remained in the houses instead of going to war or the chase. According to Cook it was applied in Tukabahchee only to the four women who acted as leaders in the women's dance. It was very bad form to refer to a woman or to women by the common terms. In important speeches the people of the Raccoon clan often said "I am of the Shawanogis," and this term also extended to related clans like the Potato and Fox. This applied particularly to Tukabahchee and was based on the close friendship between the Tukabahchee and the Shawnee. According to Alindja, one of the best Tukabahchee authorities, it was extended really to the whole of Tukabahchee town, the term Tciloki bringing about a separation. The Raccoon clan at Tukabahchee also called themselves Isti mikągi doiyąt ("chiefs that we are") or isti tcilokogi doiyąt ("Tcilokis that we are"). The towns often had particular busk names. The Abihka would be known as Abihka nągi, the Coweta as Kawita mahma'ya, the Kasihta as Kasihta łąko. The Okchai called themselves by that name and the almost as common term Łąlogąlga. The Okfuskee and Tulsa people called themselves Kos i'stągi ("people of Coosa"). The Pąkąn tallahassee used the word Pąkana.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

General Remarks

756 Just as among the beings and objects in nature there were certain which possessed or acquired exceptional supernatural powers, so there were certain men who were possessed of such power or were mediums for its expression. They were also versed in the powers possessed by other created things and hence were partly prophets or soothsayers and partly doctors, while some of them occupied official or semiofficial positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.[86] If this means that the female doctors were more numerous than the male he is probably incorrect, since very little is said of female doctors by anyone else, and I have heard little about them personally. Perhaps Swan had reference in part to the common practitioners,

[86] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.

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Thus the same basal medicines were used in curing diseases caused by water creatures, but diseases caused by particular water beings such as the water wolf, the rainbow, or the water tiger, would require some additions. On the other hand we find single remedies employed in curing diseases due to the eye and tongue of the deer which are combined in the remedy for the deer disease. 753

Creek Medicines

Deer diseases.—There was a disease produced by the common deer, one produced by "the many deer," a name used for all species and varieties of deer, and one produced by a newly born fawn or a fawn still in its mother's womb. This last is called the "soft deer" (itco lowagi). The eye of the deer will produce eye troubles and the tongue of the deer throat troubles. The prescription for the common deer disease, the symptoms of which appear to be rheumatic pains in any part of the body, was to take some deer's potato (itco imaha), pāsa, itco hitcigu (a very fragrant weed looking something like goldenrod), cedar (atcīna), and a small piece of the tender end of the summer grapevine. These were to be boiled together and the person steamed in them, more being taken internally. As in all other cases to these ingredients must be added, in order to produce any results, the formula repeated by the doctor four times and blown into the medicine through a cane tube. In treating "the many deer" and fawn diseases the same medicines were employed, only the formulæ being varied. In treating the "deer eyes" disease itco hitcigu is used alone and in treating the "deer tongue" disease miko hoyanīdja. By other informants I was told that the common deer disease was rheumatism or neuralgia or sometimes a severe headache, and when it was incurable, or at least very acute, it was considered to be the "soft deer" disease (or "limber deer" disease—itco lowagi).

According to one of these men the "deer chief" disease (itco miko) was a name given to rheumatism when it was in one place, but evidently it was rheumatism of the severe type, for Jackson Lewis said that unless well treated it swelled the joints and sometimes lamed a man for life. For it he used itco imaha and the bark scraped off of the wild crabapple (itco impākana) in some quantity, a sprig of cedar, and four roots of the pāsa. The swollen and inflamed places were steamed with this.

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Tuggle has the following about this disease:

"Echo-polsa [itco pulsi]—Deer sickness.

"The medicine is made from the deer-potato or echo-mahhar [itco imaha], mixed in water.

"Song:

Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.

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[539]

Hohtikee.
Echo.
Hohchetice.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Echo.
Mikkatee.

'Translation:

Hohtikee [hàtki], white.
Echo [itco], deer.
Hachetice [from hatci], tail.
Hotikee, white.
Echo, deer.
Mikkatee [mikati], has been king."[22]

According to Jackson Lewis, there is a grub which lives in the nostrils of the deer and comes out of them in the fall as a little butterfly called kaûûlgi in Hitchiti and tcoánàga (itco hanako) in Muskogee. This is a good sign of the presence of deer and is sometimes found forming in deer. By the Indians it is considered to be the cause of catarrh. This belief was confirmed by Zachariah Cook. In treating it Jackson Lewis used the itco hitcigu and the itco imaha, with which might be included the pāsa. After these have been boiled in water and allowed to cool they are inhaled through the nostrils. He declared that he had cured numérous cases by means of this medicine.

The bear disease.—The patient is taken with a violent fever, accompanied by thirst for cold water, and he has frequent evacuations of the bowels. This trouble Jackson Lewis said was not very difficult to control. According to Zachariah Cook, this disease is called ponátá haledji, which refers to the bear without naming him. The patient has a high fever and is out of his head; he is troubled about his mouth, pulls at the bed clothes, and gathers them in his arms as if he would pull them all together. One doctor told Cook that he could always cure this disease if he could get to the patient in time.[23]

The blood-of-the-bear disease.—The patient vomits up blood, or at least spits it up continually. The treatment is to take roots of the miko hoyanīdja, and roots of the frostweed (hitutape), mix these with water and give the decoction to the patient internally. If this does not appear to be as efficacious as desired, parings of the root of the kīstuwa, the "red root" of the whites, are put into a bottle along with cold water and some of this liquid drunk from time to time.

The bison disease.—I learned that there was such a disease but no facts regarding it.

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[22] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[23] See p. 644.

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The rabbit disease.—The patient has pain in the lower part of the abdomen and is unable to pass water easily, what is passed being very red. The eyes are very yellow and there is sometimes paralysis in the lower parts of the body. Treatment: A bundle of stalks of a certain plant, for which I was unable to get either the native or English name, is procured, boiled in water, and administered. This plant is described as a grass or reed growing near streams to the height of 1½ or 2 feet, having leaves much resembling the leaves of the cane. The fruit is very thin and flutters from the stalk, which is jointed. Jackson Lewis was so enthusiastic about the medicinal properties of this plant that he declared it had been known to cure even those cases accompanied by paralysis of the lower limbs, and no formula was needed with it. 753

The raccoon disease.—This usually afflicts children; the patients are in poor health with greatly distended stomachs.

The squirrel disease.—The patient's gums are so inflamed that he can hardly eat. Treatment: A small quantity of bark of the red oak and hickory is taken from the places where the tree trunks enter the ground, boiled in water, and cooled, after which the patient rinses out his mouth with the infusion. He must also refrain from eating anything that is very soft.

The dog disease.—There are severe pains in the bowels and stomach accompanied by vomiting.[24] Treatment: Use parings of sassafras roots, adding to them a small handful of a fine grass known to the Indians as "dog's bed." These are boiled in water, and a little given to the patient to drink warm. In repeating the formula for this disease the points of the compass are successively addressed but no colors are mentioned. 753 539

Tuggle has the following to say about the dog disease:

"Cramps in the stomach, or dog-sickness, is caused by a dog.

"The medicine is prepared from tobacco, cut up and put in water, making a weak tea, which the patient drinks and also uses as a wash.

"The song is sung while blowing in the water, in order to properly medicate the preparation. Each stanza is repeated four times and after each the doctor blows into the medicine. Finally both stanzas are sung four times and blowing done between.

Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Efa
Polsa
Thlohko
Elahtee
Hahlahtee
St Chay

[24] According to Hitchcock, Megillis Hadjo, a famous Tukabachee Kiła living in 1842, also identified the dog disease with pains in the bowels.

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Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
St Chay

"Translation:

Yohholee [yulihl], be easy
Efa [ifa], dog
Polsa [pulsi], sickness
Thlahkko [łáko], large
Elathe [ilitá], dead
Hohlahtee [hálati, to hold, to pull?], cramping
St Chay [tcē], stop, or like *Selah*. It merely indicates the end of a sentence, or an idea.

"In the second verse—

Hohlohtee [hálati], holding him, or, it's got him." [25]

The wolf disease.—The symptoms and treatment are the same as for the dog disease.[26] But see below.

The rat or mouse disease.—The only information I have regarding a disease caused by rats or mice is the following from the Tuggle manuscript. It will be seen that it may have been only the wolf disease under another name:

"The medicine for pains in the temple (headache) is mikko-whe-ar-ne-chah [miko hoyanīdja], or red-root.

"It is put in water and during the chant or song the medicine man blows in the water through a cane and after the song is complete, each verse being sung four times and then the entire song four times, the water is poured over the patient's head. This is repeated four days, always before eating in the morning.

"This sickness is caused by rats or mice, and the song is to drive them away. Some say Yaha, the Wolf, causes it. It is sung in a low monotonous tone—a chant. Each verse is repeated four times and after each repetition the doctor blows into the medicine.

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee chah-tee
Holochee chah-tee
Man-kaht-kan
Hah-yeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee lahnee
Holochee lahnee

[25] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[26] Megillis Hadjo attributed "stricture in the bladder" to obsession by a mad wolf.

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Mankaht kan
Hahyeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Chaysee lustee
Holochee lustee
Man kohtkan
Hohyeen
Yohfeenohhokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee hutkee
Holochee hutkee
Maukabbkan
Hahyeen
Yohfee nohhokee

"The translation of this song is as follows:

Hohnohnohhee, gallop slowly away (like a rat galloping)
Chaysee [tcisi], rat or mouse
Chahtee [tcati], red
Holochee [aholotci], cloud
Mauhobt can [? (tcaka, my head)], my head
Hohyeen [haihoyin], hot
Yoh fee noh-ho-kee [finōki, shaking?], roaring

"Literally:

Gallop away
Gallop away
Gallop away
Red rat
Red cloud
My head
Is hot
Is roaring

"The 'Red cloud' may refer to a rush of blood to the head.

"In the second verse the color of the rat is changed to 'lohnee' [lāni], yellow, and so with the cloud.

"In the third verse the rat is 'lustee' [lāsti], black, and also the cloud.

"In the fourth verse the rat is 'white' [hātki], as is also the cloud."

The lion disease (*Lion* = "*Person-eater*," *Isti-papa*).—According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms of this are a kind of cramp or "holding" inside of the chest. According to Zachariah Cook this disease is cholera morbus. Jackson Lewis said he had never treated it but Cook said it was cured by using the "big medicine" (hilis lākāt), which is the "butterfly plant." The song used with this refers to

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753 Beggs and Hamilton, possessed this power and he would not allow any of his family to kill a snake. Upon one occasion Adair "saw the Chikkasah Archi-magus chew some snake-root, blow it on his hands, and then take up a rattlesnake without damage." In another place he has the following to say about native snake medicines:

"I do not remember to have seen or heard of an Indian dying by the bite of a snake, when out at war, or a hunting; although they are often bitten by the most dangerous snakes—everyone carries in his shot-pouch, a piece of the best snake-root, such as the *Seneeka*, or fern-snake-root,—or the wild hore-hound, wild plantain, St. Andrew's cross, and a variety of other herbs and roots, which are plenty, and well known to those who range the American woods, and are exposed to such dangers, and will effect a thorough and speedy cure if timely applied. When an Indian perceives he is struck by a snake, he immediately chews some of the root, and having swallowed a sufficient quantity of it, he applies some to the wound; which he repeats as occasion requires, and in proportion to the poison the snake has infused into the wound. For a short space of time, there is a terrible conflict through all the body, by the jarring qualities of the burning poison, and the strong antidote; but the poison is soon repelled through the same channels it entered, and the patient is cured." [27]

I do not know whether the following formula was used in cases of snake bite or a more esoteric kind of snake sickness. It is from the Tuggle collection.

•[539] "After preparing this medicine [for "snake sickness"], the medicine-man sang this song:

O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, hater of snakes, come
Snakes [who] have hurt this man, come
Come, O white fox, and kill this snake.

O, spirit of the red fox, come, etc.

O, spirit of the black fox, come, etc.[28]

James Islands and N. L. Alexander, two Creek Indians, told General Hitchcock that "a case of salivation . . . was caused by two rattlesnakes in the mouth," adding that "they required five dollars for a prescription." This disease is evidently different from all of those snake diseases above mentioned, except possibly the last.

The turtle disease.—The sympton of this is a chronic cough which results in appreciably reducing the flesh of the victim. Treatment:

[27] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 235-236.

[28] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn. Probably one verse, referring to a blue or yellow fox, has been lost. This formula is peculiar in beginning with the east, but it is impossible to tell whether the points of the compass are taken in sinistral order or in dextral order.

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Make an infusion in water of the roots of a plant called "turtle's liver" (lutca logi). This is not found in the Creek Nation but in the country of the Cherokee (Oklahoma), and it has small circular leaves and beautiful blue flowers. If it can not be obtained, substitute for it a small piece of buckeye and a small piece of devil's shoestring. The patient must drink small quantities of this decoction from time to time warm. Warm cloths may also be put into it and then around the throat and chest. 753

Zachariah Cook, however, gave the name "turtle disease" (hilutca) to a hard boil forming one head. He mentioned another disease called "turtles-of-the-water" or "many turtles" (lutca sulgat), which is some sort of stomach trouble or liver complaint. It is almost identical with a disease known as "wolf-of-the-water" (wiofi yaha), and the two are treated alike, but I did not learn how.

The terrapin (lutca lobotski) disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this deforms a person by cramping his stomach or raising a lump on his shoulder. It is said that small people were affected in this way, and this suggests that it may be a name applied to the disease producing hunchbacks. In the song used in treating this disease the terrapin is called lutca hayegi, "the turtle rattles are made of."

The alligator was not accused, so far as Jackson Lewis could remember, of causing any disease, but Zachariah Cook said that it was included in the turtle disease, by which I suppose he meant that it was an animal which produced the same trouble either separately or in conjunction with the turtle.

The perch disease (sàndàlàkwà, perch).—The symptoms of this are a very acute attack of coughing which the patient can hardly stop. Treatment: Sassafras and the devil's shoestring are boiled and about a tablespoonful given at a dose.

The "periwinkle" disease.—Tuggle has the following to say about this: 753 539

'Karpochee, or Periwinkle sickness, caused by the periwinkle. The jaws swell as in mumps.

"The medicine is prepared from the gourd, Phibbee [fibī], either from the green leaves, or from the seed, when the leaves can not be obtained. In the following song which goes with this medicine each verse is repeated four times and after each time the medicine is blown into as is customary in other cases. At the end the entire song is repeated four times, and the blowings again take place.

"The song:

Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee

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Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee

Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee

"Meaning of words:

Cheke [tcikhl], rough (up and down) [raised in
Thlahkotee [łákotĭ], big (large, swollen)
Chekochetee [tcutkutcitĭ], little
Fohyohyoke [from łolotki], twisted

"Literal translation:

Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big

Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little

Twisted big
Twisted big
Twisted big" [29]

Unless there is some usage of the word periwinkle other than that known to me, as applied to a small marine shell, it would seem as if Tuggle must have erred in translating the name of this disease. For a long period of time the periwinkle can have played no part in the life of the Creek Indians.

753 *The slug disease.*—The patient has some cough but more particularly a very considerable expectoration of phlegm. Treatment: The same as for the perch disease but with a different formula.

The millepede disease.—The patient coughs and is so hoarse as almost to lose his voice. Treatment: An infusion of ginseng is to be drunk very warm.

The ant disease (*tákodja', ant*).—According to Zachariah Cook when matter runs from a boil leaving holes the trouble is attributed to the ant.

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[29] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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753 the joints of the legs, and in other places. The ghost of the dead man was supposed to be the efficient cause of this. Even the dirt that fell upon one's clothing in digging a grave or covering up the body, or the dirt from a grave upon which one stepped, was apt to bring on this disorder. If one engaged in digging a grave he was likely to have pains in the back. Sometimes he had a chilly feeling across his back with pains running round to the front of his body and fatigue in all of the lower limbs. A person who dug a grave could also communicate the disease and this was the principal reason for the regulations to which he was subjected, and which are elsewhere described.[32] This disease would seem to have been some form of rheumatism—Tuggle calls it "pains in the knees or rheumatism"—but one informant described it as dropsy, or at all events ascribed such an origin to dropsy. Treatment: Míko hoyanīdja and spicewood (kápápaska) were boiled in water, conjured in the usual manner, and divided into two parts, one hot and one cold. Then the affected parts were treated with the hot and cold medicines alternately.

753 According to Tuggle's informant, however, "the medicine is made
639 from Ihee-so [wīso]—sassafras root." He gives the following formula to accompany it:

Me-kah-kee
Thlah-kah-kete
E-leen
E-kah-nah
So-feets-kaht
Te-tah-ker

Estee
Wah-keets-kaht
Te-tah-ken
Oh-than-etaht
Te-tah-ken

Oewa
Ahk-lope-kaht
Te-tah-ken

Literally translated:

Mekahkee [mikági], kings
Thlahkah-kete [lákakiti], big
Eleen [ilīn], dead
Ekahnah [ikána], land
So feets kaht [sufitckat], dig it
Tetahker [titaki], ready
Este [isti], people
Wahkeets [wakēte], lay it down
Tetahkee [titaki], ready

[32] See pp. 388-398.

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Oh thlan etoht [ohlanitat], cover it up
Tetahken [titakin], ready
Oewa [oiwa], water
Ahklopekaht [aklopikat], wash it
Tetanken [titakin], ready

Or—

Great kings are dead
Be ready to dig the grave

Let the people bury them
Let them be ready to cover them

Let the water be ready for washing.[3]

This disease was connected with the whole question of ghosts and preventive measures and medicines against them. The Texas Alabama believed that if a person who had been by a grave came near one who was sick the latter would have fits. My informant claimed that upon one occasion a number of persons who had been near a grave came in where he was lying sick and sat down around him, whereupon he became deaf and acted as if he were out of his head. Such fits were thought to be caused by ghosts, and, to induce them to leave, the doctor would put cedar leaves into a pot over the fire without any water. As these leaves parched the smoke arising from them would fill the house. The ghost would like this and go away. Another Alabama medicine used against ghosts was the leaves of the sweet bay, which were made into a tea, drunk, and vomited up. This was done twice. 753

Among the Creeks generally hitci pàkpàgi was the sovereign deterrent for ghosts, though hilis hàtki or ginseng was also used.

The Texas Alabama believe that if one's hands and feet are pierced by the "poison briar" he will not get well, but I did not hear of any doctoring in connection with this.

The same people also mention a disease called łefka, of the origin of which I am ignorant. It is produced by trying to lift a load beyond the person's real ability, causing perhaps a strained tendon. They treated it by tying about the affected part a briar much like the kanta, called in their language bàkco oktcàko, "blue briar." At the same time they sang and blew upon the place. A white man was once cured in this way by two Indian women, but when one of my informants tried that remedy himself upon another occasion it would not work because he did not know the proper formulæ.

When a person exhibited a horror of other people and, if he found himself suddenly where there were many, always ran away, they said that his disease was due to people—i. e., he was suffering from witchcraft. Says Swan: 754

[3] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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589 When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

"Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself. . . .

"The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, 'Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;' the most degrading of epithets." [20b]

548 A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint [302] their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

171 It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the 589 slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.[20c] It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive;* they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

562 Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, "In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." 592 In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

[20b] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 189-190. [20c] Milfort, Mém., p. 288.

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pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

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Cr. [611]

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

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The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Choola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakuhle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'[a] The father and mother of the former are called *Choollingge*, and *Choollishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakuhlingge*, and *Pakuhlishke;* for *Ingge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . ."[b]

Ch. 551

"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

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[a] The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.

[b] Adair, op. cit., p. 181.

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several circumstances—as of the time and place, where the battle was fought, of the number and rank of their captives, and the slain. The following is a specimen: one initiating in war-titles, is called *Tannip-Abe*, 'a killer of the enemy'; he who kills a person carrying a kettle, is crowned *Soonak-Abe-Tuska;* the first word signifies a kettle,[68] and the last a warrior. *Minggáshtàbe* signifies 'one who killed a very great chieftain,' compounded of *Mingo*, *Ash*,[69] and *Abe*. Pae-Máshtàbe, is, one in the way of war-gradation, or below the highest in rank, *Pae* signifying 'far off.'[70] *Tisshu Mashtabe* is the name of a warrior who kills the war-chieftain's waiter carrying the beloved ark."[71]

Adair adds a wrong analysis of the name *Shulashummastabe*,[72] "Red shoe killer," known to the whites as Red Shoes. He gives also the names *Chetehkabe* or *Chetehkabeshto*, "You are weary killer"; or "You are very weary killer";[73] Noabe, "one who kills a rambling enemy";[74] *Pas'pharáàbe* (Pa^{n}s falaya abi), "killer of a long haired person"; i. e., of a Choctaw; and Yanasabe, "the buffalo-killer," given to one who has killed a distinguished enemy.[75]

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Speaking of the Creek Indians of Tuskegee, Speck says:

"A male child was given no name until he had been initiated, but was known by the name of his totem, *Fúswa* 'bird,' *Tcitto* 'snake,' or perhaps some other epithet derived from a personal peculiarity. Girls were not called by the totem name, however, but were generally addressed by the kinship term or named after some natural occurrence or object connected with their birth. This name they retained without change through life. Examples of female names are very rare."[76]

Mr. McCombs says that every male child was first called tcibă'ni, "little boy," which is natural enough. Later men and women both received names derived either from those previously used by the family connection or such as were made up on the spot. Generally the latter commemorated some war exploit which the child's father, uncle, or other male relative had performed, and it is to be presumed that the same was true of the former, although many of them can no longer be interpreted. Their use was not strictly limited to one clan. Following is a list of common names applied to men furnished me by Zachariah Cook:

Adjû'li ("Old"?).
Ano'gitca, "Beloved."
Iyago'pkI, "To squat," "to hide."
Koabai'gI, "To raise or rise."
Litl'fká, "Shedding hair."
Lû'ká.
Mahobá'ngI, "Spoiled" (meaning "the battle is spoiled since it is now begun").
Máne'djI, "To help someone."

[68] Byington has asonak for "kettle."
[69] Or rather ooshe, "to sit."
[70] Perhaps a Chickasaw word, wanting in Choctaw unless it is contracted from hopaki.
[71] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 193.
[72] Actually from shuluak, "a shoe"; hummu, "red"; imashe, "to have or keep something"; and abi "to kill."
[73] From tcitikabi, or tcitikabi ishto; Adair, op. cit., p. 192.
[74] From noawa, "to walk," "to ramble," and abi, "to kill."
[75] Adair, op. cit., p. 192.
[76] Speck, Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 116.

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Maowâ'ĥ, "Near by something."
Mate'tca, "Missed" (when one plans to meet another and fails).
Mĕll'ndĭ (?).
Midiwe'gĭ, "He throws him down for someone" (assisting in a fight).
Mîle'ĭ, "Pointer."
Motalĕ'stcĭ.
O'djudĭ.
Otci'sĭ.
Pahĭ'tcà, "To whoop and run upon the enemy."
Sáfuĕ'skĭ, "Tumbling someone into a ditch."
Sima''gĭ, "To say."
Tahoknĕ'stcĭ, "To make anything light."
Tcinganĕ'hĭ, "A trap (for you?)."
Tco'tkĭ, "Small."
Tiwe'gĭ, "He throws someone down by himself."
Wâsa'sĭ, "Osage."

From other sources I have obtained the following:

Hitclfa'pa,[76a] "Tobacco-eater."
Hobo'yĭ hĭ'ĥ łáko, "Big handsome child."
Hobo'yĭ łáko, "Big offspring."
Holibo'ĭ, "He might kill (finish) all his enemies."
Homata'igà, "He crossed first."
Hoya'hanĭ or Huya'hni "Passing by." A former head war-chief of the Chiaha and Okmulgee bore this name.
Łatci'mahidjaigĭ, "Peeping at something (around a tree)." This was originally given because on a certain war expedition the father peeped around a tree at his own people by the camp fire, and warned them that it was dangerous to stand where they were.
Seletcĭ (?) (applied to a person of either sex).
Takusa (?) (a common name but given to persons of importance).
Te-wahatkĭ, "White hair with pieces of scalp."
Tokułkĭ, "They two run."
Tomalĭ (?).

The following are from the notes of Dr. A. S. Gatschet:

Kotca'mi, (?).
Ko'we, (?) (name for a man or woman).
Ma'kale, probably meaning "to throw water on."
Saga'hgi, "Two behind something," probably engaged in a fight; given to a man or woman.
Sapinga'hli, "Taking away, abstracting, robbing."
Sawase'gi, "Left alone in it," probably a fight; given to a man or a woman.
Simahitca'gi, "Taking aim," or "Getting sight of an object which is to be shot."
Tci'ho, "A man of Chiaha town."
Tcuwatala'go, (?).

The following names applied to women were given me by Rev. William McCombs of Eufaula, Okla.:

Anā'hki, "Getting very near (the enemy) by stratagem."
Anāthō'yi, "Two returning wounded."
Folûthō'gi. It is implied in this word that it perpetuates the memory of two men who entered a country beset with dangers in order to locate the situation, numbers, and so on of the enemy, who performed this service by strategem or otherwise and returned safely to their own people.
Homawilā'hki, "Two advancing in front" as scouts.
Isyolai'gi, "Two fell together" after having grappled with each other, depending only upon their physical strength.
Łłsahō'yi, "We saw them at a distance chasing (the enemy)."
Saho'hyi, "Two kept on after" the enemy, while the rest halted. This is given as the name of General Weatherford's mother.
Wōlai'gi, indicates two special men have been sent out from an encampment to locate the enemy.[76b]

[76a] Perhaps this should be Hitcipapa.

[76b] The daughters of Hobo-Hikayabola, the great Creek orator, are said to have been called Kisila and Asihi (Smith. Misc. Colls., No. 52, p. 14).

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551 Another feminine name, said to be very ancient, was recovered by Mr. Grayson and bestowed upon one of his own children. This name, Tsianīna, can not now be interpreted. Two other names, Tsinī'a, "peeping," and Mitiwō'hli, which probably means "turning around," were given me by Mrs. Grayson.

The following feminine names were collected by Doctor Gatschet:

Fik'-huya'hni, "Heart passing by, about, or around."
Isa-usăi'ki (?) or Sahusăi'ki, "One left (in war) with it."
Mihi'li, "One who likes somebody."
Setakha'hgi, "(Fighting) in a line."
Simihi'li, "One getting attached to someone" (this may, perhaps, be used for a man).

Among the Alabama of Texas the war names have long since passed out of use, and most of the young people do not have Indian names of any sort, while the meanings of those still preserved are not known. Following is a partial list of Alabama names:

MEN

Atcuwai'tcĭ.
Cī'málokai'tcĭ'.
Cimatátáhge'.
Ciyupĭ'ti.
Conafti'tcĭ.
Cowai'yi.
Ē'lawēhtcĭ.
Holētke'.
Homalē'htcĭ.
Kalāne'.
Kocpō'.
Kone'.
Lone'.
Pā'djo.
Pahe'tcā.
Patábi'.
Sī'late.
Sīnlāhe'.
Táfolo'hkē.
Takohtcĭ.
Tcai'iki.
Tcáke'.
Tcámba'.
Tcawē'hkĭ.
Tīkbábe'.
Tola'na.
Wai'hke.
Yága'hpi.
Yáhe'tcĭ.
Yaiyī'.

WOMEN

Apīlho'yē.
Awágahe'.
Cámho'.
Cima'goiho'djī.
Cokyūhki.
Fála'iki.
Mocai'tcĭ'.
Nocai'hki.
Okō'sĭ.
Pa'lusĭ.
Sa'háwe'.
Sihoma'hki.
So'fīki.
Tcūkla'hte.
Yūlho'hki.

551 554 614 Busk names should rather be called titles. In former days they were ordinarily given only on account of warlike exploits, especially the taking of scalps, but, as I have noted elsewhere, they could sometimes be secured by obtaining eagle feathers or killing many deer. In a few cases such titles were conferred upon women.[77] Each clan

[77] See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 43; however, in an unpublished Hitchiti story collected by Doctor Gatschet, in recognition for a deed of heroism which one woman performed, a busk title was conferred, not on her but on her son.

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had its own set of titles which were given to new aspirants after the death of the former holders. If at any time the titles belonging to a clan were entirely exhausted a name could be borrowed from the clan of the aspirant's father, but after the death of the holder it would revert to the clan from which it had been taken. 551 554 614

These titles usually contained two words, of which the second was commonly hadjo, fiksiko, yahola, imała, tàstànàgi, or miko. The last three belonged properly to certain classes of functionaries to be described elsewhere, but in some towns they seem to have become hereditary in the clans; at least this is definitely affirmed for the term tàstànàgi. It has frequently been reported that these titles were bestowed in a certain order. Thus one of my own informants said that a man would probably be given first a name containing hadjo, next one with imała, and finally one with tàstànàgi. Another gave the order as hadjo, tàstànàgi, and miko. Most of this is explained, however, by the fact that the names imała, tàstànàgi, and miko were applied to officials. Nevertheless there seems to have been some tendency to use a name containing hadjo first and one with yahola later on. These two, together with fiksiko, are called "common names," which here mean merely that they did not carry official positions with them. Hadjo means "mad," "crazy," but more particularly "furious in battle." Fiksiko means "no heart," "heartless." Yahola refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it. Originally it may have been restricted to a class of criers but later it became "common." The tendency of these names to become "common" in course of time explains why Speck was told that hadjo, fiksiko, imała, and yahola were all of equal rank.[78] 551 554 622

The first word in the title was derived from various sources, but there were two principal kinds. The most important set was based on the name of the totem animal, and in most cases it was the simple name of the animal itself, not a mere reference to it. Names of this kind were usually bestowed only upon persons belonging to clans having the same name, but sometimes they were allowed to those whose fathers belonged to that clan. Another considerable set was taken from names of tribes or towns, particularly those which composed the Creek confederacy. Sometimes they preserved the names of tribes or towns that otherwise would have been forgotten On the other hand the names of Kán hàtki, Okchai, Pakan tallahassee, Otciapofa, and Alabama seem not to have been used, or if so only rarely. Only a few cases of the use of the name of Muklasa can be recalled. It may be added that the name of the Toad clan, Sàbàktàlgi, also seems not to have been used. Jackson Lewis said that the non- 551 554 614

[78] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. 2, p. 117.

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551 554 614 totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

551 554 622 Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tástánągi and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imała łákálgi was always called Imała yahola, the leader of the tástánągągi Tástánąk tcąpko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tástánągi, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Ahá'łąk tástánągi, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti átca'gągi (abbreviated into I'sti tcągągi)[786] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

553 614 796 The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson [571] Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

[786] See pp. 301-303.

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Adair tells us that an unsuccessful Chickasaw leader might be stripped of all his war titles.[29] I was told that the Creeks did not do this, but in earlier times it may very well have happened.

The following list of war names was obtained from Zachariah Cook:

Aa hadjo.
Abali hadjo.
Abayáli hadjo.
Abi'ka fiksíko, "Abíhka fiksíko."
Abi'ka hadjo.
Abi'ka yahola.
Abi'kutci, "Little Abíhka."
Abuyak fiksíko, "Putting-down fiksíko" (?)
Abuyak hadjo.
Abuyak yahola.
Adji yahola, "Corn yahola."
Adji hátci fiksíko.
Adji hátci hadjo.
Adji hátci yahola (?).
Ahalak fiksíko, "Potato fiksíko."
Ahalak hadjo.
Ahalak yahola.
Ahalakutci, "Little Potato."
Ahotáligo, "Clear minded."
Akálpoisa hadjo, "Dipping-something-in-under hadjo."
Akálopisa yahola.
Akfáski fiksíko, "Okfuskee fiksíko."
Akfáski hadjo.
Aktayatci fiksíko, "Aktayatci-clan fiksíko."
Aktayatci hadjo.
Aktayatci yahola.
Aktayatcutci.
Atcifahâli hadjo, "Broken- (or rough-) country hadjo."
Báskáp hadjo, (Báskáp is perhaps the same as Paskofa, see below).
Fus fiksíko, "Bird fiksíko."
Fus hadjo.
Fus yahola.
Fus hátci fiksíko, "Bird-creek (?) fiksíko."
Fus hátci hadjo.
Fus hátci yahola.
Halipoisa hadjo, "Victor (?) hadjo."
Halpata fiksíko, "Alligator fiksíko."
Halpata hadjo.
Heniha tástánági.
Heniha tcápko, "Long heniha."
Henihutci, "Little heniha."
Hilibi fiksíko.
Hilibi hadjo.
Hilis fiksíko, "Medicine fiksíko."
Hilis hadjo.
Hobayi fiksíko (?), "Far away fiksíko."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi yahola.
Hobayutci.
Hoboihili fiksíko, "Good child fiksíko."
Hoboihili hadjo.
Hoboihili yahola.
Hobuis hadjo, (Hobuis from hobuiwa, "child," or hobili, "fog").
Hola'ta fiksíko.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta yahola.
Hola'tutci.
Hotálgi fiksíko, "Wind fiksíko."
Hotálgi hadjo.
Hotálgi imala (?)
Hotálgi yahola.
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Imedjiska hadjo, "Butt-of-tree hadjo."
Ina tástánági, "An ina warrior." (As a man went into battle he repeated a formula or song called "ina" which was supposed to preserve him from harm during the action.)
Injanis hadjo.[30]
Ispani fiksíko, "Spanish fiksíko."
Ispani yahola.
Itchas fiksíko, "Beaver fiksíko."
Itchas hadjo.
Itchas yahola.
Itchasutci.
Itco fiksíko, "Deer fiksíko."
Itco hadjo.
Itco tástánági.
Itco yahola.
Itco-ili hadjo, "Deer-foot hadjo."
Itco kutcûgáni, "Short deer."
Itco-yâbi hadjo, "Deer-horn hadjo."
Itcutci, "Little deer."
Kaiamûlk hadjo, "Kaiamulgi hadjo."
Kán teat hadjo.
Kapitca fiksíko, "Lye-drip fiksíko."
Kapitca hadjo.

[29] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 203.

[30] See p. 133.

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Kapitca yahola.
Kapitcutci.
Kasi'ta fiksíko.
Kasi'ta hadjo.
Kasi'ta yahola.
Katca fiksíko, "Panther fiksíko."
Katca hadjo.
Katca hola'ta.
Katca yahola.
Katcili, "Panther foot."
Katcilutci, "Little panther foot."
Kawita tástánągi, "Coweta tástánągi."
Kinas hadjo, ("Dodging(?) hadjo").[51]
Koakodji hadjo, "Wildcat hadjo."
Koakodji yahola.
Koasat fiksíko, "Koasati fiksíko."
Koasat hadjo.
Koha łáko, "Big cane."
Koha łáko hadjo, "Big cane hadjo."
Kolomi hadjo.[52]
Kosa fiksíko, "Coosa fiksíko."
Kosa fiksíkutci, "Little Coosa fiksíko."[53]
Kosa hadjo.
Kosa yahola.
Kotcugáni, "Short."
Kûnip fiksíko, "Skunk fiksíko."
Kûnip hadjo.
Kûnip yahola.
Kûnutci, "Little skunk."
Łata fiksíko (Distinct from Hola'ta fiksíko).
Łata hadjo.
Łata mátaha.
Łata tcápko.
Łata yahola.
Łitif hadjo, (łitifka, (any creature) "shedding hair").
Łodja fiksíko (Łodja is supposed to mean "turtle," though the word is not pronounced exactly like that applied to the reptile).
Łodja hadjo.
Łodja yahola.
Łáło fiksíko, "Fish fiksíko."
Łáło hadjo.
Łáło yahola.
Łidjámi fiksíko.
Łidjámi hadjo.
Łiwahali fiksíko.
Łiwahali hadjo.
Míkos hadjo, (An Alabama war name).
Muklasa.[54]
Nabotci hadjo.[55]
Nokos fiksíko, "Bear fiksíko."
Nokos hadjo.
Nokos yahola.
Nókosádji, "Bear's tail."
Nokosili, "Bear's foot."
Oikás henîha, "Water (or Oil) henîha."
Okoski (?)
Oktahasas hadjo, "Sand-town hadjo."
Oktcán fiksíkó, "Salt fiksíko."
Oktcán hadjo.
Oktcán hola'ta.
Osána fiksíko, "Otter fiksíko."
Osána hadjo.
Osotci fiksíko, "Osochi fiksíko."
Osotci hadjo.
Osotci yahola.
Otci hadjo, "Hickory nut hadjo."
Otcis hadjo, "Otcesee hadjo."
Otcisi tcápko, "Long (or tall) Ochesee."
Otcisutci, "Little Ochesee."
Pahos fiksíko, "Pahosa fiksíko."
Pahos hadjo.
Pahos hobai.
Pahos yahola.
Pahosutci.
Paskofa, "Ceremonial ground."
Pin fiksíko, "Turkey fiksíko."
Pin hadjo.
Sawanok fiksíko, "Shawnee fiksíko."
Sawanok hadjo.
Sawanok yahola.
Tákosa fiksíko(?), "Mole fiksíko."
Tákosa hadjo.
Tákosa yahola.
Tál mutcás fiksíko.
Tál mutcás hadjo.
Tál mutcás yahola.
Tálimás fiksíko, "Public (or common) fiksíko."
Tálimás hadjo.
Tálimás yahola.
Tálip[56] hadjo.
Tálof hadjo, "Town hadjo."
Tálsa fiksíko.
Tálsa hadjo.

[51] Tekmsita means "to dodge."
[52] This was the name of a great fire maker of the Tukabahchee.
[53] This was the name of Coley Proctor, a leader of the conservative element in the Creek nation.
[54] Mr. Grayson remembered an Alabama or Koasati Indian so called.
[55] Apparently referring to an extinct tribe called Napochies by the Spaniards; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 340.
[56] Probably from the name of a plant, tálwa; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 288

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Tàlsa yahola.
Tàlwà hadjo, "Town hadjo."
Tàmi fiksiko.
Tàmi hadjo.
Tàmi yahola.
Tàpàsola hadjo (abbr. Tapàs hadjo), "Daddy-long-legs hadjo."
Taskík hadjo, "Tuskegee hadjo."
Tàski heníha (abbr. Tàskiníha).[85b]
Tàskona.
Tciaha hadjo, "Chiaha hadjo."
Tciloki fiksiko (?)[85c]
Tciloki hadjo.
Tciloki yahola (?).
Tcito hadjo, "Snake hadjo."
Tcugati fiksiko (Tcugati perhaps means "imprisoned.")
Tcoska fiksiko, "Post oak fiksiko."
Tcoska hadjo.
Tcoska heníha.
Tcoska yahola.
Tcugati hadjo.
Tcugati yahola.
Tcugatutci.
Tcula fiksiko, "Fox fiksiko."
Tcula hadjo.
Tcula yahola.
Tcuwastai hadjo.
Totka bahi, "To apply fire" (or "To add fire to fire").
Tótka bahi hadjo.[85d]
Totka hasi, "Old fire."
Totkis hadjo, "Fire hadjo."[85e]
Tukaba'tci fiksiko, "Tukabahchee fiksiko."
Tukaba'tci hadjo.
Tukaba'tci yahola.
Tukolisi, "Spotted."
Tukolis hadjo, "Spotted hadjo."
Wàtula tcàpko, "Tall crane."
Wòksi hadjo.
Wòksi míko (?).
Wòksi yahola.
Wotko fiksiko, "Raccoon fiksiko."
Wotko hadjo.
Wotko yahola.
Wotkotci, "Little raccoon."
Yaha fiksiko, "Wolf fiksiko."
Yaha hadjo
Yaha tàstánàgi.
Yahola fiksiko.
Yahola hadjo.
Yaholutci.
Yatàwa hadjo.
Yufala fiksiko, "Eufaula fiksiko."
Yufala hadjo.[85f]

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Stiggins says that in the first attack on Fort Mimms a party of Creeks rushed into the very center of the fort, and all were killed except one man who afterwards had the name bestowed upon him by his town of "*Na ho mah tee o thle ho bo yer*, which is the foremost man in danger in time of battle."[85g]

Great numbers of Creek personal names appear in early documents and historical narratives dealing with the Southeast, but in many cases they are so badly misspelled or so unusual that they can not be translated. Sometimes it is impossible to say whether we have to deal with the boy's name or the war title. Among those that may be made out are the following:

Abi'ka miko(?)
Akfàski tàski heníha.
Àlbama tàstánàgi, "Alabama tàstánàgi."
Asin yahola, "Black drink yahola."
Atàs míko, "Atasi míko."
Faki làsti hadjo, "Black earth hadjo," a Seminole chief.
Fàlotki(?)

[85b] Tàski probably has reference to war.
[85c] See p. 189 et seq.
[85d] This was the name of G. W. Grayson's father.
[85e] The Creek name of Sam Moniac who figures in early Creek history and signed the treaty of 1790.
[85f] The Indian name of Lewis Proctor, head of the "Snake" or conservative faction among the Creeks.
[85g] Stiggins, Ms.: *Na mah tee* is probably hona'ta, "a chief or leader;" *o thle* or *hoil*, "war;" and *ho bo yer* *lobagi*, "far away." Mr. McCombs gives Hilibóya, "War Conqueror," as a very great title.

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Fus hátci míko, probably "Bird creek míko," referring to the old town of Fus-hatchee, though the name is often translated "Bird Tail King," the words for "creek" or "river" and tail being much alike. An Indian of this name appears in the treaty of 1790 and another was a chief of Kasihta.
Fus hátci tástánągi.
Heníha łáko, "Big heníha," a war title which goes back to 1733.
Heníha míko.
Hílibí hadjo.
Hobayi, "Far away."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi ímała.
Hobayi míko, "Far away míko," a signer of the treaty of 1790.
Hobayi tástánągi.
Hoboíhíli, "Good child."
Hoboíhíli hobayi.
Hoboíhíli míko, "Good child chief."
Hoboíhíli yahola.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta ímała.
Hola'ta míko.
Holíboyi hadjo.
Holíboyi míko, "War killing (i. e. 'finishing') míko."
Holíhopoi, "War measurer."
Holíhopoi tástánągi.
Hotálgi ímała, "Wind ímała."
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Ifa táski heníha.
Ifa tástánągi.
Ímała hátki, "White ímała.
Ímała łáko, "Big ímała."
Ína tástánągi (see preceding list).
Ispahíhtca.
Ispani hadjo.
Ispokok hadjo.
Kapítca míko.
Kasi'ta míko.
Kasi'ta tástánągi.
Kawíta míko.
Kosa míko(?)
Kosa tástánągi.
Łidjámi tástánągi.
Łíwahali táski heníha.
Míko bobayi, "Far away míko."
Okílisa.
Opíllo (=Opíllako) tástánągi.[86]
Pahos míko.
Simomítci, "Doing-it-for-them."
Tálahási ímała, "Old town ímała."
Tálahási míko.
Tálwa łáko tástánągi.
Tamali hadjo.
Tamali míko.
Tásíkaia hadjo.
Tásíkaia míko.
Táski heníha.
Táski heníha hátki (hátki, "white").
Táskigi tástánągi, "Tuskegee tástánągi."
Tástánągi hadjo.
Tástánągi hobayi.
Tástánągi míko.
Tástánągi tcápko, "Long tástánągi."
Tcalaki ilítci, "Cherokee killer."
Tciaha míko, "Chiaha míko."
Tokulgi, described as "emperor of the nation"—i. e., head chief of the Coweta at one period. (Cf. the common name Tokulki, p. 99).
Totka tástánągi, "Fire tástánągi."
Tupa hátki, "White bed."
Waíka tcumpa, "Sweet spring."
Wakokai míko.
Wíwo'ka míko.
Wôkai míko.
Yahola.
Yahola ímała.
Yahola míko.
Yakinha míko, second chief under Moty Kennard and his successor. Yakinha is perhaps from ya'kita, "to shout," "to whoop."
Yufala hobayi.
Yufala tástánągi.
Yufala tástánągi míko.
Yutci tástánągi (himself a Yuchi Indian).

While a few of these are different from any given in my list above, the greater number will be found there.

The following names are also extracted from early documents and it is probable that some of them are war names but it is impossible to say. The interpretations are from Doctor Gatschet's notes.

[86] Opíllako, "Big swamp," was a former Creek town; see Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 282.

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Figiya, probably meaning "to shake or tremble," a Chiaha war-chief living in 1733.

Hammitci, called "Old Hammitci of Sutchapoka," probably Old Hammitci of Lutcapoka.

Hopaiitci, "One going to a distance" from houses, etc.

Imistisigo, "Man who has no men" following him, a chief who fought against the Americans after the time of the Revolution.

Lamhi tcati, "Red Eagle," said to have been the name of William Weatherford, leader of the hostile Creeks in the Creek-American war.

Lifagi, "One who punches (or stamps)" with his feet alternately, the name of a Creek chief who went to Texas at an early period.

Mikonopi, or Miko unapa, "Chief on top of all" chiefs, the head-chief of the Seminole during the Seminole war.

Mitikayi, "Pushing down," a war-chief of the Oconee.

Opototache (or Long Side), an Indian of Big Tulsa who signed the Treaty of 1790.

Stimafatcki, from afâtiki, "glad"; a signer of the Treaty of 1790.

Stimala'tci (shortened into Mala'tci or "Malachee"), "One coming into something of his own" (?), a famous head chief of the Lower Creeks.

Suta-milla, "Pointing toward the sky," a Chiaha war captain in 1733.

Tamodjäidji, "Who makes one (bird) fly(?)," the famous Tomochichi.

Timpuitci, "Coming near," Creek name of the Yuchi chief Timpuchee Barnard.

Tuwidjedji, a chief of the Oconee Indians.

Parents sometimes took their names from their children, but in that case they did not give up their earlier names. Mr. McCombs told me of a case in which a woman adopted the names of three of her children in succession. The oldest, whose name she had taken, having died, she assumed the name of the next younger, and, that one dying some time later, she adopted the name of the third.

Clans, Phratries, and Moieties

NATIVE EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN

614

The clan origin stories of the Creeks were of two kinds—stories attempting to account for the origin of the clan system as a whole and stories dealing with the creation of new clans.

Sometimes these last merely profess to explain how the exogamous prohibition between two linked clans came to be broken down and hence are not origin stories in the true sense of the term, but there is no clear line of demarcation between these and stories accounting for the existence of entirely new clans. If we could place any reliance upon these myths it would be easy to account for this confusion by considering that in all probability in many of them the name subsequently applied to the new clan would be assumed as having been already in existence.

In connection with the cutting apart of an exogamous group the expression is applied, "their fire (or light) was put out." Either this refers to a common myth told to account for these separations

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551 554 614 totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

551 554 622 Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tástánągi and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imała łákálgi was always called Imała yahola, the leader of the tástánągągi Tástánák tcápko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tástánągi, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Áhá'łák tástánągi, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti átca'gągi (abbreviated into I'sti tcagągi)[796] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

553 614 796 The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson [571] Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

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[796] See pp. 301-308.

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551 Another feminine name, said to be very ancient, was recovered by Mr. Grayson and bestowed upon one of his own children. This name, Tsianīna, can not now be interpreted. Two other names, Tsinī'a, "peeping," and Mitiwō'hli, which probably means "turning around," were given me by Mrs. Grayson.

The following feminine names were collected by Doctor Gatschet:

Fīk'-huya'hni, "Heart passing by, about, or around."
Isa-usāi'ki (?) or Šahusāi'ki, "One left (in war) with it."
Mihi'li, "One who likes somebody."
Setakha'hgi, "(Fighting) in a line."
Simihi'li, "One getting attached to someone" (this may, perhaps, be used for a man).

Among the Alabama of Texas the war names have long since passed out of use, and most of the young people do not have Indian names of any sort, while the meanings of those still preserved are not known. Following is a partial list of Alabama names:

MEN

Ateuwai'tcī.
Cī'mālokai'tcī'.
Cīmatátáhge'.
Ciyupī'tī.
Conafti'tci.
Cowai'yi.
Ē'lawēhtcī.
Holētke'.
Homalē'htcī.
Kalāne'.
Kocpō'.
Kone'.
Lone'.
Pā'djo.
Pahe'tcā.
Patábi'.
Sī'late.
Sīnīáhe'.
Táfolo'hkē.
Takohtcī.
Tcai'iki.
Tcáke'.
Tcámba'.
Tcawē'hkī.
Tīkbábe'.
Tola'na.
Wai'hke.
Yága'hpi.
Yáhe'tcī.
Yaiyī'.

WOMEN

Apīlho'yē.
Awágahe'.
Cámho'.
Cīma'goiho'djī.
Cokyūhki.
Fála'iki.
Mocai'tci'.
Nocai'hki.
Okō'sī.
Pa'lusī.
Sa'háwe'.
Sihoma'hki.
So'fiki.
Tcūkla'hte.
Yūlho'hki.

551 •554 614 Busk names should rather be called titles. In former days they were ordinarily given only on account of warlike exploits, especially the taking of scalps, but, as I have noted elsewhere, they could sometimes be secured by obtaining eagle feathers or killing many deer. In a few cases such titles were conferred upon women.[77] Each clan

[77] See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42; however, in an unpublished Hitchiti story collected by Doctor Gatschet, in recognition for a deed of heroism which one woman performed, a busk title was conferred, not on her but on her son.

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had its own set of titles which were given to new aspirants after the death of the former holders. If at any time the titles belonging to a clan were entirely exhausted a name could be borrowed from the clan of the aspirant's father, but after the death of the holder it would revert to the clan from which it had been taken. 551 554 614

These titles usually contained two words, of which the second was commonly hadjo, fiksiko, yahola, imała, tàstànàgi, or miko. The last three belonged properly to certain classes of functionaries to be described elsewhere, but in some towns they seem to have become hereditary in the clans; at least this is definitely affirmed for the term tàstànàgi. It has frequently been reported that these titles were bestowed in a certain order. Thus one of my own informants said that a man would probably be given first a name containing hadjo, next one with imała, and finally one with tàstànàgi. Another gave the order as hadjo, tàstànàgi, and miko. Most of this is explained, however, by the fact that the names imała, tàstànàgi, and miko were applied to officials. Nevertheless there seems to have been some tendency to use a name containing hadjo first and one with yahola later on. These two, together with fiksiko, are called "common names," which here mean merely that they did not carry official positions with them. Hadjo means "mad," "crazy," but more particularly "furious in battle." Fiksiko means "no heart," "heartless." Yahola refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it. Originally it may have been restricted to a class of criers but later it became "common." The tendency of these names to become "common" in course of time explains why Speck was told that hadjo, fiksiko, imała, and yahola were all of equal rank.[78] 551 554 622

The first word in the title was derived from various sources, but there were two principal kinds. The most important set was based on the name of the totem animal, and in most cases it was the simple name of the animal itself, not a mere reference to it. Names of this kind were usually bestowed only upon persons belonging to clans having the same name, but sometimes they were allowed to those whose fathers belonged to that clan. Another considerable set was taken from names of tribes or towns, particularly those which composed the Creek confederacy. Sometimes they preserved the names of tribes or towns that otherwise would have been forgotten On the other hand the names of Kàn hàtki, Okchai, Pakan tallahassee, Otciapofa, and Alabama seem not to have been used, or if so only rarely. Only a few cases of the use of the name of Muklasa can be recalled. It may be added that the name of the Toad clan, Sàbàktàlgi, also seems not to have been used. Jackson Lewis said that the non- 551 554 614

[78] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

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554 grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic
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614 men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e.,
796 a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson
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[736] See pp. 201-205.

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[55] 567 727 597

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[56] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 221.
[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 43, 212, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 376.

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344 old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[85] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [86] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[532 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
614] of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[592] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

"Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always
[621 been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the
531] posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[714] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[85] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[86] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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344 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have
346 been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

177 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks
171 have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those
344 above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

344 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa),
●554 usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The
621 names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tástánágálgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibánágálgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihálgi intupa) and was known

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 302.

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344 to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihàlgi always
• 554 acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during
621 the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[a] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). For our present purposes it is important to find out
614 what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted
622 the mikàlgi or chiefs, and the henihàlgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tàstánàgàlgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Tallàdega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Euhula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[3]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-testi	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Lutcapoga	do	Bird [4] (Beaver, second chief).
Okfuskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tcotoksofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutcf	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutcasi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee	(1) Aktaystci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis).	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktaystci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktaystci	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktaystci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Łàlogàlga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [2]	Bear or Wind.[3]
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[6]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 287.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tcilòki clan, perhaps the Aktaystci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasihta yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

[a] See pp. 293-295

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and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łapłáko, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łapłáko, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck. 614 622

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[2] tcokofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable. 344 554 [614] 621

[2] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. 300.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Talladega	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka-in-the-West	W	E	S	N (for visitors).
Kan-tcati	W	S (west end)	E (north end)	N (wanting).
Otciapofa	W	E	N	S (wanting).
according to Swan	W [1]	S	N	E.[1]
Tulsa Little River	W	N	S	E (for visitors).
Tulsa Canadian (?)	W	S [2]	S [2]	N.
Lutcapoga	W	N [3] (S)	S [3] (N)	E.
Okfuskee	N	W	E	S.
Tcatoksofka	W	E [2]	E [2]	N and S.
Abihkutci	N	W	E	S.
Nuyaka	N	W	E	S.
Talmutcasi	N	E	W	S.
Pakan tallahassee	N	W	S	E (wanting).
Wiogufki (1)	W	S	(wanting)	E.
(2)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Tukpafka	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Asilanabi	W	N	S	E.
Okchai	W	N	S	E.
Łalogálga	W	N	S	E.
Wiwohka (1)	W	E	N	S (wanting).
(2)	W		S	N (wanting).
Tuskegee	W	E [4]	N [4]	S.
Koasati No. 1	S	E(?)	?	?.
Koasati No. 2	W	N	S [5]	N (wanting).
Tukabahchee	SW	NW	SE	NE.
Atasi (1)	N	W	E	S.
(2)	N	S	E	W.
Kealedji	W	N	E(?)	S(?).
Łapłáko	W	N	S	E.
Łiwahá'li	E	S	?	?.
Hilibi	W	S(?)	E(?)	N.
Upper Eufaula	N	S	E	W (wanting).
Alabama	E	W	S(?) [6]	N(?). [6]
Kasihta [7]	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Hitchiti	W	N	E	S.
Okmulgee	W	N	S	E.
Apalachicola	W	N	E	S.
Yuchi	W	N and S [8]		

[1] Actually Swan transposes these two but, as I have already said (p. 182), I think we may fairly assume a mistake in the notes or in the transcription made from them.

[2] The warriors and the henihas occupied different parts of the same bed. There was no East bed in Tulsa Canadian.

[3] According to two informants.

[4] Speck, on the authority of Leslie Cloud, places the warriors in both the North and East beds, and it is true that the imala or warriors of the second class sat in the North bed.

[5] In modern times the henihas actually sat with the chiefs in the West bed.

[6] These two beds are now entirely wanting.

[7] All authorities, including Hawkins, agree.

[8] There was no East bed.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Coweta (1)	W	E	N	S.
(2)	W	S	N	E.
Łikatcka	W	S (east end)	S (west end)	E.[9]
Eufaula Hobayi	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha (1)	S	N	W	E.
(2)[10]	W	S	N	E.
Osochi [10]	W	N	S	E.
Ochesee	W	N	S	E.
Okfuskee Seminole	W	N	S	E.
Tallahasutci	W	N	S	E.
Hitchiti Seminole	W	N	S	E(?).
Eufaula Seminole	W	N (?)	S (?)	E (wanting).
Łiwahali Seminole	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha Seminole	W	S (?)	N (?)	E.
Mikasuki	W	N	S (?)	E.

[9] There was no name for the North bed. [10] According to two informants.

The chiefs' bed we find almost always to the west, and, excepting in one case, always to the west among the Lower Creeks and the Seminole. The town square which Adair describes, whether it was Creek or Chickasaw, also had the chiefs' bed to the west, and he tells us specifically that it lay to the west in the old town of Coosa which has long since vanished. The exceptions are in the cases of the Okfuskee towns,[20] Pakan tallahassee, Atasi, and Upper Eufaula, in which it was north; Łiwahali and Alabama in which it was east; and "Koasati No. 1" and the early Chiaha square in which it was south. I do not feel thorough confidence in the data from Atasi, Łiwahali, and Koasati No. 1, but the cases for the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, Upper Eufaula, and Alabama are proved by the existing squares. Chiaha and Koasati No. 1 may perhaps be explained by Tukabahchee in which the bed lies southwest and is said sometimes to lie west and again to lie south. Possibly the peculiar reverse arrangement among the Alabama is due to the fact that the Alabama were at one time adopted by the Okchai who told them that they might "sit on the other side of their fire." At that time, therefore, their chiefs may have occupied the east cabin, and they may have retained the same position after separating from the Okchai. In the case of the Okfuskee I can only say that, as their towns lay well to the north and east, they may have desired to face somewhat inward toward the rest of the nation. But this is purely conjecture. Turning to the warriors' bed we find that in about 23 cases it was to the north, in 12 to 16 south, 6 to 11 east, and 5 or 6 west. In Hawkins's description of

[20] Tuskaofka, which seems to constitute an exception, has long been abandoned and information regarding it is somewhat doubtful.

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a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihas is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihas' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihas themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihas, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihas' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

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The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihas, warriors, or youths.

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Abihka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Abihka-in-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kan-tosti	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tulsa Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutcapoga	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Tustokofka	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutci	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka	E(h)	N(c)				
Talmutcasi	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wiogufki	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka	S(h)					W(c)
Atlanabi	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Łalogtigo	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S(h))
Tuskegee	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c)(E(w))	N(h), W(c)(—)	
Koasati No. 1	S(c)	S(c)(?)	?	?	?	?
Koasati No. 2	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabahchee	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h)(S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&(E(h))	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kaleidji	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Łapitko	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Łiwahali						
Hilibi	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)		W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)		E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w)(N(w)	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W(c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Łikatcha	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha	(W(c))	W(h)(S(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N?(h))
Osochi	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Oakasse	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahassee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)(?)		N(w)
Eufaula	S(h)					N(w)
Łiwahali	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayutci	Snake	Potato	Tami
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-tosi	S(w)	E(h)				
Otciapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tuba Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Latcapaga	(N(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S (h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tustenuggee	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Tukautosi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wiwoofki	S(w)W(c)	E (y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W (c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asilanabi	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Ishogiga		W(c)				
Wiwokka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h)) (E(w))	E(w)(—) N(h)(E(w))	W(c)	E(w) N(h)	N(h)
Tuskegee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))					
Kosati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Kosati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukabatchee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kaolodji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Eufaula	S(h)	S(h)	W(c) (S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Ilwahali	E(c)					
Hilibi		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobuyi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))		(N(h))	
Alabama			E(c)			
Kasihta	N(w)	S(h)(and N (w))	N(w)(and S (h))		S(h)	N(w)(S (h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w) (W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Eufaula	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Oruchi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochese	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Okfuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahassee	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Ilwahali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

[1] The mating is not by clans.

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Town	Turkey	Pahoss	Kapitos	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Talladega						
Abihka						
Abihka-in-the-West						
Kan-tosti						
Otciapofa		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Lutcapoga						
Okfuskee	S(y)					
Tustoksefka	N, S					
Abihkutci				S(y)		
Nuyaka						
Talmustosi						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(c)		
Wiogufki	S(w) W(u)					
Tukpafka						
Asilemabi	S(h)					
Okchai						
Lalogtiga						
Wiwohka		W(c)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Koasati No. 1						
Koasati No. 2						
Tukabatchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kaiodji	S(h)				E(h)	
Zapitko	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Liwahali						
Hilibi	W(u)					
Upper Eufaula	E(h)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kasihta				N(w)	W(u)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(u)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(h)(W(c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta						
Likatcha						
Chisha					(S(w))	
Oconi			(N(w))	N(w)(S(h))	N(w)(S(h))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochese			S(h)		W(u)	
Okfuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahassee	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(u)			
Liwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chisha						
Mikasuki						

[1] The sorting is not by clans.

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Town	Skunk	Fox	Eagle	Wolf	Miscellaneous
Talladega					
Abihka					
Abihka-in-the-West					
Kan-testi					
Otciapofa					
Tulsa Little River			S(h)		
Lutcapaga			S(w)		N(h) (Toowastâ)
Okfuskee					
Tustoksofka			W(c)		
Abihkutci	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka					
Talmutcasi					
Pakan tallahassee					
Wiogufki					
Tukpafka					
Asilanabi					
Okchai					
Łáłogáłga					
Wiwohka	N(h)				
Tuskegee					
Kasasti No. 1					
Kasasti No. 2					
Tukabahchee	W(c)(?)				
Atasi					
Kaslodji		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Łidjâmi)
Łapiłko					
Łiwahali					
Hillibi					
Upper Eufaula					
Eufaula Hobayi		(N(h))			
Alabama		N(w)			(W(c)(S(h))) (Fish)
Kasihta					
Hitchiti					
Okmulgee		S(h)			
Apalachicola					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi [1]					
Coweta					
Łikatcha					
Chiaha	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Osotci		W(c)(—)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Oclasse					S(h) (Otter)
Okfuskee					
Tallahassutci					
Hitchiti					S(h) (Toad and Tookote)
Eufaula					
Łiwahali					
Chiaha					
Mikasuki					W(c) (Otter)

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

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disposition—and this in spite of the almost universal classification of the Bear as a peace clan. Further evidence of degeneration is shown in some of the Seminole towns in Oklahoma where a singe tàstánàgi has usurped the functions of both the chief's heniha and the miko apokta.

At Tukabahchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns as well, the isti àtcagàgi, the tàstánàgis, and some of the other classes bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a share in its government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seen to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war. When it was in its prime it is probable that merit vastly overbalanced, the isti àtcagàgis, tàstánàgis, imalas, and tàsikayas having owed their positions mainly, at least, to individual accomplishments. Although the mikàgi and henihàlgi had to do with peace mainly, they had gone through with the war discipline and had been selected from among the warriors. While they must always belong to certain clans they were, beyond that restriction, elective, and, as these clans were usually numerous, a considerable choice could be exercised. While it is true that the legislative and executive power was vested in a small number of people these were persons who had, for the most part, worked their way up by their talents and bravery, and were really representative of the native ideals of what was highest and most worthy. A power of recall was also exercised in the case of the chief and it is probable that we should find that the same power existed in effect over the other offices. A separation of governmental functions had begun in some particulars, the henihas being a kind of Department of the Interior concerned with the pursuits of peace, and the various classes of warriors, particularly the tàstánàgis, a department concerned with war, and also constituting an internal police.

Speck is the only authority for the use of face paintings to mark differences in rank. He says:

"Facial painting was employed to indicate rank in the town. Persons bearing the title of *míko* or *hiniha* wore black paint on one side of the face and red on the other, coloring either the whole face or only the space around the eyes. The second pattern belonged to ordinary initiated men having the title *taskáya* and consisted of four stripes, from the cheek-bone to the angle of the jaw, alternating in red and yellow." [48]

[48] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

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554 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck
302 derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say:
"The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti àtcagàgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the à-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the àsi was the prerogative of the henihàlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the àsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at
614 different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the
623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

614 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy
631 the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets
642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 265.
[48] See p. 436.
[49] The game described on pp. 469–470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 293.

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last for a limited time only, are terminated, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, each of the members rests in the cabin which belongs to his class; but as soon as the sun appears above the horizon, a drum calls all of the chiefs to the assembly, which remains in session until sunset.[61]

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In another place he makes certain amplifications regarding the time when such conventions took place. He says:

"These assemblies, which I have attended for twenty years, are held usually at the end of April or the beginning of May, as I have already said. To them are carried complaints and demands of all kinds, where the interests of the entire nation and its allies are discussed and regulated. They are held sometimes in the month of September, before they separate to go hunting, but then they are not general, few interesting things happen, and strangers are rarely present." [62]

Milfort is almost the only writer who gives a hint regarding the manner in which the chiefs and officials of the various towns were seated. It is probable that their individual merit often outweighed the numerical importance of the town.

Speaking in these assemblies was a high art and was, next to success in war, the major means of social advancement. Religious sentiment was attached to it, and before a public speech the Creek speaker used to spit four times with deliberation and repeat a formula. The oratorical language was full of metaphorical allusions, and irony and satire were resorted to rather than denunciation. Says Adair:

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"I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches—and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomohawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing; and, lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, 'Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.' They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoòp, and struck up the solemn, awful song, *Yó*, etc." [63]

And in another place:

"Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver

[61] Milfort, Mém., pp. 289-292.
[62] Ibid., pp. 294-295.
[63] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 64.

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515 From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice: "However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin.[91]

[689]

He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them."[92] This is somewhat at variance with the information I myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.[93]

[855]

721 Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in
•554 war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair."[94]

703 Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other
554 things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

[91] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 120.
[92] Ibid., p. 121.
[93] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 26.
[94] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 280; cf. p. 434.

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men who had obtained eagle feathers,[95] and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer. 703 554

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kila), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mystories were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries. 756 538 791

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation: 177 888

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[96]

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[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 30.

[96] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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727 what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before
782 their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Ooe-Asa* and *Koosah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly." [22]

721 From all this it may be seen that the main object of fighting was
554 not to defeat the enemy from any such sentiment as devotion to country or desire for plunder, but to obtain scalps and thereby social advancement and to placate the souls of the departed. From this fact and the heavy penalties laid upon the war leader in case of failure it transpired that the Indians seldom attacked against odds unless they believed their attack to be unexpected. A small, resolute
726 body time and again beat off odds that could easily have wiped them out had it not been for the great fear of even slight loss on the part of the attackers. Adair mentions an instance in which 80 Choctaw would not attack the party to which he belonged, consisting of about 40 Chickasaw with women and children to protect, because they knew that their presence had been discovered.[23] On another occasion he states that 17 Chickasaw, accompanied by their wives and children, fought off more than 60 Choctaw.[24] In the time of
[722] an attack on the town or camp, Adair says, "It is usual for the women to sing the enlivening war songs; and it inflames the men's spirits so highly that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an instance of the Indians running off, though, from a numerous enemy and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands.[24] In another connection Adair mentions as a war custom the killing of a great number of captives because the leader of the war party had been wounded and his life was despaired of.[25] He cites an instance in which a Chickasaw had been killed by some Choctaw after having been given food and, since this fact was cast up against the Choctaw by the avenging party, it would seem to have been contrary to native laws of war. This is further strengthened by the fact that the Chickasaw thus killed was not scalped. In consequence the Chickasaw left the Choctaw whom they killed in retaliation also unscalped.[26]

These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp 155-156.
[23] Ibid., pp. 318-319.
[24] Ibid., p. 319.
[25] Ibid., p. 330.
[26] Ibid., p. 329-331.

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726 lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

The Choctaw once captured an Alabama boy. When he grew up the Choctaw fought against the Alabama, and he helped them, so the Alabama wanted to capture him. They went to a conjurer and asked his aid. He promised them that he would aid them and told the women to get sticks with which to whip the prospective captive. Then the Alabama captured him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him for a long time. After a while they piled weeds all about him and set them on fire but still he did not die. Then they tied dry grass around him by means of a rope fastened about the tree, set it on fire, and danced about him shaking their rattles. When he was nearly dead he fell down, and they shook their gourd rattles over him until he expired.

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• 554 selves, except that of Milfort, is given by Swan and is as follows:
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"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair.

727 "When a young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches
554 the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-whoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him a man and a warrior,

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worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly. 727 554

"Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Este dogo, i. e. *you are nobody* [isti toko, 'person is not']; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once. 721 554 578

"The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen. 726

"When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity. 727

"It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

"Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government." [21] 721

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars:

"They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The 726

[21] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 279-281.

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726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it." [43]

727 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy
• 554 compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home
703 without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

701 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations him-
726 self in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

[43] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217-219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 436-437.

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[For descriptions of seating arrangements in Creek town square grounds of the several social groups in the community (clans, age and sex groups, warriors, village officials and religious functionaries) see category 621]

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raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy

• [555]

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621]

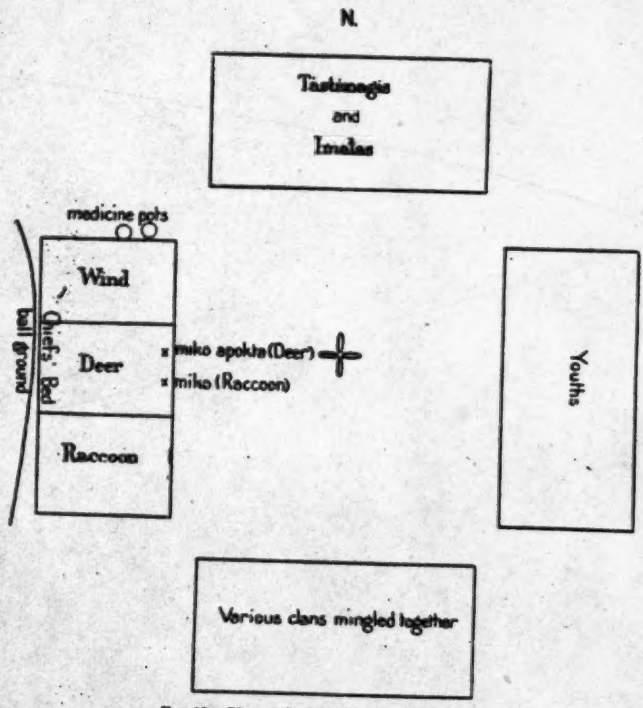

FIG. 28.—Plan of the Łákogálga Square Ground

ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, etc. . . .

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 30-31.

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726 lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Household

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety. 592

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (hûti) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the tcokofa. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives. [562] [591] [888]

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses. [597] [567] [595]

The Family

GENERAL REMARKS

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative 601

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589 When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

"Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself.

"The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, 'Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;' the most degrading of epithets."[20b]

548 A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. [302] Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

171 589 It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.[20c] It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive;* they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

562 Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, "In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." 592 In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

[20b] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 136-139. [20c] Milfort, Mém., p. 206.

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as it appeared in 1912. This was largely because it was thought that to sleep much with women enervated a man and incapacitated him as a warrior.[30] Adair says that in their town houses the women were separated from the warriors, and were merely allowed to sit at each side of the entrance "as if they were only casual spectators,"[31] and anciently they had no seats on the square ground. Among the Chickasaw six old beloved women were the only participants in the annual ceremony.[32]

562 [833] 592

Regarding the labors of women the last mentioned writer declares: "The women are the chief, if not the only, manufacturers; the men judge that if they performed that office, it would exceedingly depreciate them."[33] In fact women anciently, in addition to the indoors work of the house, made all of the pottery and basketry, and did all of the spinning and weaving of bison hair, mulberry bark, etc. The initial preparation of skins was sometimes performed by men, but most of the subsequent work upon it fell to the women. They made drying frames and dried peaches and other fruits upon them, and they of course pounded the corn and did the cooking.

462

The principal occupations of the men were hunting, ball playing, war, and rites connected with the use of medicine and ceremonial affairs. They built the houses, the corncribs, and the structures belonging to the square ground, felled trees, made canoes and mortars, drums, pipes, calumets, ball sticks, and of course in olden times the axes and the arrows, bows, war clubs, and most of the other articles used in hunting and war. When hunting at a distance from home they cut up the meat, loaded it on horses, and brought it back. It is evident that their labors amounted to considerable in the aggregate, although they were not so evenly sustained throughout the year as those of women. The smaller garden plots were cared for almost exclusively by women, but the town fields were tended by individuals of both sexes, and Bartram says that "there are not one-third as many females as males seen at work in their plantations; for, at this season of the year, by a law of the people, they do not hunt, the game not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in, so the males have little else with which to employ themselves."[34] Later on in the season the same writer tells us that the labor falling upon women was harder.

[224] [241]

"In the hunting season, that is in autumn and winter, the men are generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls on the women, who are than obliged to undergo a good deal of labor, such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they toat on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the ancient large towns, where the commons and old fields extend some

[224]

[30] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[31] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 151.
[32] Ibid., pp. 99-97.
[33] Ibid., p. 453.
[34] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 31.

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462 miles to the woodland. But this labor is in part alleviated by the assistance of the old men, who are past their hunting days and no longer participate in the wars; who remain in the towns. They have likewise the aid of horses in this work. The women also gather an incredible amount of nuts and acorns, which they manufacture into oil for annual consumption." [25]

562 Altogether Bartram's judgment regarding the position of women among the Creeks was very favorable.

"You may depend upon my assertion that there is no people any where who love their women more than these Indians do, or men of better understanding in distinguishing the merits of the opposite sex, or more faithful in rendering suitable compensation. They are courteous and polite to the women, and gentle, tender and fondling, even to an appearance of effeminacy, to their offspring. An Indian never attempts, nay, he can not use towards a woman amongst them any indelicacy or indecency, either in action or language.

"I never saw or heard of an instance of an Indian beating his wife or other female, or reproving them in anger or in harsh language. And the women make a suitable and grateful return; for they are discreet, modest, loving, faithful, and affectionate to their husbands." [26]

462 On the other hand we find Pope saying:

"The cultivation of the soil and almost every domestic drudgery are imposed upon their women, who are less prolific than ours; probably owing to their hard labor and excessively coarse and scanty diet." [27]

Romans says: "The labour of the field is all done by the women," [28] and in another place he thus enlarges upon their work in general. The "principal exercises [of the men] at home are ball playing in the manner afore related, and the just mentioned dances; the women are employed, besides the cultivation of the earth, in dressing the victuals, preparing, scraping, braining, rubbing and smoaking the Roe skins, making macksens of them, spinning buffaloe wool, making salt, preparing cassine drink, drying the *chamærops* and *passiflora*, making cold flour for travelling, gathering nuts and making their milk; likewise in making baskets, brooms, pots, bowls and other earthen and wooden vessels." [29]

562 Hawkins says tersely that the Creek men made slaves of their women who in turn exercised "absolute rule, such as it was, over their children." [30]

However, Swan is as usual the leading devil's advocate against the Creeks. He remarks:

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[25] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 31-32.
[26] Ibid., p. 31.
[27] Pope, Tour, p. 60.
[28] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
[29] Ibid., p. 92.
[30] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 88.

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"The women perform all the labor, both in the house and field, and are, in fact, but slaves to the men, being subject to their commands without any will of their own, except in the management of the children. They are universally called wenches; and the only distinction between them and the negro women is, that they have Indian children; and when a man would have you understand that he is speaking of his wife, he designates her as his son's mother, etc. Yet in this unhappy, servile state, the women are remarkable for their care and attention to the men, constantly watching over them in their desperate drunkenness and quarrels, with their utmost solicitude and anxiety. . . ."[a] 562

"A stranger going into the country must feel distressed, when he sees naked women bringing in huge burdens of wood on their backs, or bent under the scorching sun, at hard labor in the field; while the indolent, robust young men are riding about, or stretched at ease on some scaffold, amusing themselves with a pipe, or a whistle."[a] 181 462

In another place we read:

"The men, in general, are of a good size, stout, athletic and handsome: the women are of good height, but coarse, thick-necked and ugly. Being condemned, by the custom of the country, to carry burdens, pound corn, and perform all the hard labor, they are universally masculine in appearance, without one soft blandishment to render them desirable or lovely. Both sexes have a phlegmatic coldness and indifference, uncommon and unknown to most white people."[b]

This last statement Swan confirms by citing the apparent indifference exhibited by a husband and wife when they met after a long separation.

I may add that in 1911–12 I was several times told that Creek Indians would let their wives walk home from town carrying heavy loads, while they hung about for some time and finally hired a liveryman to take them, perhaps passing their wives on the way.

Nevertheless, the condemnation of the Indians by Pope, Swan, and others is as unintelligent as the praises bestowed by Bartram. A people or a person can be judged properly only by observing the conformity or lack of conformity which their actions bear to the ethical and social standards among them, not by the measure of ethical or social standards among other people. And secondly, the presence or absence and in general the intensity of emotions can not be assumed because their expression is less or different from that to which the critic is himself accustomed. I have already called attention to Swan's misconception regarding marriage relations owing to the difference between the significance of Indian and white terms 181 562

[a] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273. [b] Ibid., p. 273. [c] Ibid., p. 274.

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181 562 [593] of relationship.[44] In the quotation given above he[1] makes another blunder when he assumes that from the apparent indifference exhibited by an Indian couple when they meet after a long separation a constitutional "phlegmatic coldness and indifference" may be inferred. The self-restraint and seeming unconcern exhibited was simply a native custom from which nothing at all regarding the real feelings could be deduced. It may be added that the hard life of Indian women to which he refers was not usually considered hard by them but as the customary and essential, and it was in large measure but their share of a life which was harder all around than the lives of many civilized human beings. It was certainly not as hard as the lives of many of our sweatshop and mill operatives, and there is this to be said for it besides that it did not exist side by side with and thereby shame a theoretically lofty moral standard. On the other hand the "care and attention" which Creek women bestowed upon their men must be read in connection with the drastic regulations to which a widow was subjected.[44a] Collective virtues and vices are so closely bound up with economic conditions that it would be easy to show how both as they exist among Indians show to advantage or suffer in comparison with virtues and vices among ourselves. It is probably true also that white contact by putting an [177] end to intertribal warfare and to hunting, the chief occupations of the men in olden times, has shown up the division of labor between men and women with some disadvantage to the men, because the old traditions regarding division of labor have persisted into a period when a new arrangement is rendered necessary. This is not said with the idea of justifying Indian or European customs. Some of these were doubtless due to economic conditions which were indeed their sufficient excuse at one time. Many, too, may be perversions of customs which once had some reason for their existence though the perversions themselves have not and never had any such basis. In these cases history may furnish a palliation and an excuse but it can not give a justification, and the sooner such custom is abolished the better.

It is not just then to condemn the Creeks on account of some of their customs or to praise them overmuch on account of others. But, abstracting the customs themselves from the people, we may say that those of the Creeks were upon the whole on a distinctly higher level than the customs of most of the hunting tribes of American Indians and indeed than those of most of the agricultural tribes about them.

BURIAL

764 In the accounts of burial customs, as well as in those of marriages, there are considerable differences, and here again it is evident that

[44] See p. 376. [44a] See pp. 383-384.

1 [i.e., Swan. -- Analyst]

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There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,[13] but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son. 727 703 562

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English."[14] 727 648

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection: 727 796

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop*. When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable Yo, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred[15] notes, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

[13] For one such see Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42.
[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 318.
[15] Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these monosyllabic syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

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682 on the authority of a trader who had been in the Creek country 15
177 years, that the murderer was publicly executed and the law of private retaliation had gradually become obsolete.[33] And, about 20 years later, Eakins says:

"Among the Creeks, now, however, the murderer undergoes a regular trial before some of the leading chiefs of the nation, and is dealt with according to their decision. If an Indian should murder a
[563] negro, the law is satisfied with the value of the negro being paid to the owner. The intervention of time and the fleeing of the murderer, generally allay resentment and lead to compromises. After the annual "busk," all offences are cancelled.[34] There is no distinction made in the estimate of life between the male and female."[35]

The administration of justice was, however, far from being Euro-
696 peanized. Thus Gregg contradicts Eakins in part when he tells us that—

"They have no trial by jury, and their judicial proceedings are exceedingly summary—frequently without witnesses; for the warriors are generally too proud to deny a charge, lest it be construed into cowardice. Executions sometimes take place within an hour after the commencement of trial. Murder, rape, and a third conviction of stealing are punished with death, usually by shooting; but, in case of homicide, if claimed by the relatives of the deceased, the criminal is executed with the same kind of weapon, or, if possible, the very same, with which he committed the murder."[36]

And he adds:

"Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are for the most part rigorously enforced; though a commutation satisfactory to the aggrieved is still permitted to release the offender. Their laws, in cases of accidental homicide, are still more barbariously rigid than those of the other nations."[37]

681 The information which I have myself obtained corroborates in all particulars that furnished by these earlier writers. The peculiar function of the White towns in protecting escaped criminals seems, however, to have well-nigh disappeared even before the migration to Oklahoma, as my oldest informants knew nothing about it. Jackson Lewis merely stated that a man who had committed an offense in one town frequently fled to another and kept out of sight as much as possible until a considerable period had elapsed. Then the chief of the town where he had sought refuge would say to the chief of the other town: "I have made a townsman of this friend of yours and I

[33] Hodgson, Journey through N. A., p. 267.

[34] This agrees with the statement of one of Speck's informants (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 115), but anciently murder was one crime excepted from the general amnesty.

[35] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[36] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.

[37] Ibid., pp. 315-316.

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Muskogee

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Household

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety. 592

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (hûti) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the tcokofa. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives. [562] [591] [888]

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses. [597] [567] [595]

The Family

General Remarks

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative 601

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[55] 567 727 597

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[56] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 211.
[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 43, 213, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 276.

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After the Civil War they began to bury in the ground, lining the grave with split logs and also covering it with them. Then, too, only about four persons did the work. While they were so employed they had their faces painted red, and this paint was called tisi'. For the space of four months after the duty had been accomplished they had to eat apart out of a separate dish. If they belonged to different houses each man had his own dish. If the burial was in winter they hoed away the grass, leaves, branches, etc., from the grave so that the grave house would not be burned. 764

Before the Civil War there was a chief of the Mikasuki named Kapitca miko (Mikasuki Kapitc miki). When he died they laid his body away, south of Wetumka, in the old manner, without digging a grave. Afterward the Negro slaves went there and piled a great quantity of stones above it. Sonak hadjo himself saw it in that place after the war. This was not a regular custom, but the Indians did it at that time because they had Negro slaves to command and because they thought a great deal of that chief. [567]

"While the Yamacraw Indians were in England with Tomochichi one of their number died and was buried by his companions in the ground, strapped between two boards." [83]

Bossu has the following regarding the burial customs of the Alabama in the middle of the eighteenth century:

"The Allibamons bury their dead in a sitting position; in order to justify this usage they say that the man is upright, and has his head turned toward the heaven his dwelling, and that it is for this reason that they bury their fellowmen in this attitude; they give him a calumet and tobacco to smoke in order that he may make peace with the people of the other world; if he is a warrior he is buried with his arms, which are a gun, powder, and balls, a quiver provided with arrows, a bow, a casse-tête, whether a wooden club or a hatchet, and moreover a mirror, and some vermilion with which to make his toilet in the world of souls.

"When a man kills himself whether from despair or in sickness, he is deprived of burial, and thrown into the river, because he is then considered a coward." [84] [762]

In another place he speaks of the mourning on account of a war chief in the following terms:

"When a great war chief of the nation dies the mourning consists in refraining from painting oneself and bathing; the men daub the whole of their bodies with soot which they dilute with bear's oil; in a word they renounce all kinds of diversions." [85]

As the southern Indian world of the dead was overhead Bossu's explanation of their reason for burying the body sitting up probably

[83] Jones, Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 155.
[84] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 49-50.
[85] Ibid., pp. 45-51.

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551 554 614 totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

551 554 622 Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tàstànàgi and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imała łàkàlgi was always called Imała yahola, the leader of the tàstànàgàigi Tàstànàk tcàpko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tàstànàgi, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Àhà'łàk tàstànàgi, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti àtca'gàgi (abbreviated into I'sti tcagàgi)[78a] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

553 614 796 The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him. [571]

[78a] See pp. 201-208.

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Adair and Swan both remark on the apparent coldness exhibited by a married couple on meeting after a long separation. Adair says: 593

"I shall give an instance of this [incapability for lasting affection]. If the husband has been a year absent on a visit to another nation, and should by chance overtake his wife near home, with one of his children skipping along side of her; instead of those sudden and strong emotions of joy that naturally arise in two generous breasts at such an unexpected meeting, the self-interested pair go along as utter strangers, without seeming to take the least notice of one another, till a considerable time after they get home." [95]

Swan says:

"When a man meets his wife and children, after the absence of some months, in which time she has not heard a word from him, it is with a perfect seeming indifference. Perhaps the first word spoken will be—So, you have got back again, I see. He answers—Yes. She may then reply—Momuscha [Mohmistca]—i. e., Very well—and there ends the conversation. The man reserves the tale of his adventures, to be told to his other friends over a cup of black drink the next morning, at the square; and there it is retailed, in a tedious, circumlocutory conversation of many hours." [96]

As I have explained in another connection this "coldness" was principally etiquette and custom rather than native character.

The terms for "husband" and "wife" were not used by a married couple, because it was thought a married pair were too nearly connected to employ anything so formal. If they had to use any expression it would be "my old man" or "my old woman."

A man would not speak to his mother-in-law nor a woman to her father-in-law, or vice versa. They communicated through the wife or the husband. One of these tabooed couples would go a long way around to avoid meeting the other, and it was thought that if they did speak to each other or even touch each other they would itch all over. In speaking about such a person the other used the dual number. This information was obtained particularly from the Alabama in Texas. Chickasaw custom was about the same. 606

The usage may have differed among the constituent tribes of the Confederacy, however, for one of the best living authorities on old Creek customs (1924) declares that there was no regulation of "bashfulness" in force between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and that the only time when the latter avoided his mother-in-law was for about a week before and a week after his marriage because he was actually bashful.

If the Indians have friendly dealings with you they always want to associate you with them in some way, particularly by giving you sofki or other food, as has happened several times in my own case. 571

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.

[96] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274-275.

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571 I have been told that a Creek woman would never cut off a piece of tobacco for a man but would always bite it off, while she would cut off a piece for herself and never bite it. The cutting off of tobacco was thought to imply the severance of friendship. I have been 572 unable to confirm this. Friendships of the kind common among Indian tribes generally outside of all blood or other natural affiliations were frequently struck up and were cemented by mutual scratching. Swan says:

"Scratching is also practised among young warriors, as a ceremony or token of friendship. When they have exchanged promises of inviolable attachment, they proceed to scratch each other before they part. This is more frequently done in drunken frolics than any other time. After a rum-drinking, numbers of them appear covered with blood, and lacerated from their shoulders down to their heels. Such marks of friendship are indelible, and effectually remind them of their friendly promise so long as they live." [97]

571 The southern tribes had the usual Indian dread of ridicule and the usual willingness to indulge in it at anyone's expense, even at times when pity and sympathy would appear more in order. Says Adair: "If the Indians saw their grandmother break her neck by a fall from a horse, or any other accident, they would whoop and halloo." [98]

Yet ridicule was seldom carried far. Stiggins says:

"To my knowledge they are not a people to utter a remark or word to hurt the feelings of any one, without they would be in a state of intoxication, for should they press a joke even on a friend or acquaintance so far as to be disagreeable and likely to ruffle his temper they will immediately surcease, apologize, and withhold, and it rarely happens to hear one of them at any time reflect on the conduct or reputation of another. If there should be a man of general bad [626] repute [the matter] will be taken up and related by one of their miccos without pointing out any person in particular, but [he will] lay open the ill consequences in any person of such, and such, ill conduct. His comments would be more pointed and acrimonious should there be an instance of a person in the town so churlish of his eatables as to be inhospitable to one of their own people, [and] especially to a traveling stranger." [99]

TRADE

439 The standards of value to be presently discussed show that trade was developed even in pre-Columbian times. The inland tribes could furnish mica, copper, pipe stone, flint for arrows, and angelica roots, while the coast tribes had sea shells, dry fish, *Ilex vomitoria*, and salt. This last commodity was also obtained from the trans-Missis-

[97] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.
[98] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 268.
[99] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 16.

554, 571

Creek NN11

[For descriptions of seating arrangements in Creek town square grounds of the several social groups in the community (clans, age and sex groups, warriors, village officials and religious functionaries) see category 621]

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[97] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.
[98] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 186.
[99] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 18.

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cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[88] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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344 old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[85] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [86] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[532 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
614] of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

[621 "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always
531] been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[714] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[85] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[86] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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622 talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[27] Bartram remarks:

"He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, [574] receives presents, etc. He alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's

[344 621]

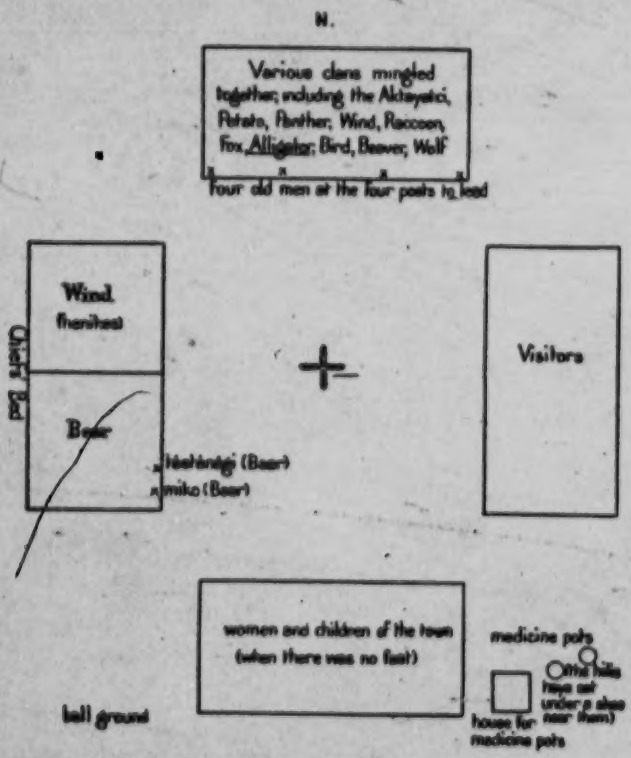

FIG. 81.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (II)

feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night."[28]

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[27] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 68.
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 24

[i.e., the miko. -- Analyst]

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642 671 mon; it is prohibited by the written laws. An attempt was made in 1840 to abolish a custom giving to the relations of a husband on his death the power of keeping the widow secluded and forbidding her second marriage for a period of four years. They attempted to restrict the period to 12 months, but the people would not listen to it and the council yielded to the public voice and repealed the law in 1841." [1]

PROPERTY

421 So many old Creek customs, usages, and laws have become lost or obscured that it is difficult to reconstruct the primitive system with any certainty from what is remembered at the present day. With regard to property it is to be noted that two strong influences constantly operated to dilute the sense of individual ownership. These influences were the powerful kinship system and the abundance and accessibility of all of those things—or the raw materials of those things—necessary in aboriginal life. The value which we attach to things is dependent to a very considerable extent on the ease with which we can replace them.

[574] As was usual among primitive people, strangers were provided with food and a place to sleep gratis. This might be in the community hot house, or, after the clan of the visitor had been revealed, in the home of some man married into that clan. Regarding chattels we could wish the information from these Indians were more specific. Adair "observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them" but he immediately begins to speak of their hospitality in the matter of food and shelter which is quite a different matter.[3] Bartram says:

"Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.

426 431 "If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time . . ." [2]

If Bartram could have examined actual conditions more intimately he would probably have found that this exchange took place

[1] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [2] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 41.
[3] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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almost entirely between members of the same clan or members of linked clans or else between individuals connected by marriage. It is not to be supposed that we have here a case of real communism in chattels. Part of it was nothing more than borrowing, and another part a borrowing of a different kind in which equivalent values were exchanged instead of identical objects. From my own experience with Indians I think it is safe to assume that every family was pretty acutely conscious of its credit or debit as regards every other family, and that a persistent "sponge" was looked down upon and avoided. That there were such "sponges" we know from Stiggins, who says:

"If it (hospitality) is beneficial in keeping the traveler and stranger from hunger and starvation, it keeps a great many of their town people of men and women sauntering from door to door in loafing idleness; if no one will cloathe them, they are perfectly satisfied for every house will feed them."[4]

Adair gives an amusing account of the skill with which one Indian parried the appeal of another for a certain service.[5] The sense of individual ownership was by no means wanting; only for the reasons above given it did not always appear so keenly developed as with us. Social usage had sanctioned a method of exchange comparatively unknown to Europeans and had given a definite "set" to the instinct of private ownership, not abolished it. Indeed, elsewhere Bartram himself says:

"All that a man earns by his labor or industry belongs to himself; he has the use and disposal of it according to the custom and usages of the people. He may clear, settle, and plant as much land as he pleases, and wherever he will within the boundaries of his tribe."[6]

Debts, which probably had nothing to do with this social exchange, were also recognized. Adair remarks that "when they are able, without greater damage to themselves, than benefit to their creditor, they discharge their honest debts." And he adds that when differences arose over such matters they were settled by "the head Archimagus, and his old beloved men," and that a creditor could seize property of the debtor to the amount due him.[7] Both Creeks and Seminole formerly had a high reputation among the white people for punctuality in the payment of their debts.[8] In this particular civilization has not worked for their betterment. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century Eakins says of them: "Obligations, in regard to debt, are considered binding. Time does not diminish these obligations among the Creeks. The Indian does not consider ill-luck in hunting, as exonerating him from paying his debts."[9]

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[4] Stiggins, Ms.
[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. [illegible].
[6] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. iii, p. 37.
[7] Adair, op. cit., p. [illegible].
[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. [illegible].
[9] Ibid., p. [illegible].

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512 805 terms for the days of the week: ni"ta holo', "holy day," Sunday; ni"ta ho'lin ni"ta, "day after holy day," Monday; ni"ta ato'kla, "second day," Tuesday; ni"ta tutcī'na, "third day," Wednesday; ni"ta ostā'ga, "fourth day," Thursday; ātā'lapi, "fifth day," Friday; ni"ta holosī, "little holy day," Saturday. Christmas is ni"ta holo' tcoba', "big holy day," in Koasati, and Kilisme', "Christmas," in Alabama.

221 After the busk men and women alike devoted the rest of the summer largely to the cultivation and harvesting of their crops. In the fall took place the Skunk Dance. After that the hunting began, and the men were away from town much of the time, but, when there was plenty of food or the game was near town, ball contests in which hunting played a part took place, accompanied with feasting and dancing, and these lasted until very cold weather.

574 The following account of these feasts and sports was given me by one of the Texas Alabama and is typical:

Sometimes a woman would make a ball and give it to one of the men who in turn must kill a deer for her. This the women cut up and prepared for all of the people in the village and they assembled at the ball ground to eat it. Then they feasted, played ball, and frequently danced in the evening. Sometimes several balls would be made at the same time and given out by as many women. After the ball or balls were used up another woman made one for another man and the games and feasts were thus continued at the pleasure of the tribe. Sometimes, when a woman gave a ball to a man in this way, she would say she wanted bear meat. Then they would play ball for a while, after which the man would go out with three or four others and kill a bear. They gave this to the woman, who distributed the meat as before. While the men were away the women were out after kanta roots[80] and they prepared a quantity of kanta bread. Kanta was always eaten with bear meat and corn bread (and potatoes) with deer meat. When the kanta was used up the men went for bear once more and the women went to the store and bought wheat flour. These celebrations lasted for some time.

Sometimes, when a woman gave out a ball in this way, she would say she wanted squirrels and the men would kill enough of them for the village, bring them to her and let her distribute them, when the same festivities were repeated. Again she might say she wanted coffee, and the man whom she addressed would go and buy enough for the village. It was brought to the ball ground and prepared there. This giving was often repeated many times.[81]

221 Often, however, the families were separated all winter, those who were related camping together. In the old country, at least, all but

[80] The word kanta was applied to several species of smilax.

[81] See also pp. 525-527, 555-556. Charlie Thompson, my informant, and another Indian now long dead first began to have dinners after the white men's style, and now they are all of that character.

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Travel and Greetings

The material I have collected under this head may well be introduced by the following from Adair, which pictures the primitive customs in that regard very satisfactorily: 484 574

"When the Indians are travelling in their own country, they enquire for a house of their own tribe [i. e., clan]; and if there be any, they go to it, and are kindly received, though they never saw the persons before—they eat, drink, and regale themselves, with as much freedom, as at their own tables; which is the solid ground covered with a bear-skin. It is their usual custom to carry nothing along with them in their journies but a looking-glass, and red paint, hung to their back—their gun and shot pouch—or bow and quiver full of barbed arrows; and, frequently, both gun and bow; for as they are generally in a state of war against each other, they are obliged, as soon as able, to carry those arms of defence. Every town has a statehouse, or synedrion, as the Jewish sanhedrin, [i. e., the tcokofa] where, almost every night, the head men convene about public business; or the town's-people to feast, sing, dance, and rejoice, ... as will fully be described hereafter. And if a stranger calls there, he is treated with the greatest civility and hearty kindness—he is sure to find plenty of their simple home fare, and a large cane-bed covered with the softened skins of bears, or buffaloes, to sleep on. But, when his lineage is known to the people, (by a stated custom, they are slow in greeting one another) his relation, if he has any there, addresses him in a familiar way, invites him home, and treats him as his kinsman." [85]

Bartram has the following to say about the hospitality of these people and it is confirmed in the main by Adair who remarks like all early writers that hospitality was considered a cardinal virtue among them and its absence a serious blemish.[86] 574

"A man goes forth on his business or avocations; he calls in at another town; if he wants victuals, rest or social conversation, he confidently approaches the door of the first house he chooses, saying 'I am come'; [and] the good man or woman replies, 'You are; it's well.' Immediately victuals and drink are ready; he eats and drinks a little, then smokes tobacco, and converses either of private matters, public talks, or the news of the town. He rises and says, 'I go!' the other answers, 'You do!' He then proceeds again, and steps in at the next habitation he likes, or repairs to the public square, where are people always conversing by day, or dancing by night, or to some more private assembly, as he likes." [87]

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[85] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 17-18. [86] Ibid., p. 17. [87] Bartram, Travels, pp. 469-470.

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574 The following from Stiggins may also be included:

"The most prominent and I believe it to be the most uniform feature in their national character which shows itself constantly is in their civility and innocent deportment to each other and especially to a stranger that may travel among them and is sociable and seems to wish to conform to their customs and manners, without being self important or asking too many impertinent questions, which will often disgust them and conclude in bad consequences. . . . [One 'churlish of his eatables'] is termed by them a (nobody). So of all people they are the most tenacious of their reputation in hospitality, for on the entrance of a stranger into one of their huts he is immediately requested to sit down and as an introduction to his acquaintance he is asked his residence, destination, and business. Such questions are so common to them that they are replied to satisfactorily and in a brief manner, and in the meanwhile he is supplied with eatables, which is uniformly done at every house at which he may call. Their provisions bestowed on an acquaintance or stranger are put forth with a welcome which need not be doubted, should it compose the last morsel that they have got, as the provisions they bestow on a man are one of the links of their chief pride, and to doubt his hearty welcome in that case would unutterably hurt his feelings."[68]

Although Romans was no lover of the Creeks his testimony in this particular is equally favorable. He says:

"They are very hospitable and never fail of making a stranger heartily welcome, offering him the pipe as soon as he arrives, while the good women are employed to prepare a dish of venison and homany, with some bread made of maize and flour, and being wraped in maize leaves, baked under the ashes; when it is served up they accompany it with bears fat purified to a perfectly chrystalline oyl, and a bottle of honey with which last article the country abounds, and it is so good a quality, as in my opinion to exceed that of *Calabria* and *Minorca*.

"In the lower nation and the allied tribes, there are many who keep rice by them and have plenty of beef; of all which articles they are profusely liberal, and I believe had they only a single potatoe, they would share it with a stranger. In the fruit season they never fail to accompany these regales with melons, peaches, plums, grapes, or some other wild fruit.

"After the traveller is made welcome by his host, the latter introduces him into the assembly, which is kept every evening at a place called the square, of which we find one in each town. At this place he is entertained with tobacco and cassine drink; this is also the common resort of their old men and warriors to deliberate on matters of peace and war, to judge what steps are to be taken for the welfare

[68] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.

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of the nation, and to decide the fate of their neighbours; so that this square doth not ill answer to the description we have of the Roman *Forum* or Athenian *Areopage;* the evening ends in a dance, which is the common practice every night." [88] 574

The public welcome extended to visitors from other tribes is perhaps well exemplified in Bartram's account of the way in which he was received by the Oconee chief, called by the British "the Cowkeeper," when he visited him at his town in Florida near Alachua. He says:

"We were welcomed to the town, and conducted by the young men and maidens to the chief's house, which stood on an eminence, and was distinguished from the rest by its superior magnitude, a large flag being hoisted on a high staff at one corner. We immediately alighted: the chief, who is called the Cowkeeper, attended by several ancient men, came to us, and in a very free and sociable manner, shook our hands, or rather arms, (a form of salutation peculiar to the American Indians) saying at the same time, 'You are come.' We followed him to an apartment prepared for the reception of their guests.

"The pipe being filled, it is handed around; after which a large bowl, with what they call, 'thin drink,' [sofki?] is brought in and set down on a small low table. In this bowl is a great wooden ladle; each person takes up in it as much as he pleases, and after drinking until satisfied, returns it again into the bowl, pushing the handle towards the next person in the circle; and so it goes round." [89]

Attention is called to the shaking of the arms. This was evidently but one form of the usual American Indian greeting by rubbing the body of oneself and the visitor. [576]

When Milfort reached the town of Coweta after traveling westward from the Georgia settlements he was taken to the square ground, given àsi to drink, and afterwards conducted to the old men who sat in the cabin on the east side of the square ground, and who were probably isti àteagàgi. They made him "a speech of welcome" and then an orator made him a long address lasting nearly an hour. At each pause in this address the assembly shouted "Ka" ("Yes"), and at the end all said "Mado" ("Very good" or "thank you")! Afterwards all of the old men marched past him shaking his hands in turn and presenting their tobacco pouches so that he might take a pinch of tobacco from each. And last of all an old man presented him with a tobacco pouch made of swanskin.[90] He adds that this tobacco pouch was white as a sign of peace and friendship, and he claims that his reception had been particularly cordial because

[88] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 92-93.
[89] Bartram, Travels, p. 182; see also Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 17-18.
[90] Milfort, Mém., pp. 208-209. The shaking of hands was of course a later substitute for rubbing the body.

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574 of the affection which the Creek Indians retained for the French nation.[92]

In the following quotation from Stiggins something of the native etiquette and the native psychology associated with these gatherings is shown:

"I have observed among them another trait of national character. In the public meetings whether for black drink or national council the Indians appear studiously to wish to shew an importance in themselves and an independence of character for they will perceptibly assume a grave, sedate, consequential deportment, especially their chiefs, and head men. They would appear for a while to a bystander to be careless of all nature and each other. At length nature seems to predominate and shew their true disposition. When they commence smoking the spell seems to be removed for after a few draws of smoke from their pipe they cordially hand it to the next with whom it is optional to make use of the contents of the pipe or pass it to the next man, which is frequently done. By a constant repetition of such civilities a familiarity is engendered in the community at large by slow degrees that would not have taken place otherwise, as they seldom have any interesting conversation to impart or attend to with a stranger. [With the latter] it is customary with them to use hesitation. Even should they wish to converse with him they accost each other with studied and manifest civility to which they reciprocally receive an answer equally ceremonious and apposite until an acquaintance takes place." [93]

576 The common Chickasaw greeting as recorded by Adair 150 years ago has been given in translation above. The host said *Ish-la chu?* (*Ishla cho?*), "Are you come?" and the guest replied *Arahre-O* (*Alali-o*), "I am come." [94]

This was similar to the Creek form of salutation. When a Chiaha, for instance, came to visit a Coweta, the two towns being close friends, the latter would say, "My big friend (ànhisi łàko), are you come?" and the Chiaha would reply "Yes, I am come." If the Coweta were the visitor the formula was the same, and it was the same if the two individuals belonged to another pair of friendly towns such as Kasihta and Tàlwà łàko. What greetings passed between men of opposing towns I have not heard.

The following greetings were in use among the Alabama in Texas. *Boso' tcika'noso'*, "howdy, are you good?" or *boso* alone, to which the reply was *tcàkā'noso'*, "I am well." Another was *ticihoke'po'*, "you are not sick," and the reply *tcahoke'pobe'*, "I am not at all sick." Another was *tci'matiksahâme'*, "how are your family?" Reply, *oi-hat hokā'nobe'*, "they are all well." Another: *isnapo'*, "how are you?" Reply, *tcàkā'nobe'*, "I am well." The first two are the oldest forms.

[92] Milfort, Mém., p. 211. [93] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 20. [94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 60.

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These colors were for appearance only; they had no religious or other significance. The silver crowns and the pouches hung at the side and fastened by straps over the opposite shoulder were worn only at dances, except that the last were taken when traveling or going to town. New buckskin leggings were also worn at dances, but the handkerchief turbans were worn all of the time. The silver gorgets were generally assumed only for dances, but occasionally old ones were carried about at all times. While the hair was always made into four braids the beaded ornaments at the ends were for festivals or when the owner was going to town. 535 [302]

Two of these dances, the horned-owl dance and the snake dance, were never performed by the Alabama in June, July, or August, because in both they followed a serpentine course like that of a snake and people feared that those reptiles would be offended with them and bite them. The horned-owl dance is said to have been danced only in September. Every night, after these dances were over, the participants put their feet up to the fire so that the snakes could not see to bite them, and they warmed their hands and rubbed their eyes with them so that they themselves could see the snakes easily and would not step on them. The snake dance was danced a long time ago. All that I can add regarding it is Jackson Lewis's statement that it was danced entirely by women, and an implication on the part of Swan that the leader of this dance carried a wooden snake in his hands, but what Lewis said does not seem to be in agreement with what my Alabama informant had heard. [784]

The horned-owl dance was evidently a greater favorite and was danced more frequently, and it was connected with those feasts to which reference has already been made. To summon people to this dance a man went around on horseback—sometimes accompanied by a second—carrying in his hands a peculiar baton. This was made of a cane about 12 feet long, at the outer end of which was a hoop made of hickory, white oak, or some other suitable wood. About five deer tails, and sometimes a loaf of bread, were fastened to this. Bearing it, he visited every house to make the announcement. 535 574

The horned-owl dance was always in September. There was no drummer but one old man walked about perhaps 10 feet from the fire shaking a rattle and singing, while the men and women danced around the fire inside sinistrally. The rattler was also song leader; the men sang with him but the women did not sing. There was no definite order in which the men and women danced, except that one man did not immediately follow another. Each man held a handkerchief by one corner and a woman following held the opposite corner of the handkerchief. If another woman, or other women, danced beside her, they held her by the elbows. The dancers were

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led by a second old man, and all of the men carried turkey-tail fans. They danced for a while sinistrally, and then turned around and danced dextrally. When they were through the women remained standing in a row southeast of the fire. Then the old man took the baton already mentioned, stood opposite them and let the hoop fall on the head of each woman in succession, saying as he did so, "pâtcicpâlō', make bread." This was because the women were to make bread while the men were off hunting. Another old man stood beside the first and counted the women off, "one, two, three," etc., and when he made the last count all of the men said "Ōh" in a very high-pitched voice. Then all the men went after venison, and at the end of two weeks all brought roast venison to the dancing ground on the same day. When they were within about half a mile they discharged their guns and shouted to let it be known that they were coming. They took the venison to a house at the dance ground built like a corncrib and laid it down there. That night they began the horned-owl dance again, and after it was over the men sat down on sheepskins, bearskins, or blankets all around the fire. Then the women came with dishes of bread and set them down by the men, one dish by some, two by others, three or four by others, etc., as they chose. Two old men now came, each with a kolbe' (a large flat basket made of cane). They gathered up the bread and redistributed it to all of the men and boys. Then the old men went to a scaffold near by and brought a number of sharp sticks already prepared. They laid one of these by every man who had received one dish of bread, two by those who had received two dishes, and so on. Then the two old men took their kolbes again and brought the venison which they also distributed. The men took it and put one, two, three, or more pieces of meat on each stick. Then they held these up in their hands and each woman got a stick of venison and her dish. Then the men began to sing while still seated, one man leading with a rattle. All sang four times and then they stood up and sat down in their usual places, on logs about 20 paces back from the fire. They now stood up again and formed a circle surrounding and facing the women. First the men danced backward, the women following facing them; then they filed off round the fire in couples, a man and a woman together. They went around four times and then went off to one side of the fire, the north for instance, danced inward in an ever narrowing spiral, turned around and danced out again in the same way, danced around the fire four times more, and then danced in a spiral in and out to the west of the fire. In this way they went all the way round, dancing on the south and east sides also. Finally they danced four times round the fire. Bread and venison were given out for four successive nights, and the same dance followed.

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This dance was known to Zachariah Cook and William Berryhill and the latter gave the following account of it which shows that it was the same thing and was known over the entire Creek country: 535 574

The men started out to hunt while the women were making bread. If the men brought home a deer the first day they gave it to the women who cooked it and put the flesh into the meat house. That night they danced, and they did the same thing four days in succession, putting what they killed each day into the meat house. Then they sacked the bread and meat up, and the women carried the sacks into the square and danced with them on their backs—though it was rather hard work. After the dance they handed these sacks to the male waiters, who distributed them to everyone in the town. Enough was usually left to supply the visitors among the various camps—i. e., those who happened to be in the town camping about the square, not persons especially invited. Then they usually dispersed, eating their food at once or carrying it with them. This dance was danced just after all the snakes were supposed to have gone into their holes for the winter. They would not dance it in summer lest the snakes should bite them. The words of the song were like this: Dje'hose djehō'se yū'liwà yuhe'à.

Conversely from the custom with regard to the last two, the Alabama avoided dancing the bear dance in winter, for they went hunting then and they were afraid if they did so a bear would catch and hurt one of them or one of their dogs. This dance was always at night, the music being furnished by a drummer and a singer, the latter without a rattle. The dancers circled about the fire in single file, men and women alternating and pawing at the air with their hands in imitation of the bear. [784]

Nearly all of these dances were at night, but the bison dance was, among the Alabama, always held in the morning before sunrise, though it could be performed at any time of the year. One man stood near the fire and furnished the music by beating on a drum and singing while the participants ran around the fire very rapidly and at a certain beat of the drum all shouted. This agrees with what Zachariah Cook says of this dance as seen by him. He states they went two and two around the fire and at a certain beat came down together on the ground with both feet. The dance would seem to have been brought by the Alabama from their old home, for they say that when they came to east Texas there were no bison there.[18]

[18] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277. It was made the subject of a painting by Mr. J. M. Stanley, which was one of those destroyed in the Smithsonian fire. He has the following note regarding it: "This dance is enacted every year during the season of their busk or green-corn dances; and the men, women, and children all take an active part in the ceremony. They invest themselves with the scalp of the buffalo, with the horns and tail attached, and dance about in a circle, uttering sounds in imitation of the animal they represent, with their bodies in a half-bent position, supporting their weight upon their ball-sticks, which represent the forelegs of the buffalo."—Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 53, p. 10. He is the only observer mentioning the participation of children.

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had been repeated four times. Then the women assembled at the same place as before, only the men came and got them in their turn; the same thing was repeated four times in all, when they stopped. It was danced at any time, but usually in summer. The Mikasuki had one rattler for this dance and the dancers went around about as in the alligator dance. 535

In the tree-frog dance there were also two men by the fire singing, one beating on a drum. The dancers were in two files, two men alternating with two women. When the drummer beat the drum all of the men squatted down on their haunches, the woman remaining standing. Then the two singers and the squatting men all sang a song. At a certain beat of the drum all stopped singing and began dancing around again. They danced around the fire four times and stopped, and the men squatted down once more. The whole was repeated four times. It was danced at any season.

The bone dance was danced at night at any time of the year and it was very fast, "like a nigger dance." Because it was so fast some women did not like to participate in it. One man beat the drum and sang. The dancers were in couples, a man and a woman side by side, holding hands. They danced forward for a while and at a certain beat turned round and danced backward, at another beat danced forward, and so on. They went around the fire four times. There were two songs, one sung while they were standing still, another while they were dancing.

The dance often spoken of as "the fish dance" (Łało obânga, in Creek) is identical with the garfish dance, although, as we have seen, there was a catfish dance. Among the Alabama the garfish dance was said to be just like the chicken dance, only faster. There was one drummer and one person to help him sing, and there were eight songs. According to the Mikasuki chief it was almost the same as the alligator dance except that the songs were shorter. This dance seems to have been in especial favor with the Koasati, and according to one informant the garfish was their tribal mark. It would seem from the account of it, however, that the Koasati garfish dance was either a distinct dance or very much modified. David Cummings, who passed his early youth with the old Koasati, had the following to say about it:

In the fall, September or October, the men went out hunting and stayed out about a month. When they got near home on their return they uttered whoops, and when the women heard that they said, "The hunters are coming home with deer meat and turkeys." After that they appointed a day on which to dance the fish dance. Every man who danced this had a stick made like a garfish its mouth being open and a piece of cedar placed in it. About a dozen men were invited to take part in this dance, word being sent to them by two ta'palas. 535 574

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535 •574 They formed a complete circle under the roof which covered the Koasati square and, holding the wooden fish in their hands, jumped up and down and danced. The musicians sat in the chiefs' bed. At a certain time in the song all of the dancers said "yū+ē" and all changed places, each moving to the station vacated by the man next in front of him. In this manner they moved about the entire circle. Except for the above exclamation the singing was all done by the musicians in the chiefs' bed. Afterwards there was a great feast (hompila), consisting of all sorts of cooked foods, everybody being invited into the square ground. Then they danced the common or stomp dance all that night, and everyone was compelled to attend, the old women and children being the only persons exempted.

535 William McCombs stated that in the garfish dance, as he knew it, the participants grouped themselves together in four circles at each of the four corners of the square in succession, beginning at the southeast and passing in the usual direction. This appears to have been like the Koasati dance just described, as was probably the fish dance mentioned by Swan in which the leader, male or female, carried a wooden fish.[19]

In the double-headed dance, there was one drummer and one other person to help him sing. There were two parties of dancers and a leader for each, which went round the fire in opposite directions, one outside of the other. After they had gone round four times the leaders took each other by the hand and all of their followers did the same, and they danced backward and forward a few times, away from and toward the fire. Then they let go and danced around the fire in the same manner four times more. After dancing backward and forward for the fourth time all shouted and stopped. There were two songs.

When the quail dance was to be undertaken one man sat close to the ball posts away from the fire beating a drum and all of the men and women danced around him. The men and women alternated and walked like quails. There were two songs and they made four circuits during each. This was danced at night and sometimes just before a ball game. The Mikasuki used a rattler instead of a drummer and he stood close by the fire. The dancers went by couples, a man and a woman holding each other's hands. There were four songs.

In the terrapin dance a drummer and an assistant singer sat by the fire to furnish the music. The dancers went in single file, men and women alternating. Each dancer clasped both hands together and moved them about to right and left, jumping a little at times. The leaders kept repeating "kwi'" over and over and the rest of the dancers said "haha." There was only one song, and they stopped

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p 277.

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outlets for the purely social instincts, ceremonial elements entered into certain of them in such a way that it might be difficult to say where the social element ended and the ceremonial element began. There is a suggestion of this sort in the regulations connected with the snake, horned-owl, and skunk dances. Ceremonies or fasts of a somewhat extemporaneous character were undertaken from time to time in cases of national distress, as we learn from Bartram, who says: 796

"At this time the town [Atasi] was fasting, taking medicine, and I think I may say praying, to avert a grievous calamity of sickness, which had lately afflicted them, and laid in the grave abundance of their citizens. They fast seven or eight days, during which time they eat or drink nothing but a meagre gruel, made of a little cornflour and water; taking at the same time by way of medicine or physic, a strong decoction of the roots of the Iris versicolor, which is a powerful cathartic."[20] [751]

Religious ceremony was more or less mixed up with social relaxation in the feasts held after a successful hunt or upon the arrival of strangers. Bartram again gives us a view of one of these impromptu gatherings which he witnessed in the Seminole town of Talahasutci, of which a man called by the whites the White King was then miko. 574 [796]

"On our arrival at the trading house, our chief was visited by the head men of the town, when instantly the White King's arrival in town was announced: a messenger had before been sent in to prepare a feast, the king and his retinue having killed several bears. A fire was now kindled in the area of the public square; the royal standard was displayed, and the drum beat to give notice to the town of the royal feast.

"The ribs and the choice pieces of the three great fat bears already well barbecued or broiled, were brought to the banqueting house in the square, with hot bread; and honeyed water for drink.

"When the feast was over in the square (where only the chiefs and warriors were admitted, with the white people), the chief priest, attended by slaves, came with baskets and carried off the remainder of the victuals, etc. which was distributed amongst the families of the town. The king then withdrew, repairing to the council-house in the square, whither the chiefs and warriors, old and young, and such of the whites as chose, repaired also; the king, war chief, and several ancient chiefs and warriors were seated on the royal cabins; the rest of the head men and warriors, old and young, sat on the cabins on the right hand of the king's: the cabins or seats on the left, and on the same elevation, are always assigned for the white people, Indians of other towns, and such of their own people as choose.

"Our chief, with the rest of the white people in town, took their seats according to order: tobacco and pipes were brought; the calu-

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. 454.

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•574 met was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink concluded the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine, and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

"After the public entertainment was over, the young people began their music and dancing in the square, whither the young of both sexes repaired, as well as the old and middle aged: this frolick continued all night."[21]

796 Bartram has the following regarding the ceremonies connected with an ordinary Creek council:

623 "As their virgils and manner of conducting their vespers and mystical fire in this rotunda [the tcokofa], are extremely singular, and altogether different from the customs and usages of any other people, I shall proceed to describe them. In the first place, the governor or officer who has the management of this business, with his servants attending, orders the black drink to be brewed, which is a decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender shoots of the Cassine: this is done under an open shed or pavilion, at twenty or thirty yards distance, directly opposite the door of the council-house. Next he orders bundles of dry canes to be brought in: these are previously split and broken in pieces to about the length of two feet, and then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution encreases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly or meeting is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the earth, however I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blaze instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up. Soon after this illumination takes place, the aged chiefs and warriors are seated on their cabins or sophas on the side of the house opposite the door, in three classes or ranks, rising a little, one above or behind the other; and the white people and red people of confederate towns in the like order on the left hand; a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall about breast high, separating them: the king's

[21] Bartram, Travels, pp. 233-235.

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of the nation, and to decide the fate of their neighbours; so that this square doth not ill answer to the description we have of the Roman *Forum* or Athenian *Areopage;* the evening ends in a dance, which is the common practice every night." [90] 574

The public welcome extended to visitors from other tribes is perhaps well exemplified in Bartram's account of the way in which he was received by the Oconee chief, called by the British "the Cowkeeper," when he visited him at his town in Florida near Alachua. He says:

"We were welcomed to the town, and conducted by the young men and maidens to the chief's house, which stood on an eminence, and was distinguished from the rest by its superior magnitude, a large flag being hoisted on a high staff at one corner. We immediately alighted: the chief, who is called the Cowkeeper, attended by several ancient men, came to us, and in a very free and sociable manner, shook our hands, or rather arms, (a form of salutation peculiar to the American Indians) saying at the same time, 'You are come.' We followed him to an apartment prepared for the reception of their guests.

"The pipe being filled, it is handed around; after which a large bowl, with what they call, 'thin drink,' [sofkiʔ] is brought in and set down on a small low table. In this bowl is a great wooden ladle; each person takes up in it as much as he pleases, and after drinking until satisfied, returns it again into the bowl, pushing the handle towards the next person in the circle; and so it goes round." [90]

Attention is called to the shaking of the arms. This was evidently but one form of the usual American Indian greeting by rubbing the body of oneself and the visitor. [576].

When Milfort reached the town of Coweta after traveling westward from the Georgia settlements he was taken to the square ground, given âsi to drink, and afterwards conducted to the old men who sat in the cabin on the east side of the square ground, and who were probably isti âtcagâgi. They made him "a speech of welcome" and then an orator made him a long address lasting nearly an hour. At each pause in this address the assembly shouted "Ka" ("Yes"), and at the end all said "Mado" ("Very good" or "thank you")! Afterwards all of the old men marched past him shaking his hands in turn and presenting their tobacco pouches so that he might take a pinch of tobacco from each. And last of all an old man presented him with a tobacco pouch made of swanskin.[91] He adds that this tobacco pouch was white as a sign of peace and friendship, and he claims that his reception had been particularly cordial because

[90] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 92-93.
[90] Bartram, Travels, p. 182; see also Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 17-18.
[91] Milfort, Mém., pp. 208-209. The shaking of hands was of course a later substitute for rubbing the body.

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574 of the affection which the Creek Indians retained for the French nation.[92]

In the following quotation from Stiggins something of the native etiquette and the native psychology associated with these gatherings is shown:

"I have observed among them another trait of national character. In the public meetings whether for black drink or national council the Indians appear studiously to wish to shew an importance in themselves and an independence of character for they will perceptibly assume a grave, sedate, consequential deportment, especially their chiefs, and head men. They would appear for a while to a bystander to be careless of all nature and each other. At length nature seems to predominate and shew their true disposition. When they commence smoking the spell seems to be removed for after a few draws of smoke from their pipe they cordially hand it to the next with whom it is optional to make use of the contents of the pipe or pass it to the next man, which is frequently done. By a constant repetition of such civilities a familiarity is engendered in the community at large by slow degrees that would not have taken place otherwise, as they seldom have any interesting conversation to impart or attend to with a stranger. [With the latter] it is customary with them to use hesitation. Even should they wish to converse with him they accost each other with studied and manifest civility to which they reciprocally receive an answer equally ceremonious and apposite until an acquaintance takes place." [93]

576 The common Chickasaw greeting as recorded by Adair 150 years ago has been given in translation above. The host said *Ish-la-chu?* (*Ishla cho?*), "Are you come?" and the guest replied *Arahre-O* (*Alali-o*), "I am come." [94]

This was similar to the Creek form of salutation. When a Chiaha, for instance, came to visit a Coweta, the two towns being close friends, the latter would say, "My big friend (ànhisi łàko), are you come?" and the Chiaha would reply "Yes, I am come." If the Coweta were the visitor the formula was the same, and it was the same if the two individuals belonged to another pair of friendly towns such as Kasihta and Tàlwà łàko. What greetings passed between men of opposing towns I have not heard.

The following greetings were in use among the Alabama in Texas. *Boso' tcika'noso'*, "howdy, are you good?" or *boso* alone, to which the reply was *tcàkā'noso'*, "I am well." Another was *ticihoke'po'*, "you are not sick," and the reply *tcahoke'pobe'*, "I am not at all sick." Another was *tci'matikcahàme'*, "how are your family?" Reply, *oi-hat hokā'nobe'*, "they are all well." Another: *isnapo'*, "how are you?" Reply, *tcàkā'nobe'*, "I am well." The first two are the oldest forms.

[92] Milfort, Mém., p. 211. [93] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 20. [94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 60.

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worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly. 727 554

"Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Este dogo, i. e. *you are nobody* [isti toko, 'person is not']; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once. 721 554 578

"The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen. 726

"When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity. 727

"It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

"Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government." [21] 721

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars:

"They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The 726

[21] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 279-281.

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five hundred yards in length: at each end of it, they fix two long bending poles into the ground, three yards apart below, but slanting a considerable way outwards. The party that happens to throw the ball over these, counts one; but, if it be thrown underneath, it is cast back, and played for as usual. The gamesters are equal in number on each side; and, at the beginning of every course of the ball, they throw it up high in the center of the ground, and in a direct line between the two goals. When the crowd of players prevents the one who catches the ball, from throwing it off with a long direction, he commonly sends it the right course, by an artful sharp twirl. They are so exceedingly expert in this manly exercise, that, between the goals, the ball is mostly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing sticks, without falling to the ground, for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. It is surprising to see how swiftly they fly, when closely chased by a nimble footed pursuer; when they are intercepted by one of the opposite party, his fear of being cut by the ball sticks, commonly gives them an opportunity of throwing it perhaps a hundred yards; but the antagonist sometimes runs up behind, and by a *sudden stroke* dashes down the ball. It is a very unusual thing to see them act spitefully n any sort of game, not even in this severe and tempting exercise.

"Once, indeed, I saw some break the legs and arms of their opponents, by hurling them down, when on a descent, and running at full speed. But I afterward understood, there was a family dispute of long continuance between them: that might have raised their spleen, as much as the high bets they had then at stake, which was almost all they were worth. The Choktah are exceedingly addicted to gaming, and frequently on the slightest and most hazardous occasions, will lay their all, and as much as their credit can procure.

"By education, precept, and custom, as well as strong example, they have learned to shew an external acquiescence in every thing that befalls them, either as to life or death. By this means, they reckon it a scandal to the character of a steady warrior to let his temper be ruffled by any accidents,—their virtue they say, should prevent it. . . . To move the deity to enable them to conquer the party they are to play against, they mortify themselves in a surprising manner; and, except a small intermission, their female relations dance out of doors all the preceding night, chanting religious notes with their shrill voices, to move *Yo He Wah* [17] to be favourable to their kindred party, on the morrow. The men fast and wake from sunset, till the ball play is over the next day, which is about one or two o'clock in the afternoon. During the whole night, they

[17] Adair is reverting again to his favorite theory that these meaningless syllables had reference to the Jehovah of the Hebrews, from which people he believed the American Indians were descended.

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is a man at each goal to see that the goals are made fairly, and two men on each side (called mâdjokâlgi) to umpire and keep order. They tell the players to play hard without fighting. Sometimes they have four of these men on a side. There is also one scorer for each side, each provided with a number of broken sticks. Each scores for his own side, sticking one stick after another in the ground until there are 10 and then withdrawing them until all of the sticks belonging to one side are out. 526

If any one gets knocked out in play they even up again by throwing down their ball sticks opposite each other to be sure that neither side has an advantage. The players wear red fringes around their necks, and cows' tails, panthers' tails, and bison tails on their buttocks. They run with the ball or throw it, whichever way will advance the ball fastest. When they are through, the winning side marches around its goal, goes home, and has a "stomp dance." The others may set a time and hold a "stomp dance" afterwards.

A man had to play on the side of his own town even against the people of the town into which he had married, but if he lived in a third town not involved in the game, he could join the town that asked him first. This, therefore, gave a man an opportunity to play on the side opposite that of his proper town, but in olden times it is probable that it did not happen very often. When preparing for the ball game at Tcatoksofka the town chief talked the players over with one heniha (of the Wind clan) and one man of the Raccoon clan, or sometimes he consulted two members of each clan. According to Zachariah Cook, at Tukabahchee there were two men known as imagâlgi who divided up the men or else called upon some experienced men to do it for them. Two mikâgi had charge of the women's dance. Although Jackson Lewis speaks of the place where the contest was to be held as being agreed upon in advance by the eight men who arranged it, this was not done finally until just before the game, each side fearing lest the opponents should bewitch it. This was given me as the reason why it was not known where the Talahasutci and Ĺiwahali Seminole were going to play in the summer of 1913. When the wife of a ball player was pregnant the doctor prepared a medicine for him different from that taken by the others. The middle ground, half way between the ball posts, was called wâskita; and each station halfway between that point and either goal was known as nâlkâptkâ'ga. The side which threw through one goal called the other party fûlûdjî and vice versa. It is asserted that there was little or no fighting in olden times during the ball game, and this assertion is borne out by what the older writers tell us—although legs and arms were sometimes broken in the scrimmages—but in recent years it has been almost impossible to play a game through without a free fight. A game between the Nuyaka and Łapłâko towns ended

526 578 177

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526 this way, and the same fate befell one started between the Eufaula
0578 and Abihka towns. In the latter case the very first time the ball was
177 thrown up a free fight began which lasted three hours, and, according to report, the county sheriff and his deputies were utterly unable to stop it.

526 Sometimes the parties to a ball game had to march some distance to reach the place agreed upon for the encounter. When that was the case they would go by easy stages, hold a rally in the evening, the night before, and dance all night. I have one account which states that they held such a dance the first evening, reached the place appointed the next day, held another dance there, and then began the game. A great amount of property was wagered on the outcome of one of these games by both men and women, who whould even strip clothing off of their bodies for that purpose.

It is to be observed that the Indian attitude with reference to the goals is just opposite to that taken by white men in their games, for with us the idea is to drive the ball through the enemy's goal, but the Indian considered that he was bringing the ball home to his own goal.

526 Among the Texas Alabama the method of counting points was
802 different from that used by the Creeks, but it was probably a later innovation. There a straight line was drawn and transverse marks made on one side of this for one party and on the other side for the other party, twelve constituting the game. Figure 105 will illustrate.

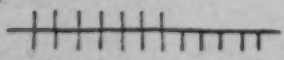

FIG. 105.—Alabama method of recording scores in the ball game

526 I will now give an account of a practice game between Łaplako
788 Indians witnessed by myself in 1913. We drove from Wetumka Sunday afternoon, July 27, and found the Indians seated on logs around the dance ground while the medicine maker at the other end was blowing into the medicine (pl. 7, *b*). There were two tubs, each said to contain miko hoyanīdja, but each treated differently by the doctor, so that the men drank from both. He did his work very deliberately, sitting motionless for a long time and afterwards taking some time in blowing into the medicine. He probably did this four times, though we did not watch him long enough to be certain. He sat facing the east. After that the yatika made an announcement and all went to the medicine, formed two rows, facing east, and took the medicine in the usual manner, afterwards vomiting it out, though some did not choose to take it (pl. 7, *c*). Before and during this ceremony the chief held in his hand a short stick on the end of which was fastened two balls and a bunch of small sticks. The last were the scoring sticks; the former comprised a large ball with which they were going to play next day and a smaller ball, the "chief ball" above mentioned, used when one side has scored three goals. It is said that each side

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the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them." [72] 687

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching.[72a] 689

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGillivray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order. 681

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable." [73]

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.[74] 685

Escaped murderers and adulterers, and those who had committed lesser offenses and had withdrawn from their people to avoid the ridicule and contempt of their fellow townsmen, formed a class from which, says Bartram, generally came the ruffians who committed depredations and murders on the frontiers.[75] The foundation of new towns may sometimes be traced to them, as indeed is frankly admitted by members of those towns themselves. It is said that the town of Wiwohka had such an origin, and it is also claimed for others like Hilibi on less satisfactory grounds. In later times many such people swelled the population of the Florida Seminole. 167 [626] [579] 621

Adair is the only writer to say anything about oaths used in adjuring a witness to give true evidence, and in this connection he does not mention the Creeks, only the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The Chickasaw and Choctaw oath he gives as *Chikloosha ke-e-u Chua*,[76] which he interprets "Do not you lie? Do you not, of a certain 695

[72] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[72a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 120; see p. 386.

[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 261-262.

[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 512.

[76] *Loakka* is a Chickasaw word meaning "to lie"; *chikloakka* signifies "you do not lie"; *ke-e-u* (or *kryu*) is the negative. The form used here is a strengthened one.

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585 singing the Epithalamium, they depart with friendly glad hearts, from the house of praise." [1]

Bossu's description of Alabama marriage customs is short.

"The savages are ordinarily satisfied with one wife, of whom they are excessively jealous. When a savage passes through a village and [836] has no wife, he hires a girl for a night or two, according to his fancy, and the parents find in that nothing to blame;[2] they disturb themselves very little about their girl, giving as a reason that she has the right to her own body; the daughters of the savages do not abuse this liberty at all; they find it for their interest to appear modest in order to be sought in marriage; but with regard to the married women they [581] say that by marriage they have sold their liberty, and therefore they ought not to have any other men besides their husband. On their side [the men] reserve the right to have many wives. . . .

"Marriage . . . is of a simple nature, and of no other form than mutual consent of the parties. The future husband makes presents of skins and provisions at the cabin of the father of his intended; after the meal there is a dance, they sing of the war exploits of the ancestors of the husband. Next day the oldest man presents the wife to the parents of her husband. That is the entire marriage ceremony. . . . Those who are good warriors and good hunters choose the prettiest girls; the others have only the rejected and the ugly." [3]

From Romans:

[595] "Polygamy is here allowed, though not generally made use of; they marry without much ceremony, seldom any more than to make some presents to the parents, and to have a feast or hearty regale at the hut of the wife's father; when once married the women are bound to the strictest observation of obedience and conjugal fidelity, [the Indians] saying that she that has once sold herself, can not any more dispose of any thing whatever; and of their wives they are the most unreasonably jealous of any nation under the sun." [4]

Says Bartram:

"Amongst some of the bands in the Muscogulge confederacy, I was informed the mystery is performed after the following manner. When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a Cane or Reed, such as they stick down at the hills of their Bean vines for their support: with this (after having obtained her parents' or nearest relations' consent) he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and associates, and in the presence of the wedding guests, he sticks his Reed down, upright in the ground; when soon after his sweet-heart comes forth with another

[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 139-141.
[2] Girls were also offered to strangers as a mark of hospitality; cf. Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 17.
[3] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 19-21.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 97-98.

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775 man looked and discovered the nature of his companion. Then he began to climb down and when he was nearly to the ground took off his moccasins and threw them, one in one direction and one in another. The ghost, however, ran after the moccasins, picked them up, and then pursued the man, whom he threw down and killed.

Speaking of the site of old Okmulgee, Adair says that the Indians "strenuously aver, that when necessity forces them to encamp there, they always hear, at the dawn of the morning, the usual noise of Indians singing their joyful religious notes, and dancing, as if going down to the river to purify themselves, and then returning to the old town-house: with a great deal more to the same effect." [76] Adair adds that they attributed his own inability to hear such things to the fact that he was "an obdurate infidel that way." [77]

Says Pope:

"The *Creeks* in approaching the Frontiers of *Georgia*, always encamp on the right hand side of the Road or Path, assigning the left, as ominous, to the *Larvæ* or Ghosts of their departed Heroes who have either unfortunately lost their scalps, or remain unburied. The Ghost of an Hero in either Predicament, is refused Admittance into the Mansions of Bliss, and sentenced to take up its invisible and darksome Abode, in the dreary Caverns of the Wilderness; until the Indignity shall be retaliated on the Enemy, by some of his surviving Friends." [78]

Pope's authority is not the best, but this certainly establishes the fact that the Creeks had the same belief as the Chickasaw regarding the necessity of placating spirits of the slain.

761 Adair is probably correct in attributing fatalistic beliefs to the southern Indians as to the time when each man's life was to come to an end. He says that they had a common proverb "*Neetak Intahāh* [Ni'tak intaha], 'The days appointed, or allowed him, were finished' [the days finished for him]. And this is their firm belief; for they affirm, that there is a fixt time, and place, when, and where, every one must die, without any possibility of averting it. They frequently say, 'Such a one was weighed on the path, and made to be light.'" [79]

[581] He also says that many believed marriages to be equally fated.[80]

775 We learn from Adair, in places already quoted, that the Chickasaw discharged guns and whooped in order to drive the ghost of a dead man to his fixed abode, but that it was believed that if he had been slain in war his soul would haunt the eaves of the house until equal blood had been shed for him.[81] All accounts agree that after the soul had been induced to leave the neighborhood of his living relatives he traveled westward, passed under the sky and proceeded

[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 36. [77] Ibid., p 37. [78] Pope, Tour, pp. 63-64. [79] Adair, op. cit., p. 33. [80] Ibid., p. 26. [81] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 310.

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Alabama
Koasati

cat. It is now impossible to say whether the Wildcat clan of the Koasati was originally distinct from the Panther clan of the Alabama, or whether the Koasati merely preferred to use the name Wildcat, the Alabama choosing rather that of Panther. The Beaver and Wind are the clans represented most evenly in the two tribes, though the representatives of the Wind among the Koasati are now deceased. 615 614

From the Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas and Louisiana I collected records of 95 marriages, exclusive of some unions between Indians and Negroes. This information is contained in the following list, the clan of the male being placed first. Individuals of the Koasati tribe are distinguished by the letter (K), and those of the Pascagoula tribe by the letter (P). The rest are Alabama. 615 614 582.

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	5	
Daddy-longlegs–Bear	4	
		9
Deer–Bear	4	
Bear–Deer	2	
		6
Bear–Beaver	4	
Bear–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Beaver (K)	5	
Beaver (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Wildcat (K)	4	
Wildcat (K)–Turkey (K)	2	
		6
Deer–Beaver	1	
Deer–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Deer	3	
		5
Deer–Panther	3	
Panther–Deer	1	
		4
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	2	
		4
Bear–Wind	2	
Bear–Wind (K)	2	
		4
Beaver (K)–Wildcat (K)	1	
Wildcat (K)–Beaver (K)	3	
		4
Beaver–Salt	2	
Salt (K)–Beaver (K)	2	
		4
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	1	
		3
Wind–Panther	2	
Wind (K)–Panther	1	
		3
Panther–Turkey (K)	1	
Panther (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		2
Deer–Wind	1	
Wind (K)–Deer	1	
		2
Panther (K)–Beaver (K)	1	
Panther–Beaver (K)	1	
		2
Wolf (P)–Wind	1	
Wolf (K)–Wind (K)	1	
		2
Bear–Turkey (K)	1	
Turkey (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		2
Salt–Wildcat (K)		2
Daddy-longlegs–Panther (K)		1
Deer–Alligator (K)		1
Wildcat (K)–Deer		1
Wolf (P)–Panther		1
Bear–Wildcat (K)		1
Wolf (P)–Daddy-longlegs		1
Wolf (P)–Bear		1
Salt–Wind		1
Salt–Turkey (K)		1
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey (K)		1
Beaver (K)–Lost Beaver (K)		1
Panther–Panther		1
Wildcat (K)–Wildcat (K)		1
Bear–Bear		1
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs		1
Deer–Choctaw		2
Choctaw–Bear		2
		95

This includes 42 marriages in which both individuals were Alabama Indians, 25 in which both were Koasati, 20 between Alabama and Koasati, 4 between Alabama and Pascagoula, and 4 between Alabama and Choctaw.

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Excluding unions with Choctaw, the number of marriages into which each clan entered is as follows:

Beaver	31	Panther	14
Bear	30	Wind	12
Deer	23	Salt	8
Daddy-longlegs	20	Wolf	5
Turkey	18	Alligator	1
Wildcat	15		

It will now be instructive to ascertain how the marriages of each clan were distributed among the other clans, and this is shown by the following tables:

Beaver–Bear	6 (A, K, A–K)
Beaver–Turkey	6 (K)
Beaver–Deer	5 (A, A–K)
Beaver–Wildcat	4 (K)
Beaver–Salt	4 (A, K)
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	3 (A)
Beaver–Panther	2 (K, A–K)
Beaver–Lost Beaver	1 (K)
Beaver–Wind	0
Beaver–Wolf	0
Beaver–Alligator	0
	31

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	9 (A)
Bear–Deer	8 (A)
Bear–Beaver	6 (A, K, A–K)
Bear–Wind	4 (A, A–K)
Bear–Turkey	2 (K, A–K)
Bear–Wildcat	1 (A–K)
Bear–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Bear–Bear	1 (A)
Bear–Panther	0
Bear–Salt	0
Bear–Alligator	0
	30

Deer–Bear	6 (A)
Deer–Beaver	5 (A, A–K)
Deer–Panther	4 (A)
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	4 (A)
Deer–Wind	2 (A, A–K)
Deer–Alligator	1 (A–K)
Deer–Wildcat	1 (A–K)
Deer–Turkey	0
Deer–Salt	0
	23

Daddy-longlegs–Bear	9 (A)
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	4 (A)
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	3 (A)
Daddy-longlegs–Panther	1 (A–K)
Daddy-longlegs–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey	1 (A–K)
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A)
Daddy-longlegs–Wildcat	0
Daddy-longlegs–Wind	0
Daddy-longlegs–Salt	0
Daddy-longlegs–Alligator	0
	20

Turkey–Beaver	6 (K)
Turkey–Wildcat	6 (K)
Turkey–Panther	2 (K, A–K)
Turkey–Bear	2 (K, A–K)
Turkey–Salt	1 (A–K)
Turkey–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–K)
Turkey–Deer	0
Turkey–Wind	0
Turkey–Wolf	0
Turkey–Alligator	0
	18

Wildcat–Turkey	6 (K)
Wildcat–Beaver	4 (K)
Wildcat–Salt	2 (A–K)
Wildcat–Deer	1 (A–K)
Wildcat–Bear	1 (A–K)
Wildcat–Wildcat	1 (K)
Wildcat–Daddy-longlegs	0
Wildcat–Panther	0
Wildcat–Wind	0
Wildcat–Wolf	0
Wildcat–Alligator	0
	15

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Panther–Deer	4 (A)
Panther–Wind	3 (A, A–K)
Panther–Turkey	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Beaver	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–K)
Panther–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Panther–Panther	1 (A)
Panther–Bear	0
Panther–Wildcat	0
Panther–Salt	0
Panther–Alligator	0
	14

Wind–Bear	4 (A, A–K)
Wind–Panther	3 (A, A–K)
Wind–Deer	2 (A, A–K)
Wind–Wolf	2 (K, A–P)
Wind–Salt	1 (A)
Wind–Beaver	0
Wind–Daddy-longlegs	0
Wind–Wildcat	0
Wind–Turkey	0
Wind–Alligator	0
	12

Salt–Beaver	4 (A, K)
Salt–Wildcat	2 (A–K)
Salt–Wind	1 (A)
Salt–Turkey	1 (A–K)
Salt–Bear	0
Salt–Deer	0
Salt–Daddy-longlegs	0
Salt–Panther	0
Salt–Wolf	0
Salt–Alligator	0
	8

Wolf–Wind	2 (K, A–P)
Wolf–Panther	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Bear	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Beaver	0
Wolf–Deer	0
Wolf–Wildcat	0
Wolf–Turkey	0
Wolf–Salt	0
Wolf–Alligator	0
	5
Alligator–Deer	1 (A–K)

The data regarding the Wolf and Alligator clans is, of course, of no particular significance owing to the small numbers of representatives of each of these clans and the fact that three of the Wolf clan were Pascagoula Indians. Elsewhere there is an intimation that the Bear, Salt, and Wind may have belonged to the same phratry or clan moiety, and this is to some extent borne out by the above data, only one marriage between individuals of these clans—Salt and Wind—being given. However, the material would seem to indicate a feeling of repugnance to marriage between the Bear, Panther, and Wildcat. That the Panther and Wildcat were considered practically equivalent clans is certain, but it is not often that the Bear is found associated with these. In fact, were it not for the tables I should have had no suspicion of it, nothing of the kind having been suggested by any of my informants. The data bears out their contention that prohibition of intermarriage existed between the Deer and Wolf, the Panther and Wildcat, and the Bear and Salt, although it is too small in amount to be satisfactory. There is now no Skunk clan, and therefore we can not test native opinion that the Skunk and Wind were similarly allied. On the other hand the association which they declare to have existed between the Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, and Turkey is certainly no longer in evidence.

I have now touched upon practically all of the more important associations that can be shown with any certainty to have been established between Creek clans. Many others are recorded in my 615

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observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear." 616

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.[52a] 621

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Łapłáko the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group. 616 621 582

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties. 616 621 526

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had 616 621 526 177

[52a] See pp. 111-112.

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616 621 526 [177] the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

614 582 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[56] 567 727 577

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[57] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 211.
[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 43, 213, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 370.

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MARRIAGE

582 Accounts of marriage customs among our southern tribes vary so much that we must suppose the same was true of the customs themselves. This variation may have been due to difference in nationality, but it is rarely possible to determine to what groups if any the several accounts belong. The only exceptions are the description by Adair which, as usual, may be assumed to apply mainly to the Chickasaw and the notes by Bossu derived from the Alabama. Adair has the following to say on this subject:

"It is usual for an elderly man to take a girl, or sometimes a child to be his wife, because she is capable of receiving good impressions in that tender state: frequently, a moon elapses after the contract is made, and the value received, before the bridegroom sleeps with the bride, and on the marriage day, he does not appear before her till night introduces him, and then without tapers. . . .

"The Indians also are so fond of variety, that they ridicule the white people, as a tribe of narrow-hearted, and dull constitutioned animals, for having only one wife at a time; and being bound to live with and support her, though numberless circumstances might require a contrary conduct. When a young warrior cannot dress *alamode America*, he strikes up one of those matches for a few moons, which they term *Toopsa Táwah*,[97] 'a make haste marriage,' because it wants the usual ceremonies, and duration of their other kind of marriages. . . .

584 "When an Indian makes his first address to the young woman he intends to marry, she is obliged by ancient custom to sit by him till he hath done eating and drinking, whether she likes or dislikes him; but afterward, she is at her own choice whether to stay or retire. When
585 the bridegroom marries the bride, after the usual prelude, he takes a choice ear of corn, and divides it in two before witnesses, gives her one half in her hand, and keeps the other half to himself; or otherwise, he gives her a deer's foot, as an emblem of the readiness with which she ought to serve him: in return, she presents him with some cakes of bread, thereby declaring her domestic care and gratitude in return for the offals: for the men feast by themselves and the women eat the remains. When this short ceremony is ended, they go to bed like an honest couple. . . .

"Formerly, this was an universal custom among the native Americans; but this, like every other usage of theirs, is wearing out apace. The West-Floridians, in order to keep their women subject to the law of adultery, bring some venison or buffalo's flesh to the house of their nominal wives, at the end of every winter's hunt: that is reckoned a sufficient annual tye of their former marriages, although the husbands do not cohabit with them. The Muskóhge men, if

[97] This should be *tushpa ítauaya*, from *tushpa*, in haste, and *ítauaya*, to marry.

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Reed, which she sticks down by the side of his, when they are married; then they exchange Reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, which is celebrated with feasting, music and dancing; each one of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contributes something towards establishing the new family. As soon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be constructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finished in a day's time. 585

"The greatest accomplishments to recommend a young man to his favourite maid, are to prove himself a brave warrior, and a cunning, industrious hunter.

"They marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient custom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is seldom an instance of their separating after they have children. If it should so happen, the mother takes the children, under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood.

"The Musogulges allow of polygamy in the utmost latitude; every man takes as many wives as he chooses, but the first is queen, and others are handmaids and associates. [595]

"It is common for a great man amongst them, who has already half a dozen wives, if he sees a child of eight or nine years of age, who pleases him, and he can agree with her parents or guardians, to marry her and take her into his house at that age."[5] [582]

Swan also recognizes that there was a diversity in marriage rites: 584

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"But if a man takes a wife conformably to the more ancient and serious custom of the country, it requires a longer courtship, and some established formalities.

"The man, to signify his wishes, kills a bear with his own hands, and sends a panful of the oil to his mistress. If she receives the oil, he next attends and helps her hoe the corn in her field; afterwards plants her beans; and when they come up, he sets poles for them to run upon. In the meantime he attends her corn, until the beans

[5] Bartram, Travels, pp. 512-513.

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585 prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . .

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

595 "A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

181 611 836 "Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue."[14]

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.[15] It is an old ex post facto explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

583 It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

[14] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273 [15] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 31.

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traceable directly to false matings brought about by official action. In their youth a man and a woman might be passive victims of mismating but, as we have seen, in later years they became to a great extent masters and mistresses of their own inclinations which could then be satisfied. Another way in which this could be brought about was through the unofficial marriage, although this was often for no more lofty motive than the gratification of sexual passion. Still it was one of the safety valves which nature, outraged by unnatural official marriages, constructed for itself. 583

Regarding divorce in late times I was told that if a married couple did not get along well their relatives talked to them, and if they still kept pulling apart they finally let them separate. 586

Bossu says on this subject:

"A man among these peoples has the liberty of leaving his wife, but that seldom happens; if a woman is discovered committing adultery the least evil that can happen to her is to be repudiated. Then the husband abandons the cabin; if he has children he takes care of the boys, and his wife of the girls; the wife must, however, remain a widow for a year, while the husband can remarry at once. He can take back his wife; she, however, can not marry a second time until the end of a year." [16]

Other writers are more detailed. Hawkins says:

"This (divorce) is at the choice of either of the parties; the man may marry again as soon as he will; but she is bound till all the *Boosketau* of that year are over excepting in a case of marriage and parting in a season when there is no planting [or more properly speaking, during the season the man resides at the house of the woman and has possession of her during the continuation of the marriage ceremony]; in that case the woman is equally free to connect herself again as soon as she pleases. There is an inconsistency in the exception above since, in fact, in such season there can be no marriage; but the chiefs, in their report on this article, mentioned it as an exception, and this practice in these cases of half marriage prevails universally. As soon as a man goes to the house of his bride, he is in complete possession of her till the ceremony ends, and during this period the exception will apply. Marriage gives no right to the husband over the property of his wife, and when they part she keeps the children, the property belonging to them and her own." [17]

Swan says:

"If a separation is desired by either the man or his wife, it is commonly consented to, and takes place without ceremony; but he or she is not at liberty to take any other person as wife or husband,

[16] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 20.

[17] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 73-74. The bracketed clause is wanting in the Library of Congress copy of the Ms. It repeats the second sentence from the end.

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MARRIAGE.

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"It is usual for an elderly man to take a girl, or sometimes a child to be his wife, because she is capable of receiving good impressions in that tender state: frequently, a moon elapses after the contract is made, and the value received, before the bridegroom sleeps with the bride, and on the marriage day, he does not appear before her till night introduces him, and then without tapers. . . .

"The Indians also are so fond of variety, that they ridicule the white people, as a tribe of narrow-hearted, and dull constitutioned animals, for having only one wife at a time; and being bound to live with and support her, though numberless circumstances might require a contrary conduct. When a young warrior cannot dress *alamode America*, he strikes up one of those matches for a few moons, which they term *Toopsa Táwah*,[a] 'a make haste marriage,' because it wants the usual ceremonies, and duration of their other kind of marriages. . . .

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"Formerly, this was an universal custom among the native Americans; but this, like every other usage of theirs, is wearing out apace. The West-Floridians, in order to keep their women subject to the law of adultery, bring some venison or buffalo's flesh to the house of their nominal wives, at the end of every winter's hunt: that is reckoned a sufficient annual tye of their former marriages, although the husbands do not cohabit with them. The Muskóhge men, if

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Reed, which she sticks down by the side of his, when they are married; 585
then they exchange Reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, which is celebrated with feasting, music and dancing; each one of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contributes something towards establishing the new family. As soon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be constructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finished in a day's time.

"The greatest accomplishments to recommend a young man to his favourite maid, are to prove himself a brave warrior, and a cunning, industrious hunter.

"They marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient custom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is seldom an instance of their separating after they have children. If it should so happen, the mother takes the children, under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood.

"The Mussogulges allow of polygamy in the utmost latitude; every [595]
man takes as many wives as he chooses, but the first is queen, and others are handmaids and associates.

"It is common for a great man amongst them, who has already [582]
half a dozen wives, if he sees a child of eight or nine years of age, who pleases him, and he can agree with her parents or guardians, to marry her and take her into his house at that age."[8]

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534 585 have run up and entwined their vines about the poles. This is thought emblematical of their approaching union and bondage; and they then take each other for better or for worse, and are bound to all intents and purposes. A widow having been bound in the above manner, is considered an adulteress if she speaks or makes free with any man, within four summers after the death of her husband.

"With a couple united in the above manner, the tie is considered more strongly binding than in the other case; being under this obligation to each other, the least freedom with any other person, either in the man or woman, is considered as adultery, and invariably punished by the relations of the offended party, by whipping, and cutting off the hair and ears close to the head." [6]

Hawkins's account is shorter and his description recalls more nearly the ceremonies existing in later times:

"A man who wants a wife never applies in person; he sends his sister, his mother, or some other female relation, to the female relations of the woman he names. They consult the brothers and uncles on the maternal side, and sometimes the father; but this is a compliment only, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail. If the party applied to approve of the match, they answer accordingly, to the woman who made the application. The bridegroom then gets together a blanket, and such other articles of clothing as he is able to do, and sends them by the women to the females of the family of the bride. If they accept of them the match is made; and the man may then go to her house as soon as he chooses. And when he has built a house, made his crop and gathered it in, then made his hunt and brought home the meat, and put all this in the possession of his wife, the ceremony ends, and they are married; or as they express it, the woman is bound. From the first going to the house of the woman, till the ceremony ends, he is completely in possession of her.

"This law has been understood differently, by some hasty cuckolds, who insist, that when they have assisted the woman to plant her crop, the ceremony ends, and the woman is bound. A man never marries in his own tribe [i. e., clan]." [7]

Stiggins's testimony is to much the same effect:

"It is customary among them when a man selects the one that he wants for wife frequently without speaking to her or consulting her approbation to open the subject of his wishes for an alliance in their family, or have it done by some of his kinspeople, to some of her relatives though most properly to the uncle of the woman on the mother's side who has entire control of his nieces in cases of marriage or otherwise. Should the offer meet his approbation he does

[6] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 269-269.

[7] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, p. 72; also p. 43 on the authority of an old Abihka chief named Co-tau-lau or Tus-ca-ki-ah Mi-co.

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not protract his consent longer than he can lay the proposal before her relations of the mother's side who are counted her mutual kinsmen and women, in which assembly the candidate's disposition and other qualities are discust. Neither the father nor any of the woman's father's family is ever consulted in the marriage of his children, as he and they are not of the same family, since the primogenitureship of all families descends from the mother. . . . When the uncle or relation has informed the rest of his kindred or clansmen of the proposal of marriage and by whom made, and [has indicated] that he approves the proposed match the rest of the family seldom refuse their assent; there is no fuss made of fortune, position, or chattels on either side. After such consultation, if the suitor should visit their dwelling before they do him, he is informed of the family acquiescence, and the bridal bed being publicly made for the pair, there is a conclusion of the courtship and marriage. After the consummation of the marriage and he finds her in clothes, should she be the first wife formally married to him and passes the *Boss ke tah* with him she is received as his actual wife by his kinsfolks and all others. After the solemnization of the new corn feast passes over them she is bound to him in the conception of his family during life or his pleasure. . . . As polygamy is only admitted among the men by the wife's consent, they use a great deal of craft to obtain it, in order to keep clear of the crime of adultery. All his later wives have to stay at their homes unless his wife should conclude with herself to let one stay with her in the house and do all the drudgery of the place as a waiting maid. By his wife's consent he can take as many wives or concubines as he chooses to maintain, but should his wife disapprove of his having a concubine and he obtain one against her will his wife's relations or clanspeople have it in their power to beat him and his concubine or second wife with sticks and cut off both their ears, after which he is separated from his wife and he has to retain the one beaten on his account. Nevertheless he has it in his power to keep his old wife single for four years or four *Booske tahs* unless she should elope with a man and elude the vigilance of his clan to the ensuing *Booske tah*. Then she is clear of punishment for her adultery, and ever after she is finally separated from him and the control of his clanswomen."[9]

584 585 595 [586]

The information on this subject which Hitchcock gathered from the Tukabahchee Indians contains some items not given by anyone else. He says:

584 585

"A young man wishing to marry a girl to whom he has taken a fancy goes to an aunt or some near female connection of his own and tells her his wishes. She then goes to the aunt or some near connection of the girl and makes it known. This connection of the

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 21-22.

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584 girl then goes to the parents of the girl and tells the story. The
585 girl is not consulted in the case. If the parents are willing, a time for the ceremony of marriage is appointed by the connections. At the time appointed an outer house or corn crib is selected near the girl's house and a bowl of sofkee (boiled corn) is placed under the projecting shed of the crib in sight from the house, and here the girl has the privilege of exerting a veto. The girl is informed of the whole business and if she chooses to allow the man to steal up and take a spoonful of sofkee without her seeing him, it is a marriage and the parties sleep the first night in the corn crib. This has been the old custom, but is going out of use. After the ceremony the young man is not allowed to visit the house of his wife by day for the period of a month, but must visit his wife after dark and go away before day. The sofkee part of the ceremony is now generally
595 dispensed with. If a married man takes another wife, the first wife may assent to it passively or, if she chooses, she may whip the woman, but in this case she must move away and yield all her rights to the latter, who becomes the principal wife. In this way the man may take as many women as he pleases and is able to support. The wife, in the exercise of her prerogative, has a right to the assistance of her female relations and when it is exercised the ceremony is severe and makes a lasting impression. The object is to disfigure their victim and the wife uses her nails, scratches the face of the new wife, and whips her with switches. (The severity of this ceremony must exercise a considerable restraint upon both husband and women, making it necessary to consult the wife in advance in order that her assent may be assured, before her rights are encroached upon. Alexander said he knew of a case (*saw it*—and heard the language) when a wife exercised her right, saying as she laid on the lash, "You think it is honey, but I will make it vinegar before I'm done with you.")[10]

585 "Among the Creeks" (says Claiborne), "the marriage ceremony is this: The man gives the woman a piece of venison or some kind of meat, and she gives him an ear of corn in the presence of witnesses. They are then man and wife, at least until the green-corn dance. Then the married couple are released if either of them thinks proper to break the contract. In such case the woman keeps the children."[11]

584 From the accounts obtained by myself it is evident that the regular
614 marriage or "binding" was a clan (or rather exogamous group) affair and that it could be initiated by the clan of the youth or that of the girl. According to one statement the maternal uncles and cousins of a girl—i. e., the people of her clan—talked the matter over—probably at a clan council—and decided upon the young man who ap-

[10] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[11] Claiborne, Miss., vol. i, p. 482.

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peared to them most eligible, one who was a good hunter, a good warrior, or a good ball player, or all of these, he being also of course outside of the prohibited degrees. All his qualifications were reviewed and all possible objections, consanguineal and other, considered. After a majority of the clan relations had agreed they informed the girl's parents, and the latter told their daughter to make her bed ready. Then the youth was brought, and, pointing to the bed, they said to him, "There is your bed. Lie in it." Then they went away and left them. 584 614

On the other hand, at a council of the clan to which a certain youth belonged it might be suggested that he was a nice fellow and getting along in years, and that such and such a girl was well brought up and cared for and an altogether desirable match, and that they had better send over to her people and ask for her. Then they would send someone over. The people of the girl's clan would meet and say "In a few days you will hear from us." The time having elapsed, word would be sent, and, if it were favorable, in a few days more the young man was conducted thither. Then the parents of the girl informed her what was expected of her and told her to prepare her bed. They brought the youth in and told the two that that was to be their bed henceforth.[12] In olden times this was the only legal marriage; nevertheless, from what has been quoted it is apparent that temporary unions were tolerated in the nature of trial marriages or with women who had become outcasts.

Speck was told that a wife sometimes accompanied her husband to his town and resided there, in which case the children belonged to that town.[13] This must have happened rather rarely and in any case would not affect the clanship of the children, which always remained the same as that of the mother. 591

The testimony obtained from the Texas Alabama is to much the same effect as the foregoing. Marriages were arranged by the clan uncles and aunts, and the father and mother of both parties, who first agreed together and then talked to the young people in order to persuade them to agree. When this was accomplished the girl prepared her couch for her husband, who came after all were asleep and got up and left before daylight. He did the same thing every night for about a week, and for a month afterwards his wife's people did not talk much to him nor he to them. 585 [584]

These ceremonies apply particularly to marriage between quite young people. It is said that in marriages which took place later in life the parties concerned had as much voice in the matter as their clansmen and clanswomen. Probably they had more, as the

[12] Sometimes a separate house was put up for them before the wedding took place. See p. 372, and Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

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MARRIAGE

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newly married, are obliged by ancient custom, to get their own relations to hoe out the corn-fields of each of their wives, that their marriages may be confirmed: and the more jealous, repeat the custom every year, to make their wives subject to the laws against adultery. But the Indians in general, reckon that before the bridegroom can presume to any legal power over the bride, he is after the former ceremonies, or others something similar, obliged to go into the woods to kill a deer, bring home the carcass of venison, and lay it down at her house wrapt up in its skin; and if she opens the pack, carries it into the house, and then dresses and gives him some of it to eat with cakes before witnesses, she becomes his lawful wife, and obnoxious to all the penalties of an adulteress. . . .

"When the Indians would express a proper marriage, they have a word adapted according to their various dialects, to give them a suitable idea of it; but when they are speaking of their sensual marriage bargains, they always term it, 'buying a woman;' for example—they say with regard to the former, *Che-Awalas*, 'I shall marry you,' . . . *Che-Awala Awa*, 'I shall not marry you.' But the name of their market marriages is *Otoolpha*.[97a] [They say] *Eho Achumbàras*, *Sgookchàa*,[97b] 'In the spring I shall buy a woman, if I am alive.' Or *Eho Achumbara Awa*,[98] 'I shall not buy a woman,' *Salbasa toogat*,[99] 'for indeed I am poor.' . . .

"They sometimes marry by deputation or proxy. The intended bridegroom sends so much in value to the nearest relations of the intended bride, as he thinks she is worth: if they are accepted, it is a good sign that her relations approve of the match, but she is not bound by their contract alone; her consent must likewise be obtained, but persuasions most commonly prevail with them. However, if the price is reckoned too small, or the goods too few, the law obliges them to return the whole, either to himself, or some of his nearest kindred. If they love the goods, as they term it . . . the loving couple may in a short time bed together upon trial, and continue or discontinue their love according as their fancy directs them. If they like each other, they become an honest married couple when the nuptial ceremony is performed, as already described. When one of their chieftains is married, several of his kinsmen help to kill deer and buffaloes, to make a rejoicing marriage feast, to which their relations and neighbours are invited: there the young warriors sing with their two chief musicians, who beat on their wet deer skin tied over the mouth of a large clay-pot, and raise their voices, singing *Yo Yo*, etc. When they are tired with feasting, dancing, and

[97a] Probably from itola, "to lie down."
[97b] Obeye, "woman"; achumpalas, "I buy"; sackchaha, "I hoe up land."
[98] Obeye achumbala awa.
[99] Salbàsha, "I am poor"; tuk, sign of recent past time; ât, demonstrative article

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•585 singing the Epithalamium, they depart with friendly glad hearts, from the house of praise."[1]

Bossu's description of Alabama marriage customs is short.

"The savages are ordinarily satisfied with one wife, of whom they are excessively jealous. When a savage passes through a village and [836] has no wife, he hires a girl for a night or two, according to his fancy, and the parents find in that nothing to blame;[2] they disturb themselves very little about their girl, giving as a reason that she has the right to her own body; the daughters of the savages do not abuse this liberty at all; they find it for their interest to appear modest in order to be sought in marriage; but with regard to the married women they [581] say that by marriage they have sold their liberty, and therefore they ought not to have any other men besides their husband. On their side [the men] reserve the right to have many wives. . . .

"Marriage . . . is of a simple nature, and of no other form than mutual consent of the parties. The future husband makes presents of skins and provisions at the cabin of the father of his intended; after the meal there is a dance, they sing of the war exploits of the ancestors of the husband. Next day the oldest man presents the wife to the parents of her husband. That is the entire marriage ceremony. . . . Those who are good warriors and good hunters choose the prettiest girls; the others have only the rejected and the ugly."[3]

From Romans:

[595] "Polygamy is here allowed, though not generally made use of; they marry without much ceremony, seldom any more than to make some presents to the parents, and to have a feast or hearty regale at the hut of the wife's father; when once married the women are bound to the strictest observation of obedience and conjugal fidelity, [the Indians] saying that she that has once sold herself, can not any more dispose of any thing whatever; and of their wives they are the most unreasonably jealous of any nation under the sun."[4]

Says Bartram:

"Amongst some of the bands in the Muscogulge confederacy, I was informed the mystery is performed after the following manner. When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a Cane or Reed, such as they stick down at the hills of their Bean vines for their support: with this (after having obtained her parents' or nearest relations' consent) he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and associates, and in the presence of the wedding guests, he sticks his Reed down, upright in the ground; when soon after his sweet-heart comes forth with another

[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 138-141.
[2] Girls were also offered to strangers as a mark of hospitality; cf. Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 17.
[3] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 19-21.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 97-98.

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Reed, which she sticks down by the side of his, when they are married; then they exchange Reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, which is celebrated with feasting, music and dancing; each one of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contributes something towards establishing the new family. As soon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be constructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finished in a day's time. 585

"The greatest accomplishments to recommend a young man to his favourite maid, are to prove himself a brave warrior, and a cunning, industrious hunter.

"They marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient custom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is seldom an instance of their separating after they have children. If it should so happen, the mother takes the children, under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood.

"The Museogulges allow of polygamy in the utmost latitude; every man takes as many wives as he chooses, but the first is queen, and others are handmaids and associates. [595]

"It is common for a great man amongst them, who has already half a dozen wives, if he sees a child of eight or nine years of age, who pleases him, and he can agree with her parents or guardians, to marry her and take her into his house at that age."[5] [582]

Swan also recognizes that there was a diversity in marriage rites: 584

"Courtship is always begun by proxy. The man, if not immediately acquainted with the lady of his choice, sends her his talk (as it is termed), accompanied with small presents of clothing, by some woman of her acquaintance. If the young woman takes his talk, his proxy then asks the consent of her uncles, aunts, and brothers (the father having no voice or authority in the business), which being obtained, the young woman goes to him, and they live together during pleasure or convenience. This is the most common mode of taking a wife, and at present the most fashionable. 585

"But if a man takes a wife conformably to the more ancient and serious custom of the country, it requires a longer courtship, and some established formalities.

"The man, to signify his wishes, kills a bear with his own hands, and sends a panful of the oil to his mistress. If she receives the oil, he next attends and helps her hoe the corn in her field; afterwards plants her beans; and when they come up, he sets poles for them to run upon. In the meantime he attends her corn, until the beans

[5] Bartram, Travels, pp. 512-513.

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584 have run up and entwined their vines about the poles. This is
585 thought emblematical of their approaching union and bondage; and they then take each other for better or for worse, and are bound to all intents and purposes. A widow having been bound in the above manner, is considered an adulteress if she speaks or makes free with any man, within four summers after the death of her husband.

"With a couple united in the above manner, the tie is considered more strongly binding than in the other case; being under this obligation to each other, the least freedom with any other person, either in the man or woman, is considered as adultery, and invariably punished by the relations of the offended party, by whipping, and cutting off the hair and ears close to the head." [6]

Hawkins's account is shorter and his description recalls more nearly the ceremonies existing in later times:

"A man who wants a wife never applies in person; he sends his sister, his mother, or some other female relation, to the female relations of the woman he names. They consult the brothers and uncles on the maternal side, and sometimes the father; but this is a compliment only, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail. If the party applied to approve of the match, they answer accordingly, to the woman who made the application. The bridegroom then gets together a blanket, and such other articles of clothing as he is able to do, and sends them by the women to the females of the family of the bride. If they accept of them the match is made; and the man may then go to her house as soon as he chooses. And when he has built a house, made his crop and gathered it in, then made his hunt and brought home the meat, and put all this in the possession of his wife, the ceremony ends, and they are married; or as they express it, the woman is bound. From the first going to the house of the woman, till the ceremony ends, he is completely in possession of her.

"This law has been understood differently, by some hasty cuckolds, who insist, that when they have assisted the woman to plant her crop, the ceremony ends, and the woman is bound. A man never marries in his own tribe [i. e., clan]." [7]

Stiggins's testimony is to much the same effect:

"It is customary among them when a man selects the one that he wants for wife frequently without speaking to her or consulting her approbation to open the subject of his wishes for an alliance in their family, or have it done by some of his kinspeople, to some of her relatives though most properly to the uncle of the woman on the mother's side who has entire control of his nieces in cases of marriage or otherwise. Should the offer meet his approbation he does

[6] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 269-269.

[7] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 73; also p. 42 on the authority of an old Abihka chief named Co-tau-lau or Tus-ca-ki-ah Mic-co.

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not protract his consent longer than he can lay the proposal before her relations of the mother's side who are counted her mutual kinsmen and women, in which assembly the candidate's disposition and other qualities are discust. Neither the father nor any of the woman's father's family is ever consulted in the marriage of his children, as he and they are not of the same family, since the primogenitureship of all families descends from the mother. . . . When the uncle or relation has informed the rest of his kindred or clansmen of the proposal of marriage and by whom made, and [has indicated] that he approves the proposed match the rest of the family seldom refuse their assent; there is no fuss made of fortune, position, or chattels on either side. After such consultation, if the suitor should visit their dwelling before they do him, he is informed of the family acquiescence, and the bridal bed being publicly made for the pair, there is a conclusion of the courtship and marriage. After the consummation of the marriage and he finds her in clothes, should she be the first wife formally married to him and passes the *Boss ke tah* with him she is received as his actual wife by his kinsfolks and all others. After the solemnization of the new corn feast passes over them she is bound to him in the conception of his family during life or his pleasure. . . . As polygamy is only admitted among the men by the wife's consent, they use a great deal of craft to obtain it, in order to keep clear of the crime of adultery. All his later wives have to stay at their homes unless his wife should conclude with herself to let one stay with her in the house and do all the drudgery of the place as a waiting maid. By his wife's consent he can take as many wives or concubines as he chooses to maintain, but should his wife disapprove of his having a concubine and he obtain one against her will his wife's relations or clanspeople have it in their power to beat him and his concubine or second wife with sticks and cut off both their ears, after which he is separated from his wife and he has to retain the one beaten on his account. Nevertheless he has it in his power to keep his old wife single for four years or four *Booske tahs* unless she should elope with a man and elude the vigilance of his clan to the ensuing *Booske tah*. Then she is clear of punishment for her adultery, and ever after she is finally separated from him and the control of his clanswomen." [9]

The information on this subject which Hitchcock gathered from the Tukabahchee Indians contains some items not given by anyone else. He says:

"A young man wishing to marry a girl to whom he has taken a fancy goes to an aunt or some near female connection of his own and tells her his wishes. She then goes to the aunt or some near connection of the girl and makes it known. This connection of the

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 21-22.

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584 girl then goes to the parents of the girl and tells the story. The
585 girl is not consulted in the case. If the parents are willing, a time for the ceremony of marriage is appointed by the connections. At the time appointed an outer house or corn crib is selected near the girl's house and a bowl of sofkee (boiled corn) is placed under the projecting shed of the crib in sight from the house, and here the girl has the privilege of exerting a veto. The girl is informed of the whole business and if she chooses to allow the man to steal up and take a spoonful of sofkee without her seeing him, it is a marriage and the parties sleep the first night in the corn crib. This has been the old custom, but is going out of use. After the ceremony the young man is not allowed to visit the house of his wife by day for the period of a month, but must visit his wife after dark and go away before day. The sofkee part of the ceremony is now generally
595 dispensed with. If a married man takes another wife, the first wife may assent to it passively or, if she chooses, she may whip the woman, but in this case she must move away and yield all her rights to the latter, who becomes the principal wife. In this way the man may take as many women as he pleases and is able to support. The wife, in the exercise of her prerogative, has a right to the assistance of her female relations and when it is exercised the ceremony is severe and makes a lasting impression. The object is to disfigure their victim and the wife uses her nails, scratches the face of the new wife, and whips her with switches. (The severity of this ceremony must exercise a considerable restraint upon both husband and women, making it necessary to consult the wife in advance in order that her assent may be assured, before her rights are encroached upon. Alexander said he knew of a case (*saw it*—and heard the language) when a wife exercised her right, saying as she laid on the lash, "You think it is honey, but I will make it vinegar before I'm done with you.")[10]

585 "Among the Creeks" (says Claiborne), "the marriage ceremony is this: The man gives the woman a piece of venison or some kind of meat, and she gives him an ear of corn in the presence of witnesses. They are then man and wife, at least until the green-corn dance. Then the married couple are released if either of them thinks proper to break the contract. In such case the woman keeps the children."[11]

584 From the accounts obtained by myself it is evident that the regular
614 marriage or "binding" was a clan (or rather exogamous group) affair and that it could be initiated by the clan of the youth or that of the girl. According to one statement the maternal uncles and cousins of a girl—i. e., the people of her clan—talked the matter over—probably at a clan council—and decided upon the young man who ap-

[10] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[11] Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 492.

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peared to them most eligible, one who was a good hunter, a good warrior, or a good ball player, or all of these, he being also of course outside of the prohibited degrees. All his qualifications were reviewed and all possible objections, consanguineal and other, considered. After a majority of the clan relations had agreed they informed the girl's parents, and the latter told their daughter to make her bed ready. Then the youth was brought, and, pointing to the bed, they said to him, "There is your bed. Lie in it." Then they went away and left them. 584 614

On the other hand, at a council of the clan to which a certain youth belonged it might be suggested that he was a nice fellow and getting along in years, and that such and such a girl was well brought up and cared for and an altogether desirable match, and that they had better send over to her people and ask for her. Then they would send someone over. The people of the girl's clan would meet and say "In a few days you will hear from us." The time having elapsed, word would be sent, and, if it were favorable, in a few days more the young man was conducted thither. Then the parents of the girl informed her what was expected of her and told her to prepare her bed. They brought the youth in and told the two that that was to be their bed henceforth.[12] In olden times this was the only legal marriage; nevertheless, from what has been quoted it is apparent that temporary unions were tolerated in the nature of trial marriages or with women who had become outcasts.

Speck was told that a wife sometimes accompanied her husband to his town and resided there, in which case the children belonged to that town.[13] This must have happened rather rarely and in any case would not affect the clanship of the children, which always remained the same as that of the mother. 591

The testimony obtained from the Texas Alabama is to much the same effect as the foregoing. Marriages were arranged by the clan uncles and aunts, and the father and mother of both parties, who first agreed together and then talked to the young people in order to persuade them to agree. When this was accomplished the girl prepared her couch for her husband, who came after all were asleep and got up and left before daylight. He did the same thing every night for about a week, and for a month afterwards his wife's people did not talk much to him nor he to them. 585 [584]

These ceremonies apply particularly to marriage between quite young people. It is said that in marriages which took place later in life the parties concerned had as much voice in the matter as their clansmen and clanswomen. Probably they had more, as the

[12] Sometimes a separate house was put up for them before the wedding took place. See p. 372, and Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. ii, p. 117.

[13] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. ii, p. 117.

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•585 prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . .

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

595 "A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

181 611 836 "Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue."[14]

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.[15] It is an old ex post facto explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

583 It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

[14] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273 [15] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 21.

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not protract his consent longer than he can lay the proposal before her relations of the mother's side who are counted her mutual kinsmen and women, in which assembly the candidate's disposition and other qualities are discust. Neither the father nor any of the woman's father's family is ever consulted in the marriage of his children, as he and they are not of the same family, since the primogenitureship of all families descends from the mother. . . . When the uncle or relation has informed the rest of his kindred or clansmen of the proposal of marriage and by whom made, and [has indicated] that he approves the proposed match the rest of the family seldom refuse their assent; there is no fuss made of fortune, position, or chattels on either side. After such consultation, if the suitor should visit their dwelling before they do him, he is informed of the family acquiescence, and the bridal bed being publicly made for the pair, there is a conclusion of the courtship and marriage. After the consummation of the marriage and he finds her in clothes, should she be the first wife formally married to him and passes the *Boss ke tah* with him she is received as his actual wife by his kinsfolks and all others. After the solemnization of the new corn feast passes over them she is bound to him in the conception of his family during life or his pleasure. . . . As polygamy is only admitted among the men by the wife's consent, they use a great deal of craft to obtain it, in order to keep clear of the crime of adultery. All his later wives have to stay at their homes unless his wife should conclude with herself to let one stay with her in the house and do all the drudgery of the place as a waiting maid. By his wife's consent he can take as many wives or concubines as he chooses to maintain, but should his wife disapprove of his having a concubine and he obtain one against her will his wife's relations or clanspeople have it in their power to beat him and his concubine or second wife with sticks and cut off both their ears, after which he is separated from his wife and he has to retain the one beaten on his account. Nevertheless he has it in his power to keep his old wife single for four years or four *Booske tahs* unless she should elope with a man and elude the vigilance of his clan to the ensuing *Booske tah*. Then she is clear of punishment for her adultery, and ever after she is finally separated from him and the control of his clanswomen." [9]

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traceable directly to false matings brought about by official action. In their youth a man and a woman might be passive victims of mismating but, as we have seen, in later years they became to a great extent masters and mistresses of their own inclinations which could then be satisfied. Another way in which this could be brought about was through the unofficial marriage, although this was often for no more lofty motive than the gratification of sexual passion. Still it was one of the safety valves which nature, outraged by unnatural official marriages, constructed for itself. 583

Regarding divorce in late times I was told that if a married couple did not get along well their relatives talked to them, and if they still kept pulling apart they finally let them separate. 586

Bossu says on this subject:

"A man among these peoples has the liberty of leaving his wife, but that seldom happens; if a woman is discovered committing adultery the least evil that can happen to her is to be repudiated. Then the husband abandons the cabin; if he has children he takes care of the boys, and his wife of the girls; the wife must, however, remain a widow for a year, while the husband can remarry at once. He can take back his wife; she, however, can not marry a second time until the end of a year." [16]

Other writers are more detailed. Hawkins says:

"This (divorce) is at the choice of either of the parties; the man may marry again as soon as he will; but she is bound till all the *Boosketau* of that year are over excepting in a case of marriage and parting in a season when there is no planting [or more properly speaking, during the season the man resides at the house of the woman and has possession of her during the continuation of the marriage ceremony]; in that case the woman is equally free to connect herself again as soon as she pleases. There is an inconsistency in the exception above since, in fact, in such season there can be no marriage; but the chiefs, in their report on this article, mentioned it as an exception, and this practice in these cases of half marriage prevails universally. As soon as a man goes to the house of his bride, he is in complete possession of her till the ceremony ends, and during this period the exception will apply. Marriage gives no right to the husband over the property of his wife, and when they part she keeps the children, the property belonging to them and her own." [17]

Swan says:

"If a separation is desired by either the man or his wife, it is commonly consented to, and takes place without ceremony; but he or she is not at liberty to take any other person as wife or husband,

[16] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. 2, p. 28.

[17] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. 22, pp. 73-74. The bracketed clause is wanting in the Library of Congress copy of the Ms. It repeats the second sentence from the end.

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586 until after the celebration of the ensuing busk, at which, if they attend and partake of the physic and bathing, they are at once exonerated from the marriage-contract, and at liberty to choose again: but to be only intimate with any other person, between the time of separation and the ceremony of the next busk, is deemed as adultery, and would incur the penalty of whipping and cropping, as the custom of the country requires. This punishment, however, depends, sometimes, on the superior strength of the clan to which the injured party belongs." [18]

Bartram evidently has in mind only cases of adultery when he says that a divorced woman was looked upon as a harlot.[19]

Says Stiggins:

"Should she [the wife] be indolent and given to quarrel with him [her husband] and inattentive to his wants and disobedient to his commands, in any of the aforesaid cases he can make complaint to her family of such and quit her and marry another without a murmur from her clan or family. But in case she should prove a lewd woman and inconstant to him, she can be punished by his family or clans-people by beating her with large sticks until she cannot move and the cutting off both her ears close to her head, though the punishment may be inflicted contrary to the will or consent of her husband, which frequently happens. Then after her punishment for her inconstancy it is optional with her husband to repudiate or retain her still as his wife." [20]

The option of the husband is, as has been seen, denied by several other authorities.[21] As Stiggins's sources of information were of the best, it is probable either that the custom varied in different parts of the Creek area or that in his time the usage in this particular had begun to alter.

589 From an old Creek Indian I have the following account of the customs observed with respect to widows and widowers:

"A woman remained with her husband's parents for four years after the beginning of her widowhood. At the expiration of that period her husband's sisters would dress her up, take her to a dance, and tell her to enjoy herself. Then the people of her husband's clan would hold a council and select a good man for her. If she did not like him she was free to marry whomsoever she chose. Their duty was completed. It was the same when a man was left a widower, only then they talked to the woman fixed upon until she consented. After a man's wife died they would build a scaffold right over her grave and let the widower lie there four days. If he went with another woman before four years were completed they cut the end of his nose off and the end of the woman's nose and turned them

[18] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[19] Bartram, Travels, p. 111.
[20] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 32.
[21] See pp. 350-351.

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589 Elsewhere the same observer informs us that, in 1840, the Creek national council undertook to reduce the period of enforced widowhood to 12 months, but so much opposition was aroused that they were forced to restore the old law the next year.[27]

[736] The Tukabahchee chief informed Hitchcock that when there were widows or orphans with no one to take care of them he called the people out and had them put up a house for them, fence in a garden, and plant corn.

Claiborne says:

"With the Creeks, when a man dies, his wives can not dress up, or go into company, or attend the dances or appear in the town square, or bind up their hair for the period of 12 months, during which time they must remain chaste under the penalty of beating and cropping as above stated. The relations of the deceased husband have the privilege of releasing them from the observance of this custom before the year is out, but they seldom do so."[28]

[587 614] The fact comes out plainly in all of these accounts that the clan, or rather the family group within the clan, which has furnished the husband or the wife of the widow or widower feels itself under obligations to supply his or her place, and on the other hand that it has the prior right to supply it. That not merely the man but the group had acquired the right to the individual is shown clearly by Swan's statement above that a widow who made free with any man until after four summers was considered an adulteress. This does not mean a communal right, however; merely a right to furnish the bereaved party with another spouse.

As might have been anticipated, Adair has a great deal to say on this subject, though it must be understood that his remarks apply more particularly to the Chickasaw:

"All the Indian widows, by an established strict penal law, mourn for the loss of their deceased husbands; and among some tribes for the space of three or four years. . . .

"The Muskohge widows are obliged to live a chaste single life, for the tedious space of four years; and the Chikkasah women, for the term of three, at the risque of the law of adultery being executed against the recusants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the first year of her widowhood, she is obliged through the fear of shame to lament her loss, in very intense audible strains. . . .

"Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diversions, at the penalty of an adulteress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this respect. The

[27] See p. 384.
[28] Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 488.

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586 until after the celebration of the ensuing busk, at which, if they attend and partake of the physic and bathing, they are at once exonerated from the marriage-contract, and at liberty to choose again: but to be only intimate with any other person, between the time of separation and the ceremony of the next busk, is deemed as adultery, and would incur the penalty of whipping and cropping, as the custom of the country requires. This punishment, however, depends, sometimes, on the superior strength of the clan to which the injured party belongs." [18]

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[18] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 273.
[19] Bartram, Travels, p. 111.
[20] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[21] See pp. 280-281.

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loose. If a widow went astray during her mourning period they would cut her ears off and those of her accomplice. If a widow walked into a stream and a man walked into the same stream above so that the water ran down from him to her they were apt to cut off the ears of the two in just the same way. In passing a widow a man had to go to leeward of her if he wished to pass and escape punishment. (The same rules probably applied to widowers as well.) After the widow had received a new husband or the widower a new wife possession was given for one night, and then if they did not like each other they separated."

The next is from Sonak hadjo, chief of the Mikasuki:

"When a man died his wife had to remain a widow for four years, and during all of that time her condition was marked by the fact that she did not take any care of her hair. Every four months, however, another woman combed and cared for it for her. The widow also wore little clothing, merely a sheet around her body in even the coldest weather. When the four years were expired she bathed, put on good clothing, combed her hair, and waited until there was a big dance. Then her husband's sister, his niece, or some other near female relative of his led her to the dance after it had begun. If there was a suitable single male relative of her former husband he married her; if not the female relative said: 'I have no one to support you, so I will let you go. Go and look for yourself.' A widower had to wait only four months; otherwise he behaved similarly."

The following account comes from the Alabama Indians of Texas:

"After a man had lost his wife he remained in the house naked for four days. At the end of that time his wife's brothers brought a shirt and put it on him, and they all took their guns and went hunting. Perhaps a month later his wife's brothers again came to him, took him to a creek and washed his head and dressed up his hair and afterward they took him to the ball ground. There he sat, looking at the ground sadly, as if he were sick, but afterward he could go anywhere by himself. He could not marry outside of the clan of his former wife until four years were past, but he might marry his wife's sister in less time, and by his wife's sister is apparently meant any of the women of his first wife's clan. If he were a good man he could get his wife's sister easily; if not she would not be given to him.

"A woman left a widow remained in the house for four days, perhaps longer, and after some time, perhaps a year, her husband's sisters would come to her, take her to a stream, wash her head, dress her hair, give her a complete outfit of clean clothing, and carry her to the ball ground. There were six to ten women in all, one of whom acted as leader. Afterward the woman could go to the ball ground as much as she pleased."

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The man who furnished this account had himself been a widower twice, and therefore he ought to have been well informed regarding the regulations.

The best early account of ceremonies connected with widowhood is given by Stiggins, who says:

"It is customary for the clans people not to tolerate the widowed man to play jokes or touch a woman nor a woman a man during their [period of mourning].[32]

"As I have gone through their marriage ceremonies and touched on their state of widowhood,[33] I think it necessary to enlarge and be more explicit on the subject, therefore after marriage, should they live inseparable during their life, on the death of either the survivor is made a widow of in the following manner: viz., admitting that the woman should be the survivor, immediately after the man's burial the women on his mother's side connected to him, or his clan women, who are all the widow's guardians or retainers, proceed to divest her of her gay apparel and her other ornaments of dress such as brooches, beads and necklaces, and unloose her hair and spread it over her shoulders, in which situation she is to remain and consider herself a mourner for four years for her deceased husband, unless she is sooner relieved by the compassion of her retainers though at any time of her widowhood one of her deceased husband's brothers or cousins on his mother's side can relieve her by taking her to wife himself. Should he have a wife at the time it cannot be murmured at by any one as he is in duty naturally bound to raise seed to his brother and she is at his option or disposal; or she can be relieved by the clan women after a consultation. Should they think her in a bad situation they very often, before the expiration of her widowhood, have compassion on her forlorn state and then give her a comb to comb her hair, or some of them comb her hair for her, and [they] invest her with such clothes and ornaments as those of which she was divested for her widowhood.[34] After they have gone through this ceremony with her she is at liberty to marry whom she pleases, but should she not await the formal relief of her retainers, but in contempt of their prerogative, take to combing of her hair or marry a husband, they can treat her inconstancy in this as in any other case of adultery should she do it before the expiration of four years or four *Booske tahs*, from the death of her husband. But if she marries a man and elopes with him and eludes the vigilance of her retainers to the expiration of the

[32] A line is wanting in the original manuscript at this point, but the words in brackets complete the sense sufficiently well.

[33] See pp. 372-373.

[34] On this point compare what Adair says (pp. 182-183) and the following from Gregg: "She (the widow) remains in strict mourning for four years, with dishevelled hair and without combing—unless the relatives of the deceased interfere; whereby it is sometimes put an end to in a few months, provided the sincerity of her grief be evident and her conduct meritorious." (Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 318.)

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ensuing anniversary of the new corn crop then she is free of their constraint and can live with her husband without fear of punishment. Her husband is inseparably bound to her and cannot be implicated in the crime of adultery with her, all the crime being imputed to her lewd disposition and incontinency. The same constraint, ceremony, and restrictions are observed with the man should his wife die first."[35]

From a somewhat later period comes this information:

"When a husband dies his female relations have a right to prevent the marriage of the widow for four years. After the husband is buried the relatives take the widow from the grave to the nearest branch and immerse her in water; if once, she must remain a widow for one year; if twice, two years, and so on, but they can not exceed four years. If there is no branch near they perform the ceremony by dashing a bucket of water upon her, once, twice, and so on. . . . After the immersion she is carried back to the house where her husband died and is shut up within the house and kept there four days. A little girl is appointed to attend her and supply her with food, and no other person is allowed to go near her. In four cases out of five the husband is buried in the house where he died, under the bed, and the woman is obliged to sleep in the bed the four nights of her confinement to the house. A shed or small house is prepared near the dwelling, and after the four days have expired she is assigned to that house and compelled to live there during the period of her widowhood—one to four years. During that time she is not allowed to make or receive visits. No one is allowed to enter the house, though they may talk to her at the door. She is not allowed to wash her face, or comb her hair, or change her dress. The little girl attendant may "look" her head, and is privileged to eat what she finds—and she generally avails herself of the privilege. At the expiration of the widowhood the deceased's relatives repair to the house, take possession of the widow and wash her from head to foot (it is the female relations who do all this), comb her hair and dress it, and clothe her completely, often with a great deal of finery, and convey her to the Square, where a dance has been appointed for the occasion. She looks at the dance and joins in it if she chooses, and the same female relatives select some man to pass the night with her, and release her, as it is called, from her widowhood. The man must be single,[36a] and if after the night's acquaintance the parties agree, they live together as man and wife; if not, they separate and are free to do as they please. If a wife dies her female relations take the man to the branch [and treat him as in the case of a widow] except [that] the widower cannot be retained a widower over four months, and at the expiration of the time the women select a partner for the night as before."[36]

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[35] Stephen, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 32-34.

[36a] This is in case the widow is not espoused by her brother-in-law.

[36] Hitchcock Ms. notes.

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589 Elsewhere the same observer informs us that, in 1840, the Creek national council undertook to reduce the period of enforced widowhood to 12 months, but so much opposition was aroused that they were forced to restore the old law the next year.[27]

[736] The Tukabahchee chief informed Hitchcock that when there were widows or orphans with no one to take care of them he called the people out and had them put up a house for them, fence in a garden, and plant corn.

Claiborne says:

"With the Creeks, when a man dies, his wives can not dress up, or go into company, or attend the dances or appear in the town square, or bind up their hair for the period of 12 months, during which time they must remain chaste under the penalty of beating and cropping as above stated. The relations of the deceased husband have the privilege of releasing them from the observance of this custom before the year is out, but they seldom do so."[28]

[587 614] The fact comes out plainly in all of these accounts that the clan, or rather the family group within the clan, which has furnished the husband or the wife of the widow or widower feels itself under obligations to supply his or her place, and on the other hand that it has the prior right to supply it. That not merely the man but the group had acquired the right to the individual is shown clearly by Swan's statement above that a widow who made free with any man until after four summers was considered an adulteress. This does not mean a communal right, however; merely a right to furnish the bereaved party with another spouse.

As might have been anticipated, Adair has a great deal to say on this subject, though it must be understood that his remarks apply more particularly to the Chickasaw:

"All the Indian widows, by an established strict penal law, mourn for the loss of their deceased husbands; and among some tribes for the space of three or four years. . . .

"The Muskohge widows are obliged to live a chaste single life, for the tedious space of four years; and the Chikkasah women, for the term of three, at the risque of the law of adultery being executed against the recusants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the first year of her widowhood, she is obliged through the fear of shame to lament her loss, in very intense audible strains. . . .

"Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diversions, at the penalty of an adulteress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this respect. The

[27] See p. 384.
[28] Claiborne, Miss., vol. i, p. 488.

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place of interment is also calculated to wake the widow's grief, for he is intombed in the house under her bed. And if he was a war-leader, she is obliged for the first moon, to sit in the day-time under his mourning war-pole,[29] which is decked with all his martial trophies, and must be heard to cry with bewailing notes. But none of them are fond of that month's supposed religious duty, it chills, or sweats, and wastes them so exceedingly; for they are allowed no shade, or shelter. This sharp rigid custom excites the women to honour the marriage-state, and keeps them obliging to their husbands, by anticipating the visible sharp difficulties which they must undergo for so great a loss. The three or four years monastic life, which she lives after his death, makes it her interest to strive by every means, to keep in his lamp of life, be it ever so dull and worthless; if she is able to shed tears on such an occasion, they often proceed from self-love. We can generally distinguish between the widow's natural mourning voice, and her tuneful laboured strain. She doth not so much bewail his death, as her own recluse life, and hateful state of celibacy; which to many of them, is as uneligible, as it was to the Hebrew ladies. . . .

"The Choktah Indians hire mourners to magnify the merit and loss of their dead, and if their tears can not be seen to flow, their shrill voices will be heard to cry, which answers the solemn chorus a great deal better. However, they are no way churlish of their tears, for I have seen them, on the occasion, pour them out, like fountains of water: but after having thus tired themselves, they might with equal propriety have asked by-standers in the matter of the native Irish, Ara ci fuar bass—'And who is dead?'

"They formerly dressed their head with black moss on those solemn occasions; and the ground adjacent to the place of interment, they now beat with laurel-bushes, the women having their hair disheveled. . . .

"The [Chickasaw] Indian women mourn three moons, for the death of any female of their own family or tribe. During that time they are not to anoint, or tie up their hair; neither is the husband of the deceased allowed, when the offices of nature do not call him, to go out of the house, much less to join any company; and in that time of mourning he often lies among the ashes. The time being expired, the female mourners meet in the evening of the beginning of the fourth moon, at the house where their female relation is intombed, and stay there till morning, when the nearest surviving old kinswoman crops their fore-locks pretty short. This they call *Ehô Intânâah*,[30] 'the women have mourned the appointed time.' . . .

[29] The war-pole is a small peeled tree painted red, the top and boughs cut off short; it is fixt in the ground opposite to his door, and all his implements of war, are hung on the short boughs of it, till they rot—Adair. The use of this war-pole was not shared by the Indians of the Creek confederacy.

[30] *Ehô*—shape; *intânâah*, probably from *âanâ*, "to rise up from a prostrate position."

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589 When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

"Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself. . . .

"The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, 'Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;' the most degrading of epithets." [299]

548 A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint [302] their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

171 It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the 589 slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.[300] It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive;* they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

562 Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, "In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." 592 In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

[299] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 158-159.

[300] Milfort, Mém., p. 286.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Household

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety. 592

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (hûti) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the tcokofa. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives. [562] [591] [888]

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses. [597] [567] [595]

The Family

GENERAL REMARKS

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative 601

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peared to them most eligible, one who was a good hunter, a good warrior, or a good ball player, or all of these, he being also of course outside of the prohibited degrees. All his qualifications were reviewed and all possible objections, consanguineal and other, considered. After a majority of the clan relations had agreed they informed the girl's parents, and the latter told their daughter to make her bed ready. Then the youth was brought, and, pointing to the bed, they said to him, "There is your bed. Lie in it." Then they went away and left them. 584 614

On the other hand, at a council of the clan to which a certain youth belonged it might be suggested that he was a nice fellow and getting along in years, and that such and such a girl was well brought up and cared for and an altogether desirable match, and that they had better send over to her people and ask for her. Then they would send someone over. The people of the girl's clan would meet and say "In a few days you will hear from us." The time having elapsed, word would be sent, and, if it were favorable, in a few days more the young man was conducted thither. Then the parents of the girl informed her what was expected of her and told her to prepare her bed. They brought the youth in and told the two that that was to be their bed henceforth.[12] In olden times this was the only legal marriage; nevertheless, from what has been quoted it is apparent that temporary unions were tolerated in the nature of trial marriages or with women who had become outcasts.

Speck was told that a wife sometimes accompanied her husband to his town and resided there, in which case the children belonged to that town.[13] This must have happened rather rarely and in any case would not affect the clanship of the children, which always remained the same as that of the mother. 591

The testimony obtained from the Texas Alabama is to much the same effect as the foregoing. Marriages were arranged by the clan uncles and aunts, and the father and mother of both parties, who first agreed together and then talked to the young people in order to presuade them to agree. When this was accomplished the girl prepared her couch for her husband, who came after all were asleep and got up and left before daylight. He did the same thing every night for about a week, and for a month afterwards his wife's people did not talk much to him nor he to them. 585 [584]

These ceremonies apply particularly to marriage between quite young people. It is said that in marriages which took place later in life the parties concerned had as much voice in the matter as their clansmen and clanswomen. Probably they had more, as the

[12] Sometimes a separate house was put up for them before the wedding took place. See p. 372, and Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

[13] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

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614 had once been laid aside. According to one writer the Wind clan could take them up an indefinite number of times; according to another, four times. This privilege is well remembered. A single writer adds that people of the Bear clan were allowed to take the clubs up twice, but I have been able to learn nothing definite upon the subject from the living Indians. Local privileges connected with the busk ceremonial were, of course, enjoyed by other clans.[42]

In other parts of America clan distinctions are indicated by means of face paintings or tattooings. With the Creeks, however, most of the latter seem to have had to do with war honors. I was told that members of the Raccoon clan painted circles about their eyes, but according to others this was done merely by doctors as a sign that they were able to see in the dark. Paintings used to indicate the towns of the persons using them will be considered presently.[42a]

Another source of information regarding the position of clans in the tribe is still to be tapped, but in order to do this we must first set forth a description of the Creek ceremonial or busk ground, the religious and social center of every Creek community of consequence.

DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO THE LAND AND THE TOWN

174 361 614 Both the Creeks and the Texas-Alabama have told me that anciently clans lived apart, and in a Creek story of the origin of corn they are represented as scattered about in a number of different camps. Whether or not the major clans are descended from bodies of people which once lived in separate towns and lacked exogamy the local separation of the clans until very late times is an undeniable fact. I may note here the assertion of one of my oldest and best informants to the effect that in olden times the clans were not exogamous, but that upon one occasion a council was held and it was determined that afterwards they should be considered such. This is interesting as marking the native recognition of such a possibility, not as proving that the change actually took place. The Creek towns in the times [361] when we begin to have knowledge of them consisted of a succession of villages or neighborhoods scattered through the woods and along the streams, and connected by a network of trails. The unit of such a town consisted of a group of houses owned by women of one clan and occupied by themselves, their husbands, and their young children. In practice it worked out something like this. A man, assisted by other members of his family or clan, might build a house in a new situation and clear the usual yard by hoeing up the surface weeds and grass for a considerable space about it. Now, when one of his daughters married her husband, drawn from some other, perhaps distant, locality, would build another house on part of the same

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[42] Cf. also Millert, Mém., p. 255.

[42a] See p. 246.

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cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[88] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

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The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

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SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

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When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

"The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong."[66]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[66] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

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From what Adair tells us[14a] it would seem that the stones used in playing the chunkey game were town property. 422

The house, and probably the necessary household furniture, belonged to the wife, the tools made and used by the husband to him, and thus they were vested in different clan groups and some of them probably went to entirely different persons at the death of the owners. In early times such a large part of a man's personal property was buried with his corpse that not much was left for heirs to quarrel over. Bartram says that the first selection from whatever was left was made by the head wife of the deceased, the remainder being divided between his other wives and his children.[15] This may have been true in certain special cases but there is reason to doubt that it represented a custom common in earlier times. Says Eakins: [592] 428

"The descent of property is fixed. It is willed as the parents please. But if no will has been made, the property reverts to the children. But in case of a marriage with a widow, with children, her property reverts to her children by her first husband. The eldest son is entitled only to an equal portion with the rest. A written will is binding. A verbal will, established by two responsible persons, is valid also. If there has been no other disposition made of the medal, it goes to the eldest son. In former times, all relics were taken possession of by the deceased sister's eldest son. But now they are the subject of legacy as other property."[16]

This statement dates, of course, from a comparatively late period in the history of the Creek Indians, about the year 1850. The same authority states just above that anciently all property descended in the female line—indeed, he implies as much in the quotation just given—and there is every reason to believe that this is correct. It is confirmed by Gregg.[17]

As to the lands of the confederacy outside of these town areas we may probably rely upon the following statement, also by Bartram: 423 642

"Every individual inhabitant has an equal right to the soil and to hunt and range over this region, except within the jurisdiction of each town or village, which I believe seldom extends beyond its habitations and planting grounds. Perhaps the *Uches* are to be excepted. They claim an exclusive property, by right of a contract; but though they sometimes put the Creeks in mind of this privilege, when their hunters make too free with their hunting grounds, yet the dispute seldom goes further, as the Confederacy are cautious of offending the Uches, and yield to their common interest and safety."[18]

[14a] See p. 498.
[15] Bartram, Travels, p. 514.
[16] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 283.
[17] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 317.
[18] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 22.

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589 When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

"Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself. . . .

"The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, 'Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;' the most degrading of epithets."[200]

548 A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint [302] their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

171 It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the 589 slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.[200c] It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive;* they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

562 Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, "In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." 592 In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

[200] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 159-160.

[200c] Milfort, Mém., p. 280.

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as it appeared in 1912. This was largely because it was thought that to sleep much with women enervated a man and incapacitated him as a warrior.[20] Adair says that in their town houses the women were separated from the warriors, and were merely allowed to sit at each side of the entrance "as if they were only casual spectators,"[21] and anciently they had no seats on the square ground. Among the Chickasaw six old beloved women were the only participants in the annual ceremony.[22]

562 [833] 592

Regarding the labors of women the last mentioned writer declares: "The women are the chief, if not the only, manufacturers; the men judge that if they performed that office, it would exceedingly depreciate them."[23] In fact women anciently, in addition to the indoors work of the house, made all of the pottery and basketry, and did all of the spinning and weaving of bison hair, mulberry bark, etc. The initial preparation of skins was sometimes performed by men, but most of the subsequent work upon it fell to the women. They made drying frames and dried peaches and other fruits upon them, and they of course pounded the corn and did the cooking.

462

The principal occupations of the men were hunting, ball playing, war, and rites connected with the use of medicine and ceremonial affairs. They built the houses, the corncribs, and the structures belonging to the square ground, felled trees, made canoes and mortars, drums, pipes, calumets, ball sticks, and of course in olden times the axes and the arrows, bows, war clubs, and most of the other articles used in hunting and war. When hunting at a distance from home they cut up the meat, loaded it on horses, and brought it back. It is evident that their labors amounted to considerable in the aggregate, although they were not so evenly sustained throughout the year as those of women. The smaller garden plots were cared for almost exclusively by women, but the town fields were tended by individuals of both sexes, and Bartram says that "there are not one-third as many females as males seen at work in their plantations; for, at this season of the year, by a law of the people, they do not hunt, the game not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in, so the males have little else with which to employ themselves."[24] Later on in the season the same writer tells us that the labor falling upon women was harder.

[224] [241]

"In the hunting season, that is in autumn and winter, the men are generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls on the women, who are than obliged to undergo a good deal of labor, such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they toat on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the ancient large towns, where the commons and old fields extend some

[224]

[20] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[21] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 121.
[22] Ibid., pp. 96-97.
[23] Ibid., p. 423.
[24] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 51.

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given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [89]

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [89a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikano' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

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[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 413.

[89a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 24-25.

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181 562 [593] of relationship.[44] In the quotation given above he[1] makes another blunder when he assumes that from the apparent indifference exhibited by an Indian couple when they meet after a long separation a constitutional "phlegmatic coldness and indifference" may be inferred. The self-restraint and seeming unconcern exhibited was simply a native custom from which nothing at all regarding the real feelings could be deduced. It may be added that the hard life of Indian women to which he refers was not usually considered hard by them but as the customary and essential, and it was in large measure but their share of a life which was harder all around than the lives of many civilized human beings. It was certainly not as hard as the lives of many of our sweatshop and mill operatives, and there is this to be said for it besides that it did not exist side by side with and thereby shame a theoretically lofty moral standard. On the other hand the "care and attention" which Creek women bestowed upon their men must be read in connection with the drastic regulations to which a widow was subjected.[44a] Collective virtues and vices are so closely bound up with economic conditions that it would be easy to show how both as they exist among Indians show to advantage or suffer in comparison with virtues and vices among ourselves. It is probably true also that white contact by putting an [177] end to intertribal warfare and to hunting, the chief occupations of the men in olden times, has shown up the division of labor between men and women with some disadvantage to the men, because the old traditions regarding division of labor have persisted into a period when a new arrangement is rendered necessary. This is not said with the idea of justifying Indian or European customs. Some of these were doubtless due to economic conditions which were indeed their sufficient excuse at one time. Many, too, may be perversions of customs which once had some reason for their existence though the perversions themselves have not and never had any such basis. In these cases history may furnish a palliation and an excuse but it can not give a justification, and the sooner such custom is abolished the better.

It is not just then to condemn the Creeks on account of some of their customs or to praise them overmuch on account of others. But, abstracting the customs themselves from the people, we may say that those of the Creeks were upon the whole on a distinctly higher level than the customs of most of the hunting tribes of American Indians and indeed than those of most of the agricultural tribes about them.

BURIAL

764 In the accounts of burial customs, as well as in those of marriages, there are considerable differences, and here again it is evident that

[44] See p. 376. [44a] See pp. 383-384.

1 [i.e., Swan.--Analyst]

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Adair and Swan both remark on the apparent coldness exhibited by a married couple on meeting after a long separation. Adair says: 593

"I shall give an instance of this [incapability for lasting affection]. If the husband has been a year absent on a visit to another nation, and should by chance overtake his wife near home, with one of his children skipping along side of her; instead of those sudden and strong emotions of joy that naturally arise in two generous breasts at such an unexpected meeting, the self-interested pair go along as utter strangers, without seeming to take the least notice of one another, till a considerable time after they get home." [95]

Swan says:

"When a man meets his wife and children, after the absence of some months, in which time she has not heard a word from him, it is with a perfect seeming indifference. Perhaps the first word spoken will be—So, you have got back again, I see. He answers—Yes. She may then reply—Momuscha [Mohmistca]—i. e., Very well—and there ends the conversation. The man reserves the tale of his adventures, to be told to his other friends over a cup of black drink the next morning, at the square; and there it is retailed, in a tedious, circumlocutory conversation of many hours." [96]

As I have explained in another connection this "coldness" was principally etiquette and custom rather than native character.

The terms for "husband" and "wife" were not used by a married couple, because it was thought a married pair were too nearly connected to employ anything so formal. If they had to use any expression it would be "my old man" or "my old woman."

A man would not speak to his mother-in-law nor a woman to her father-in-law, or vice versa. They communicated through the wife or the husband. One of these tabooed couples would go a long way around to avoid meeting the other, and it was thought that if they did speak to each other or even touch each other they would itch all over. In speaking about such a person the other used the dual number. This information was obtained particularly from the Alabama in Texas. Chickasaw custom was about the same. 606

The usage may have differed among the constituent tribes of the Confederacy, however, for one of the best living authorities on old Creek customs (1924) declares that there was no regulation of "bashfulness" in force between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and that the only time when the latter avoided his mother-in-law was for about a week before and a week after his marriage because he was actually bashful.

If the Indians have friendly dealings with you they always want to associate you with them in some way, particularly by giving you sofki or other food, as has happened several times in my own case. 571

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.

[96] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274-275.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Household

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety. 592

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (hûti) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the tcokofa. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives. [562] [591] [888]

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses. [597] [567] [595]

The Family

GENERAL REMARKS

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative 601

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In stating that punishment was inflicted on the male offender by the women and on the female offender by the men Pope differs from all other writers.

Claiborne is also brief:

"If the woman violates her fidelity before the green-corn dance [among the Creeks] she is whipped severely, her ears cut off and tied to the sticks with which she was beaten and the sticks set up in the town square for the people to look at. They serve the man who seduced her in the same way. If the man clears out, and cannot be caught, the clansmen of the injured husband punish his nearest relation in his stead. If the woman be punished and not her seducer, or his relation, the clan of the woman inflict upon the leader of the party that punished her, the same punishment which she had endured, and there the thing ends."[53]

Romans dismisses the matter shortly:

"Adultery is punished by severe flagellations and loss of hair, nose, and ears, in both parties, if they are taken; sometimes they spare the nose of the man, and I have known some instances of white men having this misfortune and being obliged to apply to the Commissary, or the nearest Governor for a certificate to secure them from the imputation of the pillory."[54]

Stiggins informs us that a man could take a second wife or concubine only with the consent of his first wife, and if he did not obtain it he was treated as an adulterer and punished as such by his wife's family,[55] and also that a widow or widower who married before the expiration of the prescribed period of mourning was so treated.[56] In this he is confirmed by Swan.[57] [595]

The prerogative of the Wind clan mentioned by Hawkins is confirmed by Swan,[58] Stiggins,[59] and my informant Jackson Lewis. According to another authority the Wind clan could take up the clubs four times and the Bear clan could take them up twice,[60] but this may have been the case in some one town. Stiggins adds that the same privilege was enjoyed by members of the Wind clan in the case of minor offenses such as stealing.[61] There were no doubt many variations in the procedure, several of which are indicated in the accounts already given. In later times the penalty was probably softened. Mr. McCombs told me that for the first commission of adultery the man and woman were both beaten and the soft lobes

[53] Claiborne, Miss., vol. I, p. 492.
[54] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 98.
[55] See p. 372.
[56] See pp. 378-379.
[57] See p. 378.
[58] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 269.
[59] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[60] The agent Mitchell as reported by Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 111, 1836.
[61] Stiggins, Ms., p. 28.

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585 singing the Epithalamium, they depart with friendly glad hearts, from the house of praise." [1]

Bossu's description of Alabama marriage customs is short.

"The savages are ordinarily satisfied with one wife, of whom they are excessively jealous. When a savage passes through a village and [836] has no wife, he hires a girl for a night or two, according to his fancy, and the parents find in that nothing to blame;[2] they disturb themselves very little about their girl, giving as a reason that she has the right to her own body; the daughters of the savages do not abuse this liberty at all; they find it for their interest to appear modest in order to be sought in marriage; but with regard to the married women they [581] say that by marriage they have sold their liberty, and therefore they ought not to have any other men besides their husband. On their side [the men] reserve the right to have many wives. . . .

"Marriage . . . is of a simple nature, and of no other form than mutual consent of the parties. The future husband makes presents of skins and provisions at the cabin of the father of his intended; after the meal there is a dance, they sing of the war exploits of the ancestors of the husband. Next day the oldest man presents the wife to the parents of her husband. That is the entire marriage ceremony. . . . Those who are good warriors and good hunters choose the prettiest girls; the others have only the rejected and the ugly." [3]

From Romans:

[595] "Polygamy is here allowed, though not generally made use of; they marry without much ceremony, seldom any more than to make some presents to the parents, and to have a feast or hearty regale at the hut of the wife's father; when once married the women are bound to the strictest observation of obedience and conjugal fidelity, [the Indians] saying that she that has once sold herself, can not any more dispose of any thing whatever; and of their wives they are the most unreasonably jealous of any nation under the sun." [4]

Says Bartram:

"Amongst some of the bands in the Muscogulge confederacy, I was informed the mystery is performed after the following manner. When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a Cane or Reed, such as they stick down at the hills of their Bean vines for their support: with this (after having obtained her parents' or nearest relations' consent) he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and associates, and in the presence of the wedding guests, he sticks his Reed down, upright in the ground; when soon after his sweet-heart comes forth with another

[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 138-141.
[2] Girls were also offered to strangers as a mark of hospitality; cf. Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 17.
[3] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 19-21.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 97-98.

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Reed, which she sticks down by the side of his, when they are married; 585
then they exchange Reeds, which are laid by as evidences or certificates of the marriage, which is celebrated with feasting, music and dancing; each one of their relations and friends, at the wedding, contributes something towards establishing the new family. As soon as the wedding is over, the town is convened, and the council orders or recommends a new habitation to be constructed for the accommodation of the new family; every man in the town joins in the work, which is begun and finished in a day's time.

"The greatest accomplishments to recommend a young man to his favourite maid, are to prove himself a brave warrior, and a cunning, industrious hunter.

"They marry only for a year's time, and, according to ancient custom, at the expiration of the year they renew the marriage; but there is seldom an instance of their separating after they have children. If it should so happen, the mother takes the children, under her own protection, though the father is obliged to contribute towards their maintenance during their minority and the mother's widowhood.

"The Museogulges allow of polygamy in the utmost latitude; every [595]
man takes as many wives as he chooses, but the first is queen, and others are handmaids and associates.

"It is common for a great man amongst them, who has already [582]
half a dozen wives, if he sees a child of eight or nine years of age, who pleases him, and he can agree with her parents or guardians, to marry her and take her into his house at that age."[5]

Swan also recognizes that there was a diversity in marriage rites: 584

"Courtship is always begun by proxy. The man, if not immediately 585
acquainted with the lady of his choice, sends her his talk (as it is termed), accompanied with small presents of clothing, by some woman of her acquaintance. If the young woman takes his talk, his proxy then asks the consent of her uncles, aunts, and brothers (the father having no voice or authority in the business), which being obtained, the young woman goes to him, and they live together during pleasure or convenience. This is the most common mode of taking a wife, and at present the most fashionable.

"But if a man takes a wife conformably to the more ancient and serious custom of the country, it requires a longer courtship, and some established formalities.

"The man, to signify his wishes, kills a bear with his own hands, and sends a panful of the oil to his mistress. If she receives the oil, he next attends and helps her hoe the corn in her field; afterwards plants her beans; and when they come up, he sets poles for them to run upon. In the meantime he attends her corn, until the beans

[5] Bartram, Travels, pp. 513-515.

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not protract his consent longer than he can lay the proposal before 584
her relations of the mother's side who are counted her mutual kins- 585
men and women, in which assembly the candidate's disposition and other qualities are discust. Neither the father nor any of the woman's father's family is ever consulted in the marriage of his children, as he and they are not of the same family, since the primogenitureship of all families descends from the mother. . . . When the uncle or relation has informed the rest of his kindred or clansmen of the proposal of marriage and by whom made, and [has indicated] that he approves the proposed match the rest of the family seldom refuse their assent; there is no fuss made of fortune, position, or chattels on either side. After such consultation, if the suitor should visit their dwelling before they do him, he is informed of the family acquiescence, and the bridal bed being publicly made for the pair, there is a conclusion of the courtship and marriage. After the consummation of the marriage and he finds her in clothes, should she be the first wife formally married to him and passes the *Boss ke tah* with him she is received as his actual wife by his kinsfolks and all others. After the solemnization of the new corn feast passes over them she is bound to him in the conception of his family during life or his pleasure. . . . As polygamy is only admitted among the 595
men by the wife's consent, they use a great deal of craft to obtain it, in order to keep clear of the crime of adultery. All his later wives have to stay at their homes unless his wife should conclude with herself to let one stay with her in the house and do all the drudgery of the place as a waiting maid. By his wife's consent he can take as many wives or concubines as he chooses to maintain, but should his wife disapprove of his having a concubine and he obtain one against her will his wife's relations or clanspeople have it in their power to beat him and his concubine or second wife with sticks and cut off both their ears, after which he is separated from his wife and he has to retain the one beaten on his account. Nevertheless
he has it in his power to keep his old wife single for four years or [586]
four *Booske tahs* unless she should elope with a man and elude the vigilance of his clan to the ensuing *Booske tah*. Then she is clear of punishment for her adultery, and ever after she is finally separated from him and the control of his clanswomen." [9]

The information on this subject which Hitchcock gathered from 584
the Tukabahchee Indians contains some items not given by anyone 585
else. He says:

"A young man wishing to marry a girl to whom he has taken a fancy goes to an aunt or some near female connection of his own and tells her his wishes. She then goes to the aunt or some near connection of the girl and makes it known. This connection of the

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 21-22.

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584 girl then goes to the parents of the girl and tells the story. The
585 girl is not consulted in the case. If the parents are willing, a time for the ceremony of marriage is appointed by the connections. At the time appointed an outer house or corn crib is selected near the girl's house and a bowl of sofkee (boiled corn) is placed under the projecting shed of the crib in sight from the house, and here the girl has the privilege of exerting a veto. The girl is informed of the whole business and if she chooses to allow the man to steal up and take a spoonful of sofkee without her seeing him, it is a marriage and the parties sleep the first night in the corn crib. This has been the old custom, but is going out of use. After the ceremony the young man is not allowed to visit the house of his wife by day for the period of a month, but must visit his wife after dark and go away before day. The sofkee part of the ceremony is now generally
595 dispensed with. If a married man takes another wife, the first wife may assent to it passively or, if she chooses, she may whip the woman, but in this case she must move away and yield all her rights to the latter, who becomes the principal wife. In this way the man may take as many women as he pleases and is able to support. The wife, in the exercise of her prerogative, has a right to the assistance of her female relations and when it is exercised the ceremony is severe and makes a lasting impression. The object is to disfigure their victim and the wife uses her nails, scratches the face of the new wife, and whips her with switches. (The severity of this ceremony must exercise a considerable restraint upon both husband and women, making it necessary to consult the wife in advance in order that her assent may be assured, before her rights are encroached upon. Alexander said he knew of a case (*saw it*—and heard the language) when a wife exercised her right, saying as she laid on the lash, "You think it is honey, but I will make it vinegar before I'm done with you.")[10]

585 "Among the Creeks" (says Claiborne), "the marriage ceremony is this: The man gives the woman a piece of venison or some kind of meat, and she gives him an ear of corn in the presence of witnesses. They are then man and wife, at least until the green-corn dance. Then the married couple are released if either of them thinks proper to break the contract. In such case the woman keeps the children."[11]

584 From the accounts obtained by myself it is evident that the regular
614 marriage or "binding" was a clan (or rather exogamous group) affair and that it could be initiated by the clan of the youth or that of the girl. According to one statement the maternal uncles and cousins of a girl—i. e., the people of her clan—talked the matter over—probably at a clan council—and decided upon the young man who ap-

[10] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[11] Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 492.

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585 prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . .

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

595 "A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

181 611 836 "Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue."[14]

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.[15] It is an old ex post facto explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

583 It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

[14] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273 [15] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 21.

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596 539 to the end, so he says. I propose to provide some amusement for our women, so he says. So I enjoin upon our women that they promptly take their places; and as they understand the custom of our forebears, they are asked to carry them out on this occasion, so he says.

796 During the busk names and titles different from those ordinarily used were employed. The women were called Hōmpita haya ("food preparers"), or Tcukole'idji ("having a house"). This last term is said to have been extended also to the children—that is, it included all of those who remained in the houses instead of going to war or the chase. According to Cook it was applied in Tukabahchee only to the four women who acted as leaders in the women's dance. It was very bad form to refer to a woman or to women by the common terms. In important speeches the people of the Raccoon clan often said "I am of the Shawanogis," and this term also extended to related clans like the Potato and Fox. This applied particularly to Tukabahchee and was based on the close friendship between the Tukabahchee and the Shawnee. According to Alindja, one of the best Tukabahchee authorities, it was extended really to the whole of Tukabahchee town, the term Tciloki bringing about a separation. The Raccoon clan at Tukabahchee also called themselves Isti mikągi doiyąt ("chiefs that we are") or isti tcilokogi doiyąt ("Tcilokis that we are"). The towns often had particular busk names. The Abihka would be known as Abihka nągi, the Coweta as Kawita mahma'ya, the Kasihta as Kasihta łąko. The Okchai called themselves by that name and the almost as common term Łąlogąlga. The Okfuskee and Tulsa people called themselves Kos i'stągi ("people of Coosa"). The Pąkąn tallahassee used the word Pąkana.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

General Remarks

756 Just as among the beings and objects in nature there were certain which possessed or acquired exceptional supernatural powers, so there were certain men who were possessed of such power or were mediums for its expression. They were also versed in the powers possessed by other created things and hence were partly prophets or soothsayers and partly doctors, while some of them occupied official or semiofficial positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.[35] If this means that the female doctors were more numerous than the male he is probably incorrect, since very little is said of female doctors by anyone else, and I have heard little about them personally. Perhaps Swan had reference in part to the common practitioners,

[35] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Household

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety. 592

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (hûti) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the tcokofa. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives. [562] [591] [888]

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses. [597] [567] [595]

The Family

GENERAL REMARKS

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative 601

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[56] 567 727 597

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[56] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 211.
[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 62, 212, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 376.

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applications are frequently indicated by means of the diminutive suffix or some qualifying word, though we find that this may sometimes be omitted. In the tables which follow I have given merely the stems of the terms of relationship, but it must be understood that in actual use they never occur without the appropriate pronominal prefixes. For each of them there is an English term the use of which approaches so closely to that of the Indian that it may be employed—as I have in fact employed it—as typical of the relationship in question.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

Terms of Relationship Used by a Man

I. TERMS DETERMINED BY BIRTH

1. potca (grandfather). Applied: (1) to the father's father and the mother's father; (2) to the brothers of these, their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and their brothers; in short, to all of the male ancients of the groups from which the speaker traces his origin; (3) to the father's sister's husband and to the husbands of all her female descendants in both the male and the female lines; (4) to husbands of the more remote posi mentioned below. It was bestowed on anyone whose wife was called posi and given as an honorary term to any old man. A man called the clan (or exogamous group?) of his father's father tcapotca łáko, "my great-grandfather."

2. posi (grandmother). Applied: (1) to the father's mother and the mother's mother, sometimes distinguished as "the real posi"; (2) to the sisters and female ancestors of these individuals in the same extensive manner as was the case with the preceding term; (3) to the father's sister and all of her female descendants in both the female and the male lines; (4) to more remote female descendants of all posi on the father's side. The husbands of all women called by this term were known as potca.

3. łki (father). Applied: (1) to the father; (2) to the father's brother; (3) to the father's sister's male descendants in both male and female lines; (4) to all other male descendants of the women on the father's side who are called posi; (5) to the husband of the mother's sister; (6) to the stepfather; it carries the idea of "second father." All of these individuals except the true father are usually distinguished by having applied to them the diminutive form of this term, łkutci.

4. tcki (mother). Applied: (1) to the mother; (2) to the mother's sister; (3) to the father's brother's wife; (4) to the wives of the male descendants of the father's sister and the more remote relations upon the father's side who are known by the preceding term; (5) to the stepmother. And, as in the case of the preceding term, it usually takes the diminutive suffix in all usages except the first.

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5. pawa (uncle). Applied: (1) to the mother's brother; (2) to the older men of the mother's exogamous group and at times to the younger ones also since it is said that an old man would sometimes call a small baby thus. Each exogamous group had an "uncle" par excellence who was its leader and instructor.[51a]

According to Morgan[52] this term was also applied to the mother's mother's brother's son and to the mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son, the children and grandchildren of these individuals receiving the same terms as the children and grandchildren of the mother's own brother. It is evident that the first of these can not belong to the same exogamous group as the mother's brother, because his father belongs to that exogamous group, while the second may or may not belong to it according as his father had married into that exogamous group or into another. If Morgan's informants were correct and he made no mistake himself, this would remove almost the last term from the number of those which might have had an application coterminous with an exogamous group.

6. łaha (elder brother). Applied: (1) to the elder brother; (2) to the older male child of the father's brother; (3) to the older male child of the mother's sister; (4) to a number of men of corresponding age in the exogamous group of the speaker.

7. tcusi (younger brother). Applied like the preceding but to younger brothers and younger males of the same groups.

8. wánwa (sister). The feminine term parallel to the last two. Loughridge and Hodge[53] give wánwa for elder sister and tcuste for younger sister, but I am inclined to think that this distinction was not commonly made. According to Morgan[54] the stepsister was known by the same term.

9. kputci (son). Applied: (1) to the son; (2) to the son of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the sons of all of those called łaha or tcusi; (4) to the male children of those called pawa (uncle). The stepson was called tcàkputci haki, "like my son."

10. tchusti (daughter) (see 22). Applied: (1) to the daughter; (2) to the daughter of the elder or younger brother; (3) to the daughters of all those called łaha or tcusi; (4) to the female children of those spoken of as pawa (uncle). The stepdaughter was called tcàtchusti haki, "like my daughter."

11. hopwiwa (nephew). Applied: (1) to the sister's son; (2) to all sons of those called wánwa; (3) to the younger men of the same exogamous group more remotely related. The plural form of this term, hopwitálgi, is used for the persons constituting this category and the next taken collectively.

[51a] See pp. 129-138.
[52] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 355, 356.
[53] Loughridge and Hodge, Dictionary, entry "sister."
[54] Morgan, op. cit., p. 378.

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12. hàkpati (niece). Applied: (1) to the sister's daughter; (2) to all daughters of those called wánwa; (3) to the younger women of the same exogamous group more remotely related, and extended, it is said, not merely to all of the young women of the group but to its entire female membership.

13. osuswa (grandchild). Applied: (1) to the grandchild of either sex by persons of either sex; (2) to the grandchildren of the brothers and sisters; (3) to the grandchildren of the uncles (mother's brothers); (4) to the grandchildren of all called by the same terms as the brothers, sisters, and uncles; (5) to the descendants of all of these. In other words it seems to take in all of the coming generations generally except for the descendants of the women of the father's exogamous group and those related through it, who are all known as "little fathers," and grandmothers (posi).

II. MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS

14. hewa (wife). This term was never employed by the man himself "because it was thought that husband and wife are too closely related." Instead he usually called his wife hoktàli (old woman). Hewa, or a term very closely resembling it, was given to me as a synonym for hàtcawa (see No. 18). Morgan,[55] however, who gives it in the form ehiwā, enters it as one applied by a woman to her brother's wife and, as might have been expected, to her mother's sister's son's wife. It is perhaps significant that it then takes the possessive pronominal prefix, indicating less direct connection, while the word for wife takes the direct pronominal prefix.

15. mahe (father-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's father; (2) to his brothers and his and their male antecedents generally, as also probably to the older men of the father-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says two fathers-in-law applied the term reciprocally.

16. hoktàlwa (mother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's mother; (2) to the sisters and female antecedents of all these women, and probably to the older women of the mother-in-law's exogamous group. Morgan says that two mothers-in-law applied the term to each other. This word carries the meaning that the person so designated has become "the old woman of the house."

17. kaputci (brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's brother; (2) to the wife's sister's husband; (3) to all of the younger males related through the wife.

18. hàtcawa (sister-in-law). Applied: (1) to the wife's sister; (2) to the wife's brother's wife; (3) to all of the younger females related through the wife; (4) to the wife of the uncle (pawa) and all of those women married to the persons called uncle. According to Morgan[56] it is also used for the brother's wife instead of tcukowàki

[55] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 341, 381. [56] Ibid., p. 380.

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(kawa) and this would seem to be more natural, since in that case hátcawa would prove to be the term for all of the women married into a man's family in his own generation, while tcukowáki would be the corresponding term for all of the males. Still all my own informants disagree with Morgan on this point. As was to have been expected in any case, Morgan also applies it to the father's brother's son's wife and the mother's sister's son's wife.

19. tcukowáki (called by Morgan kawa) (sister-in-law, brother-in-law). Applied: (1) to the sister's husband; (2) according to my own informants to the brother's wife (see 18); (3) to the husbands and wives (?) of those called elder brother, younger brother, and sister; (4) to the sister's daughter's husband. It is possible that the term hátisi may sometimes have been used instead of this. In accordance with the expected we find Morgan[57] applying it to the father's brother's daughter's husband and the mother's sister's daughter's husband. The word means "he who lies down at (my) house" and thus becomes a member of my family.

20. hátisi (son-in-law, daughter-in-law). Applied: (1) to the son's wife; (2) to the daughter's husband; (3) to the wives and husbands of all of those called "sons" and "daughters."

Terms of Relationship Used by a Woman

These are the same as the terms used by a man except as below indicated:

The terms łaha and tcusi are applied to the elder sister and younger sister respectively instead of to the elder and younger brother, and they are extended to corresponding female groups. Morgan states that the former term was bestowed upon the stepsister.

21. tcilwa (brother). Applied: (1) to the brother; (2) to male children of the father's brothers and those classed with him, and to the male children of the mother's sisters and those classed with her; (3) to the stepbrother. It is the reciprocal of the purely male term wánwa.

22. tchuswa (child).[58] Applied: (1) to own children of both sexes in place of the male terms kputci and tchusti; (2) to the children of the elder sisters and younger sisters; (3) to the children of all called by the same names as the elder and younger sisters. Sometimes the sister's children and more remote relations were distinguished by the use of the diminutive suffix (tchuswutci). The stepchild was called tcátchuswa haki, "like my child."

Instead of employing separate terms for the nephew and niece, as did males, the women called them indiscriminately osuswa (grandchildren), and also gave this term to the children of the uncles (pawa).

[57] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, pp. 317, 343. [58] The word is said to be related to tcustaki, "eggs."

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Instead of applying the terms tchuswa or tchuswutci to the children of her father's brother's daughter and her mother's sister's daughter, Morgan states that a woman used the term osuswa. This is all the more remarkable as the mothers of these individuals are at the same time said to have been called by the same terms as the speaker's own sisters (łaha and tcusi). This is also given as the term for the mother's sister's daughter's children, and hence it presumably took in all of the children of those called łaha and tcusi except own sisters.

23. he (husband). A wife did not use this term herself; she called her husband "my old man."

A woman uses the same terms for her husband's father and mother that a man uses for his wife's father and mother.

24. hátcawa (brother-in-law, sister-in-law). According to my own informants, this is applied to all brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law—sister's husband, brother's wife, husband's brother, husband's sister, husband's brother's wife, and husband's sister's husband. As stated above (under 14), Morgan calls the brother's wife ehiwā, while I was told that the latter term, or one nearly like it, was synonymous with hátcawa in all of its uses. The ordinary word for wife is hewá (or haiwa).

Where sex distinctions were not connoted by the terms themselves they could be indicated by adding to any term honanwa, "male," or hokti, "female."

Supplementary Terms

25. itetcayeta, "the one next to whom I come" (or "the other brother"—Morgan[39]) may sometimes be applied to the elder brother, but it is not necessarily bestowed on blood relations. Morgan gives this as a term for the father's brother's son and also for the stepbrother.[40]

26. saitca, used to designate the men of the father's clan.

27. pitahaiálgi (-álgi plural suffix) is believed to have been applied to the female offspring of the father's brothers. This is from information furnished by the late G. W. Grayson.

28. hisitagi, a term applied to friendly clans not otherwise related.

29. hupuitagi, "children," a general term; the singular is obsolete.

30. hunapsi, "offspring."

31. istutci ("little person"), my child, referring to any single child; hokosi is a term for children in general.

32. tcipánągi, or tcibánągi, the younger men of the clan or exogamous group.

Many of these terms, especially as respects their more general applications, are now used only in jest, but anciently their use was a serious and sacred matter. The following tables present diagrammatically all of the essentials of the Creek scheme of relationship.

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[39] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity, p. 314. [40] Ibid., pp. 314, 373.

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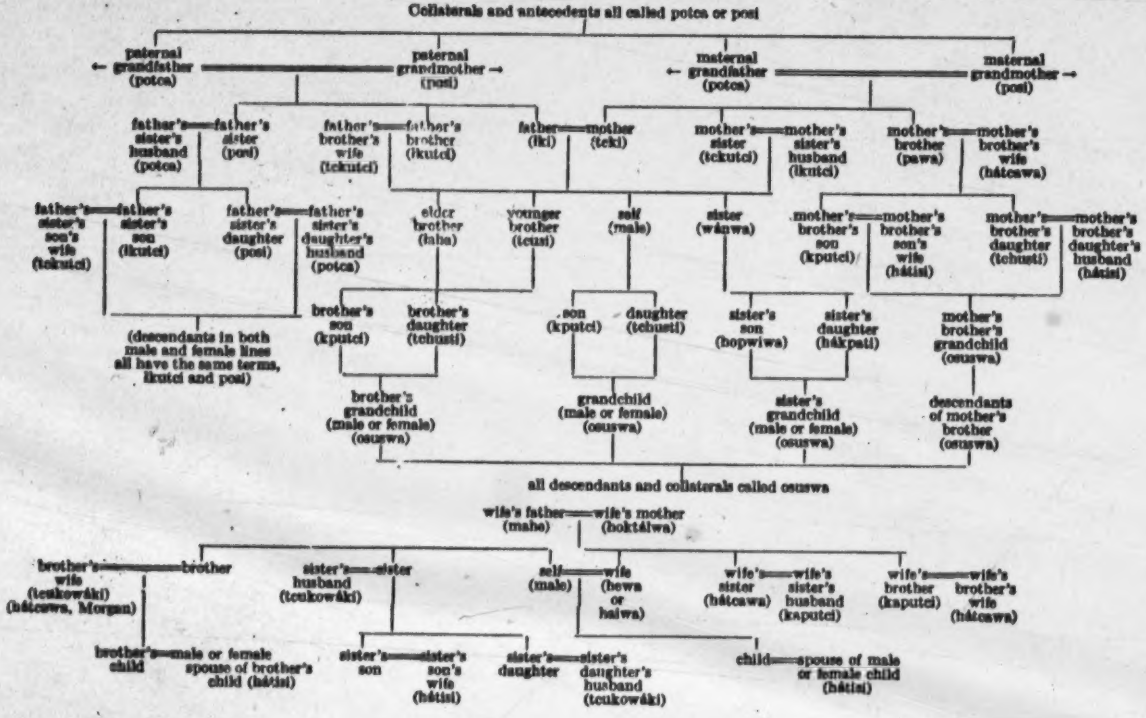
Muskogee—Self Male



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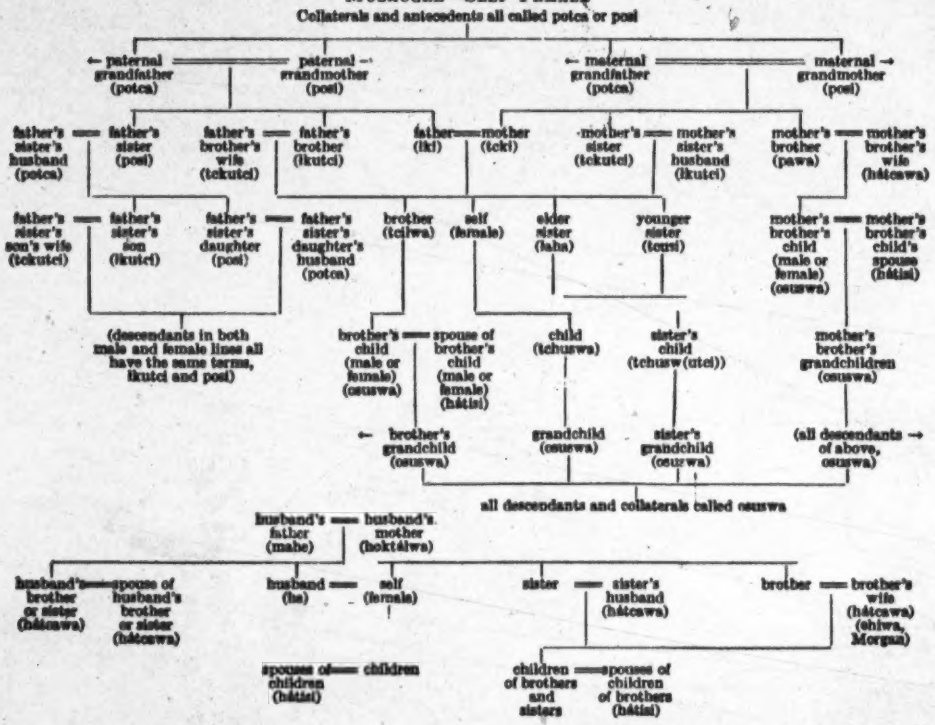
Muskogee—Self Female

Collaterals and antecedents all called potca or posi



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Almost the only attempt by an early writer to give an idea of the nature of the Muskogee terms of relationship is by Stiggins, who says: 601

"All the men of the father's clan or family are called their father, the women are generally called their grandmother, all the men of the mother's family older than themselves are their uncles, being their mother's brothers. All of their own age and under are called their brothers, and all of the old women of their mother's clan are called grandmother or aunt." [a]

This information agrees entirely with what has been presented above.

The ceremonial extension of terms of relationship to clans as a whole is also mentioned by Stiggins. We shall refer to this again when we come to speak of the clan system. 601 614

In spite of the emphasis which Stiggins places on clans in determining the application of terms of relationship, an examination of the usages assigned to them shows that all of the terms not individual (such as the ones used to designate husband and wife) cut across, or at least may cut across, the lines of the exogamous groups. This is, of course, patently true of those applied to grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild, and it is at once evident in the case of that applied to the father since it is used for all of the male descendants of the father's sister through both males and females. The term for "mother" may be bestowed upon a woman not of the mother's clan because it is given to the wives of the father's sister's male descendants, apparently without any clan limitations. Again, if we may trust Morgan, the term "uncle," the mother's brother, is used for the mother's mother's brother's son who can not be of the same exogamous group as the mother's brother. "Brother" and "sister" are used, not only for the children of all of those called "mothers," who are of the same exogamous group, but for the children of those called "fathers," who may be of several distinct groups. The terms for the sister's children are not determined by clan lines because they may be used for the children of the father's brother's daughter. Still less is there an absolute association of the terms resulting from marriage and the exogamous divisions.

It is evident, in other words, that the determining factor in the use of these terms is the relation which the several persons to whom they are applied bears to self, not the relation which they bear to his clan or exogamous group. It is evident, also, that terms are applied to a class for the most part because the individuals composing it are connected with some individual, or small group of individuals, having special significance for the speaker. That this extension of the term is secondary is shown clearly in many cases by the employment of the diminutive suffix which evidently indicates greater remoteness in 601 602

[a] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

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Muskogee;
Hitchiti; Koasati

601 602 the connection. The łki or łkutci are connected with self through the primary łki or father; or because, through marriage, they have been brought in line with other łki. Much the same is true of the other relationships, and it becomes particularly obvious when we examine the associations due to marriage. The "typical" relations for a man appear to be: potca, grandfather; posi, grandmother; łki, father; tcki, mother; pawa, maternal uncle; łahą, elder brother; tcusi, younger brother; wànwa, sister; kputci, son; tchusti, daughter; hopwiwa, sister's son (or daughter); hàkpati, sister's daughter; osuswa, grandchild; mahe, father-in-law; hoktàlwa, mother-in-law; hàtcawa, sister-in-law; kaputci, wife's brother; tcukowaki, sister's husband; hàtisi, spouse of child. The typical relations for a woman are the same except that the terms used by a man for elder brother and younger brother she applies to her elder and younger sisters, while she has a term, tcilwa, not employed by a man, for all of her brothers, and one term, tchuswa, for a child of either sex. Hàtcawa has a wider extension, and, according to Morgan, a new term, ehiwa, is used for the brother's wife, perhaps a mere modification of the word "wife" itself; kaputci is not employed. The tie between an individual and his mother's people is certainly far closer than that between him and his father's people, but the fact is not reflected in the terms of relationship to the extent one would anticipate.

601 184 Although no doubt the terms of relationship employed by the various tribes incorporated into the Creek confederacy differed somewhat not only in the forms of the words but in application it is to be suspected that, as we have them to-day, they have been brought into conformity with Muskogee usage. This should be found particularly the case with Hitchiti and to a somewhat less degree with Koasati and Alabama.

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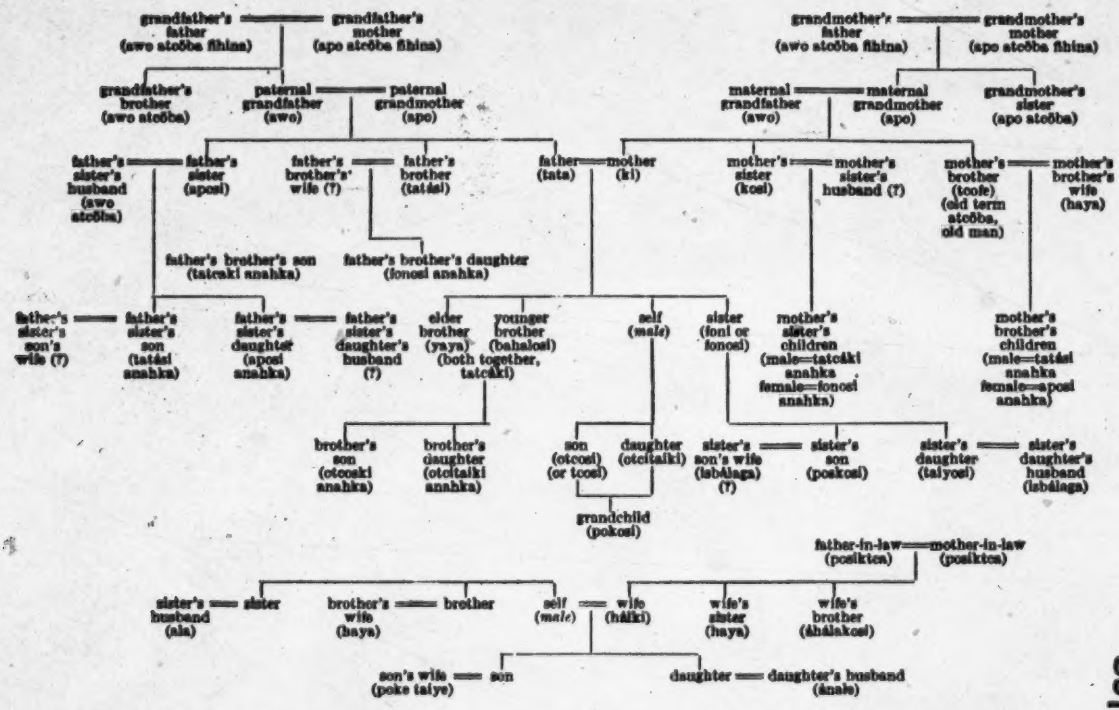
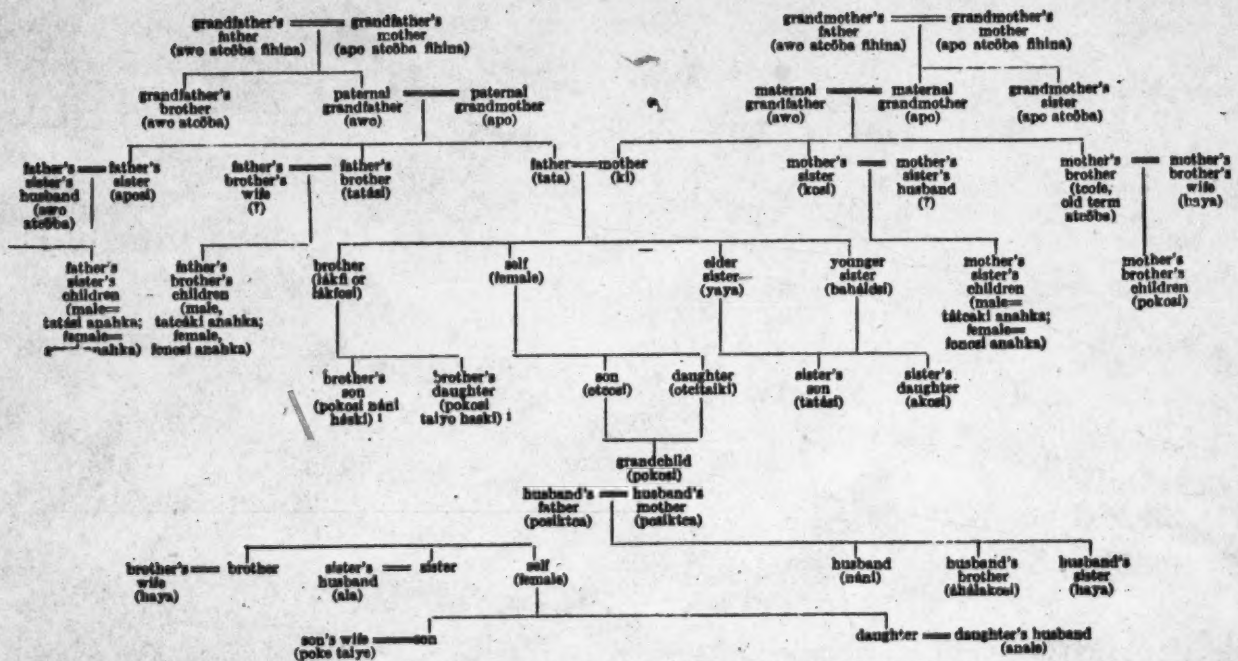
The following diagram illustrates the Koasati terms of relationship, as they were obtained by me at the Koasati village in Louisiana:

KOASATI—SELF MALE



109

KOASATI—SELF FEMALE



1 Called sometimes anlakfosi otcosi to indicate to a stranger that they are not own grandchildren.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama
Natchez NO8 91

Most of the apparent differences between the Muskogee and Koasati systems disappear on closer examination, but a few divergencies are left which are rather striking. Thus Muskogee males call the children of the mother's brother by the same terms as the children of the own brother, while the Koasati give to them the terms employed for the father's sister's children. Again, the Muskogee have but one term for son-in-law and daughter-in-law, while the Koasati have a term for each. C. 184 601

So far as I have been able to determine, the Alabama system closely resembles that of the Koasati, but the words employed differ somewhat. These differences are as follows: Grandfather, fosi; maternal uncle, mosi; father's sister, tcipo; elder brother of man and elder sister of woman, tcatci; younger brother of man and younger sister of woman, bâhlo; daughter, ostaiki. Also, ânale (or onali) is used for both the son-in-law and the daughter-in-law, so that Alabama resembles Muskogee in this respect more than it does Koasati. In direct address an Alabama child calls its mother pitci. C. 601

A few Natchez terms of relationship were recorded by Albert Pike, Mrs. Robertson, and Dr. A. S. Gatschet from individuals belonging to those Natchez living among the Muskogee, but the more complete list obtained by the writer was secured from an Indian of the Cherokee branch of the tribe. No differences in usage have been observed between the two sections. N. 601

From the narratives of Du Pratz and other early writers we know that the ancient Natchez organization was highly complex and a considerable development of the relationship terminology was to have been expected. What has come down to us resembles in essentials the systems of the surrounding tribes, but there are a few peculiar features and some supplementary terms which suggest greater complexity in the past. The explanations which I obtained for some of these Natchez terms are contradictory, due no doubt in part to the fact that they were transmitted through a Cherokee interpreter, but most of them may be straightened out by reference to the other Muskhogean systems. In the following list I have numbered them so as to conform as nearly as possible to the numbers in the lists already given.

Terms of Relationship Used by a Man

1. dedex (grandfather). Applied to the grandfather on either side.

2. icdu, yecdu, yecta, necte (grandmother). Applied to the grandmother on either side, and to the father's sister. From the variant forms it is possible that the one used for the father's sister may have been slightly different from that used for the grandmother, but I think not. The secondary applications were probably like those in the other southeastern languages, though whether of the Muskogee or the Chickasaw type it would be impossible to say.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Natchez N08

N. 601 171 C. 601 171

In its main outlines this is like the better known systems already described.* There are, however, two or three divergencies which would perhaps be of importance if we could be assured of the reliability of our data. One of these was the use of terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister having no etymological connection with the words for own father and own mother; another the employment by a woman of a term for elder sister distinct from the term used by a man for his elder brother. There is not a trace of the first of these anomalies in Cherokee any more than in the common Muskhogean tongues. Cherokee and ordinary Muskhogean usage do indeed diverge in applying terms to the brothers and sisters, but Natchez agrees with neither. Among the Cherokee there is one reciprocal term applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. A man has distinct terms for elder brother and younger brother, neither of which is, indeed, used by the woman, but, unlike Natchez, she has only one term for all of her sisters.

C. 601 619

When we come to the discussion of clans we shall find that terms of relationship, particularly the terms "uncle" and "nephew," were sometimes applied to clans taken as a whole (see pp. 145–149). They were also extended to towns and foreign tribes. Thus Tukabahchee has frequently been called "the mother town" (tálwa itcki), an appellation shared also by Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, and Otciapofa. Malatchi, head chief of the Creeks about the middle of the eighteenth century and probably a Kasihta Indian, speaks of the Chickasaw as his "younger brothers" and himself as their "elder brother."[62] McGillivray informed Barton that the Cherokee had been longer in the east than the Creeks and therefore called the latter their "younger brothers."[63] Like so many other tribes, the Creeks called the Delaware Indians their "grandfathers" and they were called "grandchildren" by both Delaware and Shawnee.[64] Schoolcraft, who gives this information, also adds: "Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known; but by some it is."[64] The French were formerly said to be the "fathers" of the southern Indians, and at the present day the same term is applied to the Americans.

C. 601

The examination of these systems of relationship, particularly that of the Muskogee, makes it evident that they are based upon essentially the same factors as our own—blood, marriage, sex, relative age, social contact—although the fourth item has much greater prominence. To these the influence of the artificial exogamous group must be added, but it can not be too strongly emphasized that this factor merely gives a certain twist to a system by no means de-

[62] Bossenworth's Ms. Journal, p. 89. [64] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, 1, p. 288.
[63] Barton, New Views, p. xlv.

*[See pp. 79-97, category 116. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Chickasaw NN9

pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

Cr. 601 ●
Cr. [611]

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

Cr. 171 551

The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

Ch. 171 551

"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Choola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'[66] The father and mother of the former are called *Choollingge*, and *Choollishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahlishke*; for *Ingge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . ."[67]

Ch. 551

"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

Ch. 551 727

[66] The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 26.

[67] Adair, op. cit., p. 191.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

Almost the only attempt by an early writer to give an idea of the nature of the Muskogee terms of relationship is by Stiggins, who says: 601

"All the men of the father's clan or family are called their father, the women are generally called their grandmother, all the men of the mother's family older than themselves are their uncles, being their mother's brothers. All of their own age and under are called their brothers, and all of the old women of their mother's clan are called grandmother or aunt." [a]

This information agrees entirely with what has been presented above.

The ceremonial extension of terms of relationship to clans as a whole is also mentioned by Stiggins. We shall refer to this again when we come to speak of the clan system. 601 614

In spite of the emphasis which Stiggins places on clans in determining the application of terms of relationship, an examination of the usages assigned to them shows that all of the terms not individual (such as the ones used to designate husband and wife) cut across, or at least may cut across, the lines of the exogamous groups. This is, of course, patently true of those applied to grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild, and it is at once evident in the case of that applied to the father since it is used for all of the male descendants of the father's sister through both males and females. The term for "mother" may be bestowed upon a woman not of the mother's clan because it is given to the wives of the father's sister's male descendants, apparently without any clan limitations. Again, if we may trust Morgan, the term "uncle," the mother's brother, is used for the mother's mother's brother's son who can not be of the same exogamous group as the mother's brother. "Brother" and "sister" are used, not only for the children of all of those called "mothers," who are of the same exogamous group, but for the children of those called "fathers," who may be of several distinct groups. The terms for the sister's children are not determined by clan lines because they may be used for the children of the father's brother's daughter. Still less is there an absolute association of the terms resulting from marriage and the exogamous divisions.

It is evident, in other words, that the determining factor in the use of these terms is the relation which the several persons to whom they are applied bears to self, not the relation which they bear to his clan or exogamous group. It is evident, also, that terms are applied to a class for the most part because the individuals composing it are connected with some individual, or small group of individuals, having special significance for the speaker. That this extension of the term is secondary is shown clearly in many cases by the employment of the diminutive suffix which evidently indicates greater remoteness in 601 602

[a] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee;
Hitchiti; Koasati

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The following diagram illustrates the Koasati terms of relationship, as they were obtained by me at the Koasati village in Louisiana:

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

602 614 Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based upon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

614 825 688 A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[56a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[57]

[522] Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[58] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

614 825

[56a] See p. 112. [57] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 113.
[58] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 13.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [88] 861 609

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [88a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community. 593 604 614 622

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors. 861

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead. 515 855

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tcikteikáno' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

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[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 413.

[88a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 34-35.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house [592 owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the .606] husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

171 When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find 361 that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

342 "The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of 344 all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a 622 particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong." [66]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[66] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Adair and Swan both remark on the apparent coldness exhibited by a married couple on meeting after a long separation. Adair says: 593

"I shall give an instance of this [incapability for lasting affection]. If the husband has been a year absent on a visit to another nation, and should by chance overtake his wife near home, with one of his children skipping along side of her; instead of those sudden and strong emotions of joy that naturally arise in two generous breasts at such an unexpected meeting, the self-interested pair go along as utter strangers, without seeming to take the least notice of one another, till a considerable time after they get home." [95]

Swan says:

"When a man meets his wife and children, after the absence of some months, in which time she has not heard a word from him, it is with a perfect seeming indifference. Perhaps the first word spoken will be—So, you have got back again, I see. He answers—Yes. She may then reply—Momuscha [Mohmistca]—i. e., Very well—and there ends the conversation. The man reserves the tale of his adventures, to be told to his other friends over a cup of black drink the next morning, at the square; and there it is retailed, in a tedious, circumlocutory conversation of many hours." [96]

As I have explained in another connection this "coldness" was principally etiquette and custom rather than native character.

The terms for "husband" and "wife" were not used by a married couple, because it was thought a married pair were too nearly connected to employ anything so formal. If they had to use any expression it would be "my old man" or "my old woman."

A man would not speak to his mother-in-law nor a woman to her father-in-law, or vice versa. They communicated through the wife or the husband. One of these tabooed couples would go a long way around to avoid meeting the other, and it was thought that if they did speak to each other or even touch each other they would itch all over. In speaking about such a person the other used the dual number. This information was obtained particularly from the Alabama in Texas. Chickasaw custom was about the same. 606

The usage may have differed among the constituent tribes of the Confederacy, however, for one of the best living authorities on old Creek customs (1924) declares that there was no regulation of "bashfulness" in force between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and that the only time when the latter avoided his mother-in-law was for about a week before and a week after his marriage because he was actually bashful.

If the Indians have friendly dealings with you they always want to associate you with them in some way, particularly by giving you sofki or other food, as has happened several times in my own case. 571

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.

[96] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274-275.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atàsà). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

"'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. [609] And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilàlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

619 "The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[48]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[48] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.[1] 173 539

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death." [178

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Łapłáko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis- 173 177 609 648

[1] [Cf. cat 11b, p. 74 -- Analyst]

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possessed by these newcomers. Another informant said that the Indians were believed to have come out of the earth, and therefore they own it and are to go back into it. The white people, on the other hand, were created later out of the foam of the sea. They first begged to put one foot on shore to rest themselves a little, and the Indians consented, but afterward the newcomers complained that it was tiresome to stand on but one foot and they asked to be allowed to set the other ashore. This also was granted. Next, the whites wanted to buy from the Indians as much land as could be covered with a hide, and when the Indians agreed they cut the hide into strips and made it surround a large area. In this way the Indians were gradually dispossessed. The Indians were also given a prophecy at that time to the effect that the whites would come and preach to them and the preaching would move westward.

Here we have the famous "cowhide purchase" myth, which dates back as far at least as Virgil, reinjected into Indian thought, apparently from a modern schoolbook. The most remarkable interweaving of schoolbook and other latter-day elements into a kind of Indian neo-philosophy is, however, the following from a decidedly reactionary Creek of Hilibi town:

"When Columbus reached America the first thing he saw was an eagle with a bunch of arrows in one claw and some leaves in the other. The arrows had been shot by the Indians and the eagle had caught them. Then Columbus and his people landed, but, being at first unable to open communication with the natives on account of their shyness, they resorted to a stratagem. They set a barrel of whisky ashore, laid a cane by it, and then withdrew. Afterward the Indians found the barrel and got drunk so that the white people were enabled to capture one of them. The rest managed to get away. They took the man they had captured and taught him "English" and through him they gradually became acquainted with the rest. Then they began to make treaties. To illustrate the gradual encroachments of the newcomers and how they dispossessed the Indians the following parable is told. Seventy Indian chiefs sat on a log which had fallen toward the west, and every time the whites came to make a treaty with them they would move up on it a little. They kept hitching up until at last the end man was shoved off. Then he said: 'There it is. I told you that is what you would do with me.' The white people induced them to make a treaty granting them as much ground as could be covered with a cowhide, and afterward they cut the hide into strips and treated them in the way already related. More white people kept coming and trouble arose, so that part had to go back. The remainder, however, promised that they would treat the Indians right as long as the streams ran and the water lasted."

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This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say: 173 177 609 648

"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.' "

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

Prophecies Regarding the Fate of the Indians

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse 773

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNl1 Creek NNl1

614 171 One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tápàsàná', with that for daddy-longlegs, tápohsàlà. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

615 It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogàlgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcàlgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogàlgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

[609 789]

The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanàlgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanàlgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 156.
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 156; vol. II, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[55] 567 727 597

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[56] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 211.
[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 42, 212, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 376.

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Muskogee

621 619 177 [609] one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[14] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable

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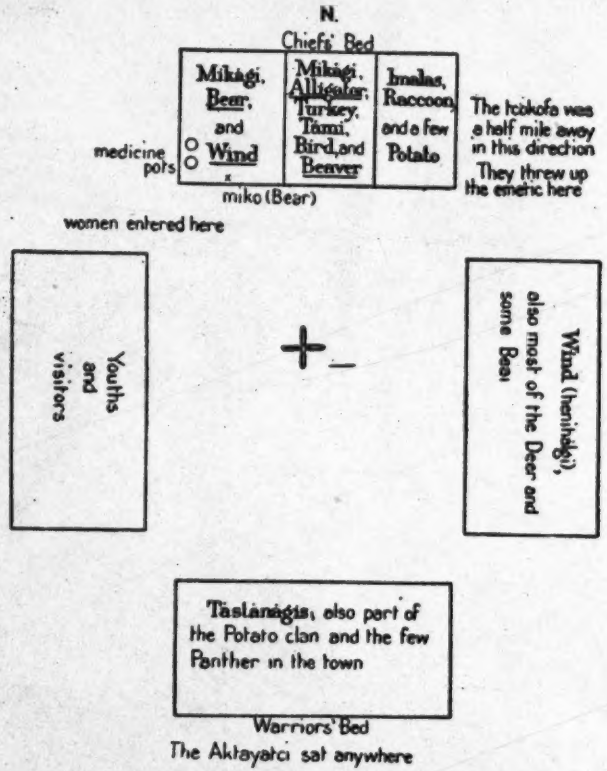

FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

621 619 Jackson Lewis used the name Tâlwa mikâgi for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 329.

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these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also, in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfus-

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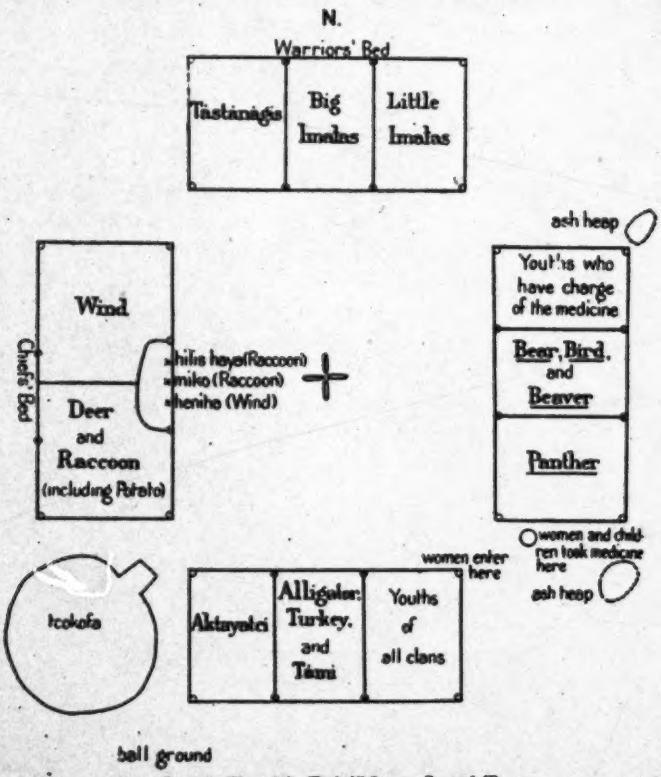

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (I)

kee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered into against each other and their antithetical peace and war functions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

609 was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite
619 those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually
calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such
621 invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent.
Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

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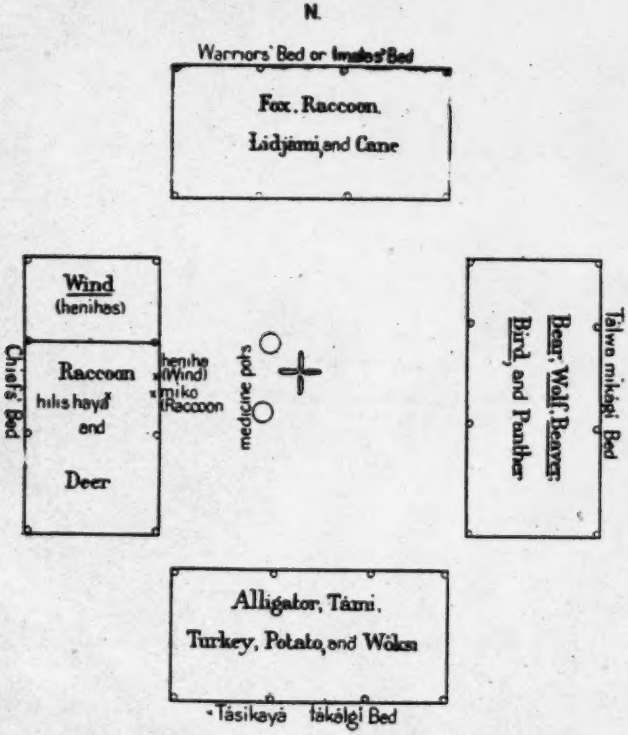

FIG. 53.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

609 Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were
619 known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bar-
621 tram,[17] and Adair[18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that
778 human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 387.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

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Muskogee

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event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[18a] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

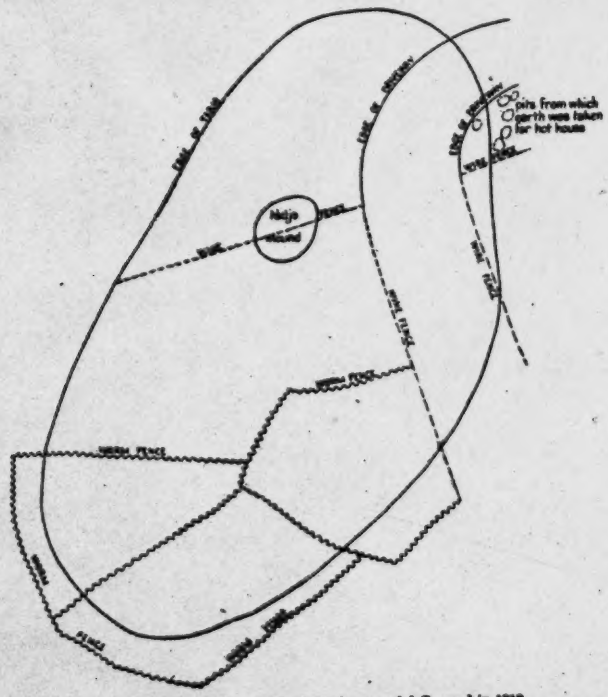

FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kesledji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly." [19]

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[18a] Bartram, Travels, pp. 387-389.

[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 130.

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861 The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was [751] inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

861 Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping
622 of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:

"It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an [838] opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [tcihaksi kánia he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Haksinna* [tcihaksina], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [tciabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"[88]

861 In another place the same writer remarks that in his time chil-
•609 dren who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156-157.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [88]

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [89a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikàno' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 412.
[89a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.
[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 34-35.

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Muskogee

344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
621 marry outside of third cousins.

The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game,
796 the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town.

The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

177 He added:

● 609 We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

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Chickasaw NN9

pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

Cr. 601
Cr. [611]

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

Cr. 171 551
Ch. 171 551

The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

Ch. 551

"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Cheola*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'[a] The father and mother of the former are called *Choellingge*, and *Choellishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahlishke;* for *Ingge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . ."[b]

Ch. 551 727

"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

[a] The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 56.
[b] Adair, op. cit., p. 191.

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

585 prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . .

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

595 "A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

181 "Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of
•611 chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be
836 impossible to trace the right by the male issue."[14]

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.[15] It is an old ex post facto explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

583 It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

[14] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273 [15] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 31.

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Muskogee

Almost the only attempt by an early writer to give an idea of the nature of the Muskogee terms of relationship is by Stiggins, who says: 601

"All the men of the father's clan or family are called their father, the women are generally called their grandmother, all the men of the mother's family older than themselves are their uncles, being their mother's brothers. All of their own age and under are called their brothers, and all of the old women of their mother's clan are called grandmother or aunt." [a]

This information agrees entirely with what has been presented above.

The ceremonial extension of terms of relationship to clans as a whole is also mentioned by Stiggins. We shall refer to this again when we come to speak of the clan system. 601 614

In spite of the emphasis which Stiggins places on clans in determining the application of terms of relationship, an examination of the usages assigned to them shows that all of the terms not individual (such as the ones used to designate husband and wife) cut across, or at least may cut across, the lines of the exogamous groups. This is, of course, patently true of those applied to grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild, and it is at once evident in the case of that applied to the father since it is used for all of the male descendants of the father's sister through both males and females. The term for "mother" may be bestowed upon a woman not of the mother's clan because it is given to the wives of the father's sister's male descendants, apparently without any clan limitations. Again, if we may trust Morgan, the term "uncle," the mother's brother, is used for the mother's mother's brother's son who can not be of the same exogamous group as the mother's brother. "Brother" and "sister" are used, not only for the children of all of those called "mothers," who are of the same exogamous group, but for the children of those called "fathers," who may be of several distinct groups. The terms for the sister's children are not determined by clan lines because they may be used for the children of the father's brother's daughter. Still less is there an absolute association of the terms resulting from marriage and the exogamous divisions.

It is evident, in other words, that the determining factor in the use of these terms is the relation which the several persons to whom they are applied bears to self, not the relation which they bear to his clan or exogamous group. It is evident, also, that terms are applied to a class for the most part because the individuals composing it are connected with some individual, or small group of individuals, having special significance for the speaker. That this extension of the term is secondary is shown clearly in many cases by the employment of the diminutive suffix which evidently indicates greater remoteness in 601 602

[a] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

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551 Another feminine name, said to be very ancient, was recovered by Mr. Grayson and bestowed upon one of his own children. This name, Tsianīna, can not now be interpreted. Two other names, Tsinī'a, "peeping," and Mitiwō'hli, which probably means "turning around," were given me by Mrs. Grayson.

The following feminine names were collected by Doctor Gatschet:

Fik'-huya'hni, "Heart passing by, about, or around."
Isa-usāi'ki (?) or Sahusāi'ki, "One left (in war) with it."
Mihi'li, "One who likes somebody."
Setakha'hgi, "(Fighting) in a line."
Simihi'li, "One getting attached to someone" (this may, perhaps, be used for a man).

Among the Alabama of Texas the war names have long since passed out of use, and most of the young people do not have Indian names of any sort, while the meanings of those still preserved are not known. Following is a partial list of Alabama names:

MEN

Atcuwai'tcī.
Cī'málokai'tcī'.
Cīmatátáhge'.
Ciyupī'ti.
Conaftī'tci.
Cowai'yi.
Ē'lawēhtcī.
Holētke'.
Homalē'htcī.
Kałáne'.
Kocpō'.
Kone'.
Lone'.
Pā'djo.
Pahe'tcā.
Patábi'.
Sī'late.
Sīnłáhe'.
Táfolo'hkē.
Takohtcī.
Tcai'iki.
Tcáke'.
Tcámba'.
Tcawē'hkī.
Tīkbábe'.
Tola'na.
Wai'hke.
Yága'hpi.
Yáhe'tcī.
Yaiyī'.

WOMEN

Apīho'yē.
Awágahe'.
Cámho'.
Cīma'goiho'dji.
Cokyûhki.
Fála'iki.
Mocai'tcī'.
Nocai'hki.
Okō'sī.
Pa'lusī.
Sa'háwe'.
Sīhoma'hki.
So'fiki.
Tcûkla'hte.
Yûlho'hki.

551 554 614 Busk names should rather be called titles. In former days they were ordinarily given only on account of warlike exploits, especially the taking of scalps, but, as I have noted elsewhere, they could sometimes be secured by obtaining eagle feathers or killing many deer. In a few cases such titles were conferred upon women.[77] Each clan

[77] See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42; however, in an unpublished Hitchiti story collected by Doctor Gatschet, in recognition for a deed of heroism which one woman performed, a busk title was conferred, not on her but on her son.

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had its own set of titles which were given to new aspirants after the death of the former holders. If at any time the titles belonging to a clan were entirely exhausted a name could be borrowed from the clan of the aspirant's father, but after the death of the holder it would revert to the clan from which it had been taken. 551 554 614

These titles usually contained two words, of which the second was commonly hadjo, fiksiko, yahola, imala, tástánągi, or miko. The last three belonged properly to certain classes of functionaries to be described elsewhere, but in some towns they seem to have become hereditary in the clans; at least this is definitely affirmed for the term tástánągi. It has frequently been reported that these titles were bestowed in a certain order. Thus one of my own informants said that a man would probably be given first a name containing hadjo, next one with imala, and finally one with tástánągi. Another gave the order as hadjo, tástánągi, and miko. Most of this is explained, however, by the fact that the names imala, tástánągi, and miko were applied to officials. Nevertheless there seems to have been some tendency to use a name containing hadjo first and one with yahola later on. These two, together with fiksiko, are called "common names," which here mean merely that they did not carry official positions with them. Hadjo means "mad," "crazy," but more particularly "furious in battle." Fiksiko means "no heart," "heartless." Yahola refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it. Originally it may have been restricted to a class of criers but later it became "common." The tendency of these names to become "common" in course of time explains why Speck was told that hadjo, fiksiko, imala, and yahola were all of equal rank.[79] 551 554 622

The first word in the title was derived from various sources, but there were two principal kinds. The most important set was based on the name of the totem animal, and in most cases it was the simple name of the animal itself, not a mere reference to it. Names of this kind were usually bestowed only upon persons belonging to clans having the same name, but sometimes they were allowed to those whose fathers belonged to that clan. Another considerable set was taken from names of tribes or towns, particularly those which composed the Creek confederacy. Sometimes they preserved the names of tribes or towns that otherwise would have been forgotten On the other hand the names of Kán hátki, Okchai, Pakan tallahassee, Otciapofa, and Alabama seem not to have been used, or if so only rarely. Only a few cases of the use of the name of Muklasa can be recalled. It may be added that the name of the Toad clan, Sábáktálgi, also seems not to have been used. Jackson Lewis said that the non- 551 554 614

[79] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. ii, p. 117.

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551 554 614 totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

551 554 622 Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tástánągi and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imała łákągi was always called Imała yahola, the leader of the tástánągągi Tástánák tcápko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tástánągi, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Ahá'łák tástánągi, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti átca'gągi (abbreviated into I'sti tcagągi) [786] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

553 614 796 The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson [571] Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

[786] See pp. 301-308.

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Figiya, probably meaning "to shake or tremble," a Chiaha war-chief living in 1733.

Hammitci, called "Old Hammitci of Sutchapoka," probably Old Hammitci of Lutcapoga.

Hopailtci, "One going to a distance" from houses, etc.

Imistisigo, "Man who has no men" following him, a chief who fought against the Americans after the time of the Revolution.

Lamhi tcati, "Red Eagle," said to have been the name of William Weatherford, leader of the hostile Creeks in the Creek-American war.

Lifagi, "One who punches (or stamps)" with his feet alternately, the name of a Creek chief who went to Texas at an early period.

Mikonopi, or Miko unapa, "Chief on top of all" chiefs, the head-chief of the Seminole during the Seminole war.

Mitikayi, "Pushing down," a war-chief of the Oconee.

Opototache (or Long Side), an Indian of Big Tulsa who signed the Treaty of 1790.

Stimafatcki, from afâtiki, "glad"; a signer of the Treaty of 1790.

Stimala'tci (shortened into Mala'tci or "Malachee"), "One coming into something of his own" (?), a famous head chief of the Lower Creeks.

Suta-milla, "Pointing toward the sky," a Chiaha war captain in 1733.

Tamodjâidji, "Who makes one (bird) fly(?)," the famous Tomochichi.

Timpuitci, "Coming near," Creek name of the Yuchi chief Timpuchee Barnard.

Tuwidjedji, a chief of the Oconee Indians.

Parents sometimes took their names from their children, but in that case they did not give up their earlier names. Mr. McCombs told me of a case in which a woman adopted the names of three of her children in succession. The oldest, whose name she had taken, having died, she assumed the name of the next younger, and, that one dying some time later, she adopted the name of the third.

Clans, Phratries, and Moieties

NATIVE EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR ORIGIN

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The clan origin stories of the Creeks were of two kinds—stories attempting to account for the origin of the clan system as a whole and stories dealing with the creation of new clans.

Sometimes these last merely profess to explain how the exogamous prohibition between two linked clans came to be broken down and hence are not origin stories in the true sense of the term, but there is no clear line of demarcation between these and stories accounting for the existence of entirely new clans. If we could place any reliance upon these myths it would be easy to account for this confusion by considering that in all probability in many of them the name subsequently applied to the new clan would be assumed as having been already in existence.

In connection with the cutting apart of an exogamous group the expression is applied, "their fire (or light) was put out." Either this refers to a common myth told to account for these separations

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or the myth itself has originated from the expression. I have heard it in several different places and in much the same form, which is as follows:

"A man and a woman belonging to different clans or groups happened to meet at some place away from the villages and decided that their proper relations towards each other should be those of brother and sister, of course in the Indian sense. Late one night, however, after they had been camping together for some time, the woman took a torch and went after water. The man followed her, extinguished her torch, and had intercourse with her. As they could no longer be brother and sister their clans or groups thereafter came to be considered distinct."

In Hilibi there was a story like this about a man and a woman of the Alligator and Turkey clans. When it was discovered what had taken place the people held a council and decided that henceforth these two clans should be one up to midnight but that at that time "their light should be put out" and they should be separate. The same thing happened in the case of some men and women of the Potato and Raccoon clans while they were watching the cornfields and their light was "put out" in consequence. Claim is made that these events were of recent occurrence in Hilibi but evidently the myth above related has merely been given a local application.

Formerly it is claimed that the Łidjámi were one people with the Fox, Potato, and Raccoon, but an event of the same sort as that narrated above having occurred, a council was summoned which debated whether the penalties usual in such cases should be inflicted. They decided, however, that there was perhaps some occult reason for this particular infringement of the law and ruled that in future the Łidjámi should be considered akin to the other clans only until noon.

Okusky Miller, head man of the square ground of Chiaha Seminole, claimed that the Raccoon and Fox "put out their fire" as in the preceding cases. The offense was overlooked on the ground that the Fox is "a roustabout who can not be prevented from rambling around at night at will." It was determined that the two clans should be considered one in the daytime but distinct at night.

According to Kasihta yahola, an old man of Łapłáko, the Turkey, Bird, Beaver, and Alligator were anciently one clan but became incestuous and separated. He had the same story to tell of the separation of the Raccoon and Potato people in Tukabahchee as that given by the Hilibi Indians.

Of an intermediate type is the following story related by a Hilibi Indian on the authority of an old man "now (1912) long dead."

"The people of a certain Creek town came out of a mountain cave. At the mouth of this cave was a root extending across it in such a manner that egress was to be had on either side, and half of the

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people emerged on one side, half on the other side. Those who came out on one side were the Aktayatci; those who came out on the other the Woksi. A part of the Aktayatci, who were behind the others, had horns, and for this reason those who had first emerged closed the hole in the mountain, shutting them in permanently.

"After the Aktayatci had gotten out they said 'We are the Potato people (Ahalaki),' presumably because of their origin. One of their women met a man in the outside world who said to her 'I belong to the Mud-potato people (Aha akliwahi),' and she gave him in return the new name which her people had adopted. 'Why,' they said, 'our names are nearly the same; we must be kindred.' When it was dark the woman lighted a fagot, and went to the creek after water. Then the same thing happened as in the cases already mentioned, and they said to each other: 'Our relationship is entirely ruined. Hereafter we must be enemies.' In consequence the Ahalaki and Aktayatci are said to be akin until noon and after that time no kin at all."

The actual origin of a new clan, not merely the further separation of already existing clans, is claimed as having resulted from the actions of two persons of opposite sex belonging to the Toad clan. It happened that the male offender was very much beloved, and the council summoned to determine what was to be done agreed that the thing was probably fated, and they erected a new clan for the woman which they called the Mole clan. It is true that the Mole and Toad usually formed an exogamous group, but this was not always the case, and if we were to allow ourselves to speculate we might suppose that a tradition of relationship, even though of a relationship which had been broken down, might give rise to a feeling of repugnance toward marriage between the two clans which would result in practically reestablishing the former exogamy.[365]

In this last story an important feature to be noted is the influence exercised by the personal popularity of one of the offenders on the collective decision. It is, of course, no new experience in human affairs that the esteem in which a lawbreaker or reformer is held has a pronounced bearing on his subsequent treatment and the success of his action. Indeed, it was presented to me as a thing known to have taken place on several occasions that a man had had sexual relations with a woman belonging to a part of his clan marked off in some way from the rest, or which he claimed to be so marked off, gave her a separate clan designation, and—especially if he were a person of standing—succeeded in having his arrangements accepted by the community. It was claimed that many of the smaller clans—among which were also mentioned the Eagle and Fish—had had just such an origin.

[365] See also p. 149.

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Of an entirely different type is the following trivial tale which pretends to account for the separation between the Bear and the Wolf:

"There were two old women who were sisters, each having a great number of children and grandchildren. One time one sister said to the other: 'We have been together a long time and have many children; I will go this way.' The other said, 'And I will go this way.' All the children of the first were Wolves; the children of the second were Bears."

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Regarding the origin of clanship itself, which is practically bound up with the origin of several of the larger clans, such as the Wind, Bear, Panther, Raccoon, Alligator, and Deer, there are several stories, some simple, some more complex, but all we have left is evidently only a fragment of the original mass of lore on the subject. While I was told, as a matter of common report, by certain very good informants that the people of each clan were descended from the totem animal,[87] such a suggestion is almost always lacking in the myths dealing with the subject, as, for instance, the Wolf-Bear myth just related. According to Legus Perryman, each clan, or, rather, each exogamous division, was descended from an eponymous female ancestor called Bird-woman, Panther-woman, etc. The female ancestor of the Bear clan was not, however, named from the common black bear, but from one called the Howling or Whooping Bear. The people now identify it either with the grizzly bear or the polar bear.

Doctor Speck's Tuskegee informant said that clans were "created in the beginning by the Master of Breath, deriving their animal characteristics from certain traits displayed by beings as they passed in review before him. He enjoined them not to marry their own kind lest they die out, and since that time they have observed the exogamous principle."[88]

A Coweta Indian stated that in the beginning human beings and animals were coming across the ocean in a gar-skin boat. On the way the human beings named themselves after the different animals. One said "I belong to the Panther family," another, "I belong to the Bird family," and so on. They kept on this way until they were about to land, when all of the animals were used up. One man remained, however, and they said to him, "To what clan will you belong?" He answered, "To the clan of that which you hear making a noise above my head." He referred to the wind humming overhead, and therefore his family came to be called the Wind clan. According to another informant the people formerly came to a body of water,

[87] The descent of the Wind clan was explained by saying that it came from the Skunk, the Skunk clan being a branch of the Wind. Also see Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

[88] Speck, in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

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and they jumped into it one after the other As they did so one said, "I'll be a Bird;" another, "I'll be a Bear;" and so on. In accordance with still another legend, people came out from a cavern in the earth, and as they emerged a man standing at the entrance bestowed their various clan designations. In fact, they seem to have been in animal forms or to have been accompanied by animals, for it is related that when the Beaver appeared he plunged into a near-by pond, and on a tree by the bank the Bird was sitting. Then the Bear came out so fast that he slid on into the water where was the Beaver. That is how the clans so named came to be together as Whites.[88a]

The association of the White clans in this manner brings us to a series of stories which seem to be versions of some common myth detailing the origin of at least a part of the major clans. A man belonging to Eufaula Hobaji said that, according to the story he had heard, in the ancient times people were sitting about in groups enveloped in darkness. When light began to break in upon them they caught sight of animals, first one, then another. As the various groups saw these they called out successively, "I will be a Bear," "I will be a Deer," and so on, according to the animal which first met their gaze. Finally a wind arose "which swept the remainder of the darkness away"; therefore the last group called itself the Wind clan.

The following was told by Big Jack, a Hilibi Indian:

"The Bird, Beaver, Panther, and Wind people were enveloped in a fog. The Panther was chief (mĭko) among them; the Beaver was his heniha. The Panther undertook to parch some âsi (*Ilex vomitoria*), stirring the mixture with his tail. His tail was scorched, however, and turned yellow, so he gave it up. The Beaver then used his tail, but it got too hot and he dived into the water. The Bear then took his turn, rooting about in the âsi with his nose. In this way the ring was formed which is about the nose of the bear. Afterward Wind was sent to blow away the fog, and as it was sent to them part of the people adopted it."

This rather gives an account of the doings of the eponymous animals than the origin of the clans, but the intention is to show that the later association between these clans was founded on events which took place at that supposedly early date.

The following myth from the Tuggle collection is in part another version of the preceding, but it has additional interest as showing the relation of the Fish clan to the Panther and Wind. Tuggle entitles it "The origin of the Tiger clan."

"In the beginning a great fog covered the earth. In a certain valley there was a large fountain. Close to this fountain a tiger (Cooch-ar [really the panther, Katca]) lived.

[88a] See pp. 156-166.

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"The Wind came to Coochah and said: 'What are you doing? It is dark and gloomy.'

"Coochah said: 'I am making my tea, my black drink,' and he stirred the tea, which he was parching, with his tail.

"The Tiger said, pointing to the fountain, 'There are my friends, my mates, the fishes. When I make my black drink they drink with me.'

"The Wind said: 'If you will make peace with me, I will blow the fog away and all will be bright.'

"Coochah consented to make peace with the Wind.

"The Wind blew the fog away and all was clear and beautiful.

"Coochah made his tea, and his mates, the fishes in the fountain, drank with him.

"They sang a song of joy and friendship, and since that time the Tiger clan has been at peace with the Wind clan, and Fish clan, and when trouble comes to one the others always give aid."[89]

The ever present element of the fog driven away by the wind appears again in a myth related by William McCombs to the late G. W. Grayson and by him kindly placed at my disposal. It is as follows:

"When the Creek Indians came to know anything of themselves, it was to find that they had been for a long series of generations completely buried and covered as it were in a dense fog impenetrable to their powers of vision. Being unable to see, they were dependent on their other senses, especially that of touch, in their efforts to obtain subsistence.

"In their quest for food the people very naturally became separated, straying away from each other in groups, and each group was aware of the existence and locality of its neighbors only by calling to them through the obscuring fog, each adopting the precaution not to stray out of calling distance of some other of the scattered groups.

"After a great while there arose a wind from the east that gradually drove the fog from the land. The group of people who first saw clearly the land and the various objects of nature now rendered visible by the dissipating fog, were given the name of the Wind clan. It is related that, among the many things they were now able to see, the first animate objects observed by the people of the Wind clan were a skunk and a rabbit which appear to have accompanied them during their existence in the obscuring fog. While the people did not adopt either of these as their patronymic, they did declare them their nearest and dearest friends. So well is this understood by the full blood Creek Indian, that it is universally understood to be the duty of the sons of the Wind clansmen always to extend to these animals protection and defense from physical injury or ridicule, saying 'They are my fathers.'

[89] Tuggle Coll. of myths, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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"As the fog continued to recede and disappear before the driving east wind, other groups of people came to light; and, as each looked about, it adopted as the patronymic of the clan by which it would thereafter be known, the first live animal which had emerged from the fog along with it.

"In this manner three other clans—the Beaver, the Bear, and the Bird—were established, who, together with the Wind, have always been known as Hut-hak-ul-kee [Hathagálgi] (the Whites) and recognized as leaders in the establishment and maintenance of peace in the nation. The Wolf clan is kindred to the Bear clan, but without the political prestige of the latter. All the other clans, which are very numerous, were formed in the same manner, and are known as Tsi-loak-hok-ul-kee [Tcilokogálgi] (speakers of a different language) as distinguished from the Hut-hak-ulkee, or Whites."[80]

There is a story in the Tuggle collection intended to explain the origin of the Bear clan specifically. It is as follows:

"At first the Indians had no horses and when they hunted they traveled in canoes, carrying their wives and children.

"One day they went up a stream and landed in a wide bottom or valley. They cut a trail through the woods with their knives. Then they sent the women and children to drive the bears towards this trail, and they took their stand near it so that they could see the bears when they ran across.

"One of the little girls while driving the bears was lost in the woods. The people hunted everywhere, but could not find her. An old she-bear met her and said 'Come and live with me.' She took the little girl home with her and kept her four years, treating her as her child.

"One day the old bear said to the little girl: 'The hunters are coming again with fire. They will kill me, but you must run to Cho [Deer] mountain. After the hunters have passed us a little shaggy dog will run to the place where we are standing and bark at us. Then all the other dogs will come. I will run away, but they will pursue me and kill me. You must escape and, when the hunters have gone, you must return. You will find a coal of fire which the hunters have left. Take this fire and return to your people. They will receive you and you will become the mother of the Bear clan. Name your first son "Bear."'

"It happened as she had said. The hunters came and the old bear was killed. The little girl did as she was directed and escaped. She

[80] In 1924 Mr. McCombs himself told me this story and in much the same words. He expressed his belief that when these events took place the Muskogee were coming from the south, perhaps from South America, and that the fogs arose from the low, marshy countries near the sea. The first group of people to see the sunshine said: "We were the first to see the sunshine; therefore we shall be the first of the clans and shall own the wind, rabbit, and skunk." Another group saw a plot of wild potatoes and near by a raccoon and a fox, and therefore they had those things, and hence the Potato, Raccoon and Fox clans are one people.

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found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan."[21]

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Tciloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Tciloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

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This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

"The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families.— By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns."[22]

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The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

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[21] Tuggle Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[22] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Bear	Nokosálgi	Nokosáli	Nita ayeksa	Tašgo owáta	Sag'ᵊ	Ara hasomi (of the Bird phratry).	
Wind	Hotálgálgi	Fabiltcáli	Mahale ayeksa	Nábi ówáta	Godá		
Bird	Fuswálgi	Fosáli	Foso ayeksa	Cógol ówáta		Chuluñchi hasomi	Fodi.
Beaver	Itchéswálgi	Posafáli	Ofáta ayeksa (Noko ayeksa in Koasati).	Emet ówáta	Cagiᵊ		
Fox	Tcolálgi	Tcolálí			Catienó	Hasa nayo hasomi (White Fox clan) (Buzzard phratry).	
Raccoon	Wotkálgi	Sawáli		Enogol ówáta	Djá'tieᵊ		Cawi.
Water Moccasin (?)	Aktayatcálgi	Aktayatcáli					
Potato	Ahalagálgi	Ahalakáli					
	Tcowastálgi						
Alligator	Halpatálgi	Hálpatáli	Tcintcuba ayeksa				Hatchúntchíba (Morgan).
Turkey	Pinwálgi	Faltáli	Fito ayeksa		Wátcᵊá		
	Tamálgi	Támáli					
	Pahosálgi	Pahosáli					
Wolf	Yahálgi	Obahozáli	Waso ayeksa		Dalá		Nacoba (Morgan).
Bison	Yanasálgi						
Medicine	Hilistálgi						
	Tcokotálgi	Tcokotáli					
Lye drip (?)	Kapitcálgi	Kapitcáli					
Deer	Itcoálgi	Itcáli	Itco ayeksa	Dea ówáta	Weᵊyaᵛ	Honoso nayo (White Deer), Great Deer (Fresh Water and Potano districts).	Isi.
Toad	Sopaktálgi	Sánáktcáli					
Mole	Takosálgi	Tákosáli					
Skunk	Konipálgi	Konipáli			Yúaaᵛ		Koni, or Hockoni.
Fish	Łákosálgi				Cá	Cuyu [kuyu] hasomi	Náni.
Snake	Tcitálgi	Tcintáli		Uláx ówáta	Ca (?)		
Rabbit	Teufálgi				Cadjwané	Apichi(ara) (?) (Fish phratry).	
Hickorynut	Otcálgi						

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English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Cane	Kohasakálgi (or Kohosálgi).	Kohasáli					
Salt	Oktcánálgi		Hape ayeksa				
Daddy-longlegs	Tápohatálálgi		Táposcla ayeksa				
Panther	Katcálgi	Kowáli	Koe ayeksa	Iriwada owáts	Wétc^{a}A^{a}'	Yaraha hasomi (Acheha phratry).	Kō ietō.
Wildcat	Konkotcálgi		Kontcuse ayeksa		Cadi^{a}ané		Kō intcus.
Eagle	Lámhálgi				Cá'na (?)		
Otter	Osánálgi	Osanáli			Cûlané		
	Łidjámálgi						
	Woksálgi						
Mink	Oktcûtkálgi						
Corn	Atcálgi						
Fresh Land	Kantálálgi					Uti hasomi (Earth phratry).	
Spanish moss (?)	Asunálgi						
	Nokhhálgi (or Nokfilálgi).						
Spanish (?)	Isfanálgi						Sfani (or Spani).
Turtle	Lutcálgi				Tăb^{a}ă' (Tortoise)		
Weevil (?) (or English?).	Okfilisálgi						
Arrow	Łiálgi						
Pubes Hair	Inlanisálgi						
Long Dew	Sitcotcápkálgi						
	Walakálgi						
Raven	(Kakkálgi?)						
Red Paint							
Buzzard	Sutálgi				Ya^{a} tî'	Apohola hasomi	
Owl							
Muskas	Mukhasálgi						
Opossum					Wétsagowa^{a}'		
Squirrel					Cáya		Fáni (Morgan).
Dog						Etaca hasomi (Acheha phrat.)	

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Partridge							
Chief Buckskin							
						Cuys [Kuys] hassuni (Acholas plural).	Minko (Minit?). Ohaka or Ohakola (Menpas). Holoba (Ofoba).

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To complete our survey of the clans of the southeastern area we may add those of the Cherokee. Within historic times they numbered seven, thus named according to Mooney: Ani'-Wa"ya (Wolf), Ani'-Kawĭ' (Deer), Ani'-Tsiskwa (Bird), Ani'-Wâ'dĭ (Paint), Ani'-Sahâ'nĭ (possibly an archaic name meaning "Blue People"), Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ (frequently incorrectly interpreted "Blind Savanna"), Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ (Long-haired People).[86] Mooney believed that at an earlier time there were 14 clans, each of the seven of the later period having been formed by the fusion of two. He mentions as an instance the fusion of the Turtle Dove and Raven to form the Bird. In a very early document in the Library of Congress I find the following clans listed: Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Blind Savanna, Long Hair, Thorn Bush, and Acorn. All of these are identifiable in Mooney's list except the two last, one of which may have corresponded to his Ani'-Sahânĭ.

The Wolf, Deer, and Bird were undoubtedly equated with the Wolf, Deer, and Bird clans of the Creeks, and it is quite possible that correspondences were found for the other Cherokee divisions among the remaining Creek clans. The only hint as to the manner in which this may have been worked out is contained in information which I received from a Natchez informant living among the Cherokee. He stated that the Ani'-Wâdi corresponded to the Natchez Snake clan, the Ani'-Sahânĭ to the Panther clan, the Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ to the Raccoon clan, and the Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ to the Wind clan.

There is fragmentary information regarding clans from the Siouan tribes of the east,[86a] the Biloxi,[86b] and the Chitimacha.[86c] There were, of course, clans among the Tuscarora, Quapaw, Caddo, and some others who occupied a marginal position with reference to the Gulf area, but they need not be considered.

The Opossum appears only among the Yuchi,[84] and the Squirrel only among the Yuchi and Chickasaw, with the latter on the sole authority of Morgan.[85] A "Root clan" is referred to by Eakins, whose informants probably had in mind the Potato.[86] The Muklasâlgi are recorded only by Gatschet.[87] As Muklasa was a former Alabama town among the Upper Creeks it is probable that the designation referred properly to the people living there, irrespective of clanship. North of Florida the existence of a Buzzard clan rests upon only one or two doubtful statements. Speck enters it as one of those clans among the Yuchi the existence of which was "not generally

[86] Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 212-213, 506-509.

[86a] Lederer in Alvord and Bidgood, The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674, p. 144.

[86b] J. O. Dorsey in 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 243-244.

[86c] Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 348.

[84] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

[85] Ibid.; Morgan, Ancient Society, vol. i, p. 155.

[86] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 275.

[87] Gatschet, Mig. Leg., vol. i, p. 186.

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agreed upon" by his informants.[56] So far as the Muskogee are concerned the idea that there was such a clan may have arisen from the similarity between "Sulâlgi" (Buzzard people) and "Tculâlgi" (Fox people), although in his list of Tuskegee clans Speck includes both. However, its undoubted existence and important position in Florida render a northward extension among the Creeks not impossible. Hitchcock is our sole authority for an Owl clan and the intimate association of this bird with witchcraft renders its adoption as an emblem by a social group in the highest degree improbable. Stiggins states that the Red Paint was one of the nine principal clans of the Muskogee.[58] Since he himself had Muskogee, or rather Natchez, blood and grew up in the Creek Nation his authority ought to be good, but I am inclined to believe that he had borrowed this name from that of the corresponding Cherokee clan. Possibly the Cherokee division was identified with some particular clan among the Creeks which in consequence sometimes received its name. In that case it was probably identified with a different clan from that equated with it by the Natchez.[1] Adair is our only authority for a Raven clan,[2] and Gatschet our only authority for the Walakâlgi.[3] For each of the names Sitcotcâpkâlgi, Łiâlgi, Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, Kantâlâlgi, and Hilisâlgi, I have the authority of but one informant. The Sitcotcâpkâlgi was mentioned by an old Tukabahchee Indian, the Inłanisâlgi, and Łiâlgi, by a Seminole; the Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, and Kantâlâlgi by an informant who, although a Seminole by birth, had lived most of his life with the people of Lutcapoga; and the Hilisâlgi by an old Łapłâko Indian now dead. The Lutcâlgi (Turtle, or rather, Tortoise) was remembered by one or two of my informants, besides being mentioned by Adair,[4] and, as may be seen in the table, it also occurs among the Yuchi.[5] Several informants remembered Yanasâlgi as the name of an ancient clan, and it is given by Adair and MacCauley.[6] The Fish clan is referred to by Adair,[7] was remembered by an old woman of the Texas Alabama and several Creeks of Oklahoma in 1912, and is given by Doctor Speck in his list of Yuchi clans.[8] The writer also heard of it as a Yuchi clan, and formerly it seems to have been strong among the Lower Creeks.

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[56] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.

[58] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

[1] See p. 118.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 121. His remarks at this point are so general that it is uncertain who the people were among whom this clan existed. The same is true of his references to the Turtle and Bison clans. In the case of the Raven clan, he may have had in mind the former Raven clan of the Cherokee or the Blackbird clan of the Chickasaw, though the existence of this last is somewhat in doubt.

[3] Gatschet, op. cit., p. 56. In his Ms. vocabulary he suggests an origin from the term ewalita, to share out or divide, the word which also appears in Hołiwahali.

[4] Adair, op. cit., p. 15.

[5] Speck, loc. cit.

[6] Adair, loc. cit.; 8th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 307.

[7] Adair, loc. cit.

[8] Speck, loc. cit.

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614 171 One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tápásánà', with that for daddy-longlegs, tápohsálá. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

615 It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogálgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcálgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the [609 Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the 789] Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogálgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanálgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanálgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 26.
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 156.
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 156; vol. IX, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

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615 claimed to be connected with the Cane. According to another old man, however, the Mink was akin to the Beaver. Jackson Lewis, one of the best of my informants, affirmed that the Cane clan was "kindred to and nearly the same as the Raccoon clan," while an old Seminole connected it with the Beaver and Potato. When we remember that the Raccoon and Potato were often classed together we see a reason for the association of this set of clans—Mink, Cane, Beaver, Raccoon, and Potato. According to another informant, the Cane clan in Kealedji was associated with the Mole, Raccoon, Potato, Fox, and Łidjâmâlgi clans, which agrees with the statement of Jackson Lewis; but I learned that in the Hitchiti town among the Seminole it was placed in one group with the Deer, Panther, and Pahosâlgi. This would be an altogether different classification from that given by the others. According to Jackson Lewis, the Hickorynut clan was kindred to the Eagle. The Tcowastâlgi were either identical with the Potato clan or, what is more probable, closely associated with it. At some period in the not remote past the Fox and Daddy-longlegs clans are said to have united into one which afterwards received the name Raccoon. This did not involve the Texas Alabama, and in any case can only have meant that the Fox and Daddy-longlegs combined with an already existing Raccoon clan.[14] The Yanasâlgi are thought, for what reason I know not, to have belonged among the Tciloki clans to be discussed presently. Nothing more has been preserved regarding the connection of this clan, or the affiliations of the Atciâlgi, Okilisâlgi, Sidjotcâpkâlgi, or Wałakâlgi, while, as we have seen, those of the Sulâlgi and Muklasâlgi are in doubt. The name Okilisâlgi is, uncertainly, said to refer to the weevil (âtci-suklaitcâ), but this seems rather far-fetched and Gatschet's suggestion that it was an attempt at "English" is attractive in view of the seeming identification of a Spanish clan.[15]

615 Before giving an account of the other clan associations—(2) and
• 614 (3)—it will be necessary to explain a Creek institution which has
621 an important bearing on this question. At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (pawa), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the

[14] See p. 154. [15] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 156; Ms. vocab.

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rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them already noted.

In the subjoined list I give the clan councils in all of the Creek and Seminole towns from which I was able to obtain information. Some towns are so nearly extinct that mistakes have undoubtedly been made, but the list embodies the best information to be had. Where two informants have been consulted and the testimony of these has differed considerably I have inserted the conflicting lists, numbering them (1) and (2).

Clan Councils by Towns

UPPER CREEKS

White towns

Talladega:
1. Raccoon, Aktayatci.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird.
5. Alligator, Beaver.[16]
6. Deer.
7. Panther.

Abihka-in-the-West:
1. Bird, Alligator, Beaver.
2. Bear, Panther, Wind.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.

Kan-tcati:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Deer.
3. Panther.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.
6. Alligator.
7. Bird.
8. Beaver (but perhaps placed with the Bird).

Otciapofa:
1. Panther.
2. Potato.
3. Tàmi.
4. Wind.
5. Pahosa.
6. Beaver.

Otciapofa—Continued.
7. Bear.
8. Aktayatci.
9. Raccoon.
10. Deer.

Tulsa Little River:[17]
1. Bird, Eagle.
2. Deer, Pahosa, Panther, Kapitca(?).[18]
3. Wildcat.
4. Potato.
5. Raccoon.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Wind.
8. Bear.
9. Beaver.
10. Otter.[19]

Lutcapoga (1):
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Tàmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bird.
5. Beaver.
6. Bear.
7. Wind.
8. Deer.

Lutcapoga (2)
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Panther.
2. Aktayatci. Kapitca, Eagle.
3. Bear, Bird, Beaver.[20]
4. Wind.

[16] The number of Beaver people in this town was very small.

[17] The Turkey was also represented here, but its relations are unknown.

[18] The classification of the Kapitca in this group seems very doubtful. One informant also separated the Pahosa from it, but with less reason, as may be seen if we compare the associations of the Deer and Pahosa in other places.

[19] The presence of an Otter clan here depends on the testimony of one informant, although a very good one, who stated that in this town, unlike some others, the Beaver and Otter people intermarried.

[20] In the Tulsa towns, unlike most others, the Beaver and Bird seem to have preserved their independence and therefore informant 2 is probably wrong. Which informant is right regarding the Bird and Bear it is impossible for me to determine.

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Okfuskee:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Bear.
5. Bird.
6. Beaver.
7. Wind.
8. Panther.
9. Aktayatci.

Abihkutci:
1. Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, Woksi, Eagle, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Bird, Beaver.
5. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey.
6. Deer, Pahosa, Mole.
7. Panther, Wildcat.

Nuyaka:
1. Bear.
2. Wind.
3. Bird.
4. Beaver.
5. Deer.
6. Panther.
7. Alligator.
8. Raccoon.

Pakan tallahassee (1):
1. Bird, Bear, Wolf.
2. Wind, Aktayatci.[21]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Deer.
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey(?).

Pakan tallahassee (2):
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci.

Wiogufki (1):
1. Raccoon, Potato(?).
2. Alligator, Tàmi, Snake.
3. Bird, Pahosa.
4. Kapitca, Aktayatci.
5. Wind.
6. Beaver.
7. Bear.
8. Deer.

Wiogufki (2):
1. Bear, Beaver, Bird, Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey.
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Wind.
5. Panther, Wildcat.

Asilanabi:
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Deer(?).[21a]
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Panther.[21a]
4. Wind.
5. Aktayatci.

(Okchai and Łałogálga were probably the same as Asilanabi.)

Wiwohka:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Kapitca.
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Wind, Skunk.
4. Bear, Bird, Wolf.
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Snake, Beaver.
6. Deer, Pahosa.
7. Aktayatci.[22]

Tuskegee:[23]
1. Beaver, Alligator, Tàmi.
2. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci.
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Bird.
5. Wind.
6. Bear.

Koasati No. 2:
1. Wind, Bear (and all Whites).
2. Raccoon, Alligator, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, Daddy-longlegs (and all Tcfloki).

Red towns

Tukaoahchee:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Aktayatci.
2. Raccoon, Eagle.[24]
3. Potato, Fox.
4. Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Woksi.
5. Wind, Skunk
6. Deer.
7. Bird, Beaver, Otter.[25]
8. Bear.

[21] The association of the Wind and Aktayatci seems improbable.
[21a] But see p. 149 for a probable Deer-Panther association at Okchai.
[22] The Aktayatci perhaps belong in group 1.
[23] Speck notes in this town also the Deer, Fox, Mink, Snake, Buzzard, Skunk, and Rabbit clans.
[24] Some place the Potato in this group.
[25] There is some uncertainty as to the position of the Otter.

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Atasi (very defective):
1. Alligator, Turkey.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird, Beaver (?).
5. Aktayatci.
6. Panther.
7. Deer.
8. Raccoon, Potato.

Kealedji:
1. Mole, Raccoon, Potato,[28] Fox, Łidjámi, Kohasa.
2. Skunk, Wind.
3. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey, Woksi.
4. Aktayatci.
5. Bear, Wolf.
6. Bird, Beaver.
7. Deer.
8. Panther.

Łapláko:[29]
1. Pahosa, Deer.
2. Beaver, Bear, Bird.[30]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Aktayatci, Kapitca (?).
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey.
7. Wind.

Hilibi:
1. Raccoon, Potato.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Bird.
6. Deer.

Upper Eufaula:[31]
1. Aktayatci, Potato, Raccoon.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf, Bird (?).
4. Panther.
5. Deer.
6. Tàmi, Turkey, Alligator.

Alabama (1):
1. Aktayatci, Deer.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Beaver.

Alabama (2):
1. Alligator, Wind, Bird, Turkey, Aktayatci.[32]
2. Bear, Salt, Panther,[33] Wildcat.[34]

Alabama in Texas:
1. Deer, Wolf.[35]
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Bear, Salt.
4. Alligator, Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, Turkey.
5. Wind, Skunk.

LOWER CREEKS

White towns

Kasihta:[36]
1. Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Fox, Raccoon, Beaver.
2. Wind, Fish (?).
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Panther.
5. Deer.[37]
6. Mole.

Hitchiti:
1. Pahosa, Mole, Deer.
2. Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Tàmi, Snake, Otter, Aktayatci.
3. Potato.
4. Panther.
5. Bear.
6. Wind

Okmulgee:[38]
1. Tàmi, Alligator.
2. Deer, Panther.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Beaver, Bird.
5. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Fox.
6. Wind.

[28] According to one informant the Potato belonged in group 3.

[29] There were also some of the Potato clan; associations unknown.

[30] An inferior informant classified the Bird and Bear separately.

[31] The Beaver clan was also represented here formerly; it sat with the Wind, Bear, Wolf, and Bird, but whether it was linked with any or all of them is uncertain.

[32] The association of Aktayatci and Wind seems improbable, but one other case of the kind has been noted (see Fakan tallahassee).

[33] There were very few representatives of these clans in Alabama.

[34] The only representatives of the Wolf clan living in 1912 were descended from the Pascagoula tribe of Indians.

[35] The Bird clan was also represented in this town, but I did not obtain its linkage, though it sat with the Deer.

[36] Sat with 1 but could intermarry with them.

[37] Legus Perryman, probably referring to this town, said that the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator formed one council, a statement which, if true, would bring 1 and 5 together. The late David Hodge, who belonged to Okmulgee, declared that the Bird, Deer, and Aktayatci clans were all related, the women of these clans calling each other "sisters." This was denied by Perryman and seems improbable in the light of what we know of these clans elsewhere, although it is possible that the first two were so connected.

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Apalachicola:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Deer, Mole, Toad.
2. Bird, Snake, Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Beaver, Kapitca.
3. Wind.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Raccoon, Potato.
6. Aktayatci.

Yuchi:
1. Bear, Wolf.
2. Deer, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat.
3. Alligator, Fish, Beaver.
4. Bird.

Red towns

Coweta (1):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.

Coweta (2):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver, Wind, Bear.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.

Lower Eufaula:
1. Wind, Otter, Skunk, Mole, Tcokote, Toad(?).
2. Bear, Nokfaha, Wolf, Salt, Fresh-land, Asunwa.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake, Alligator, Woksi.
4. Bird, Beaver, Tàmi.
5. Deer, Pahosa, Turkey, Panther, Wildcat.
6. Fox, Raccoon, Potato.

Chiaha:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatci.
2. Wolf, Bear, Deer(?).
3. Panther.
4. Bird.
5. Wind, Skunk, Fish.
6. Beaver.
7. Alligator, Tàmi.

Osochi:
(All that is known is that the Panther and Wildcat and the Bear and Wolf did not intermarry.)

SEMINOLE TOWNS

White towns

Ochesee:
1. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Otter.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Potato, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon(?).
5. Panther.
6. Deer.

Okfuskee:
1. Bird, Beaver.
2. Bear, Deer, Pahosa, Potato, Raccoon.
3. Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, Aktayatci.
4. Panther.
5. Wind.

Tallahasutci:
1. Beaver, Potato.
2. Tàmi, Alligator, Turkey.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake.
4. Wind (possibly with last).
5. Bear.
6. Bird.
7. Deer, Panther.

Hitchiti Seminole:
1. Wind, Skunk, Otter.
2. Bird, Aktayatci, Snake, Alligator, Tàmi.
3. Deer, Panther, Kohosa (Cane?), Pahosa.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Tead, Tcokote, Mole.
6. Beaver, Potato.

Red towns

Eufaula:
1. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey, Kapitca, Snake, Aktayatci.
2. Deer (probably including the Pahosa).
3. Raccoon.
4. Potato.
5. Panther.
6. Wind.
7. Bear.[38]
8. Bird.[38]

[38] There were a few people of the Bird clan and one belonging to the Bear which had not been definitely placed, perhaps because in recent years no occasion had arisen which demanded definite allocation.

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Chiaha:
1. Wind, Skunk.
2. Raccoon, Fox.
3. Potato.
4. Bird.
5. Bear.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Alligator.
8. Deer.
9. Beaver.

Łiwahali:
1. Beaver, Otter, Bird, Turkey, Tàmi, Bear, Salt.
2. Wind.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Potato, Raccoon.[27]
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.

Mikasuki: (Unobtainable.)

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The facts are now before us; let us proceed to an analysis of them. In the following table I have recorded the number of times each association of any two clans takes place, and the number of times any two clans are recorded in each town unassociated. UC stands for "Upper Creeks," A for "Alabama," K for "Koasati," LC for "Lower Creeks," H for "Hitchiti," Y for "Yuchi," and S for "Seminole." To.=="Total."

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[27] Another informant stated that the Potato and Raccoon clans were anciently classed with the Bird.

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while the Bird people called the Beaver people their "nephews." A saying of one of my informants apropos of this connection should be quoted, to the effect that "anything in contact with water is supposed to be akin to birds." Presumably the birds to which he referred were water birds, since white crane feathers were a symbol of the White clans. Where the Beaver is not linked with the Bird and where it does not stand by itself it is usually placed with the Alligator on account of this same association with water. Altogether it occurs thirteen times with the Alligator, nineteen times with the Bird, and eleven times separated from both. Its associations with other clans are not nearly so pronounced. One of my informants said that the Bird and Beaver "sometimes claimed the Potato were of one phratry with themselves," but this assertion receives comparatively little support from the tables, except perhaps in the case of the Beaver. 615

While the Panther clan ordinarily stands apart from all others except the Wildcat, in some towns an association exists with the Deer which is evidently more than accidental. Although the number of times this linking takes place totals only 9 as against 23 cases in which it is absent, the important fact is that wherever the Panther is linked with another clan—leaving out of consideration the Wildcat—that clan is almost always the Deer. It may also be significant that this linking is more pronounced among the Hitchiti towns—in three out of four—than elsewhere. This association was also confirmed by an Okchai Indian named Barney Leader, who said: "The story is that Panther and Deer lived together as friends, but at noon Panther jumped upon Deer and killed him. So the Panther and Deer clans are one until noon and after that separate. Until noon the same terms of relationship are extended over both clans." In Texas the Deer is linked with the Wolf instead of with the Panther and this happens twice among the Oklahoma Creeks. In consequence, one or two cases are found in which this clan is associated with the Bear.

The Bear clan usually stands clearly apart from all groups except as already noted. In some Upper Creek towns, however, particularly the group to which Pakan tallahassee, Fish Pond, and Wiwohka belong, there is an association with the Bird and Beaver, the Bear-Bird association occurring seven times out of twenty-one among the Upper Creeks and the Bear-Beaver five times out of twenty. This association is to be explained, I think, by the fact that these clans were all White clans. Although not even hinted by any of my informants, material which I collected from the Alabama and Koasati Indians in Texas and Louisiana seems to suggest a repugnance to marriage between persons of the Bear and Panther clans.

The Alabama have a town in Polk County, Texas, with scattering representatives throughout southeastern Louisiana, while the Koasati have a town in Louisiana, but a few relatives living with the Texas Alabama. I was able to secure a very satisfactory statement of the 615 614.

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Koasati

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clan affiliations of most of these Indians, the testimony of my several informants agreeing very well, and this information is included in the following tables. While there are undoubtedly some omissions, they include, on the other hand, as many deceased members of the two tribes as my informants could recall.

ALABAMA

Clan	Living in Texas	Living in Louisiana	Total
Bear	53	11	64
Daddy-longlegs	42	5	47
Deer	36	6	42
Panther	34	3	37
Beaver	23	1	24
Salt	11	3	14
Wind	9	1	10
Wildcat	5	--------	5
Total	213	30	243

KOASATI

Wildcat	6	20	26
Beaver	6	18	24
Turkey	2	19	21
Panther	2	4	6
Wind	4	2	6
Bear	3	1	4
Salt	1	2	3
Deer	--------	1	1
Wolf	1	--------	1
Alligator	1	--------	1
Total	26	67	93

In the Alabama town were also three members of the Wolf clan, but they belonged properly to the old Pascagoula tribe and therefore are not listed. In the Alabama table most of the children are included and in the Koasati table most of them are left out. This accounts in part for the greater apparent population of the Alabama, although, as a matter of fact, the actual figures are somewhat in their favor.

The contrasts between these two tables are rather striking. Thus the three most populous Alabama clans, Bear, Daddy-longlegs, and Deer, are poorly represented among the Koasati, the second of them not at all. The Salt also seems to be rather an Alabama than a Koasati clan. On the other hand, the Wildcat, the leading Koasati clan, is represented by only five persons among the Alabama, and I have reason to believe that they are really Koasati. The Panther clan is very well represented in Texas, and the relationship between it and the Wildcat was considered so close that informants sometimes gave the affiliations of a person as Panther, sometimes as Wild-

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cat. It is now impossible to say whether the Wildcat clan of the Koasati was originally distinct from the Panther clan of the Alabama, or whether the Koasati merely preferred to use the name Wildcat, the Alabama choosing rather that of Panther. The Beaver and Wind are the clans represented most evenly in the two tribes, though the representatives of the Wind among the Koasati are now deceased. 615 614.

From the Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas and Louisiana I collected records of 95 marriages, exclusive of some unions between Indians and Negroes. This information is contained in the following list, the clan of the male being placed first. Individuals of the Koasati tribe are distinguished by the letter (K), and those of the Pascagoula tribe by the letter (P). The rest are Alabama. 615 614 582

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	5	
Daddy-longlegs–Bear	4	
		9
Deer–Bear	4	
Bear–Deer	2	
		6
Bear–Beaver	4	
Bear–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Beaver (K)	5	
Beaver (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Wildcat (K)	4	
Wildcat (K)–Turkey (K)	2	
		6
Deer–Beaver	1	
Deer–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Deer	3	
		5
Deer–Panther	3	
Panther–Deer	1	
		4
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	2	
		4
Bear–Wind	2	
Bear–Wind (K)	2	
		4
Beaver (K)–Wildcat (K)	1	
Wildcat (K)–Beaver (K)	3	
		4
Beaver–Salt	2	
Salt (K)–Beaver (K)	2	
		4
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	1	
		3
Wind–Panther	2	
Wind (K)–Panther	1	
		3
Panther–Turkey (K)	1	
Panther (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		2
Deer–Wind	1	
Wind (K)–Deer	1	
		2
Panther (K)–Beaver (K)	1	
Panther–Beaver (K)	1	
		2
Wolf (P)–Wind	1	
Wolf (K)–Wind (K)	1	
		2
Bear–Turkey (K)	1	
Turkey (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		2
Salt–Wildcat (K)		2
Daddy-longlegs–Panther (K)		1
Deer–Alligator (K)		1
Wildcat (K)–Deer		1
Wolf (P)–Panther		1
Bear–Wildcat (K)		1
Wolf (P)–Daddy-longlegs		1
Wolf (P)–Bear		1
Salt–Wind		1
Salt–Turkey (K)		1
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey (K)		1
Beaver (K)–Lost Beaver (K)		1
Panther–Panther		1
Wildcat (K)–Wildcat (K)		1
Bear–Bear		1
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs		1
Deer–Choctaw		2
Choctaw–Bear		2
		95

This includes 42 marriages in which both individuals were Alabama Indians, 25 in which both were Koasati, 20 between Alabama and Koasati, 4 between Alabama and Pascagoula, and 4 between Alabama and Choctaw.

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Excluding unions with Choctaw, the number of marriages into which each clan entered is as follows:

Beaver	31	Panther	14
Bear	30	Wind	12
Deer	23	Salt	8
Daddy-longlegs	20	Wolf	5
Turkey	18	Alligator	1
Wildcat	15		

It will now be instructive to ascertain how the marriages of each clan were distributed among the other clans, and this is shown by the following tables:

Beaver-Bear	6 (A, K, A-K)
Beaver-Turkey	6 (K)
Beaver-Deer	5 (A, A-K)
Beaver-Wildcat	4 (K)
Beaver-Salt	4 (A, K)
Beaver-Daddy-longlegs	3 (A)
Beaver-Panther	2 (K, A-K)
Beaver-Lost Beaver	1 (K)
Beaver-Wind	0
Beaver-Wolf	0
Beaver-Alligator	0
	31

Bear-Daddy-longlegs	9 (A)
Bear-Deer	5 (A)
Bear-Beaver	6 (A, K, A-K)
Bear-Wind	4 (A, A-K)
Bear-Turkey	2 (K, A-K)
Bear-Wildcat	1 (A-K)
Bear-Wolf	1 (A-P)
Bear-Bear	1 (A)
Bear-Panther	0
Bear-Salt	0
Bear-Alligator	0
	30

Deer-Bear	6 (A)
Deer-Beaver	5 (A, A-K)
Deer-Panther	4 (A)
Deer-Daddy-longlegs	4 (A)
Deer-Wind	2 (A, A-K)
Deer-Alligator	1 (A-K)
Deer-Wildcat	1 (A-K)
Deer-Turkey	0
Deer-Salt	0
	23

Daddy-longlegs-Bear	9 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Deer	4 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Beaver	3 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Panther	1 (A-K)
Daddy-longlegs-Wolf	1 (A-P)
Daddy-longlegs-Turkey	1 (A-K)
Daddy-longlegs-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Wildcat	0
Daddy-longlegs-Wind	0
Daddy-longlegs-Salt	0
Daddy-longlegs-Alligator	0
	20

Turkey-Beaver	6 (K)
Turkey-Wildcat	6 (K)
Turkey-Panther	2 (K, A-K)
Turkey-Bear	2 (K, A-K)
Turkey-Salt	1 (A-K)
Turkey-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A-K)
Turkey-Deer	0
Turkey-Wind	0
Turkey-Wolf	0
Turkey-Alligator	0
	18

Wildcat-Turkey	6 (K)
Wildcat-Beaver	4 (K)
Wildcat-Salt	2 (A-K)
Wildcat-Deer	1 (A-K)
Wildcat-Bear	1 (A-K)
Wildcat-Wildcat	1 (K)
Wildcat-Daddy-longlegs	0
Wildcat-Panther	0
Wildcat-Wind	0
Wildcat-Wolf	0
Wildcat-Alligator	0
	15

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Panther–Deer	4 (A)
Panther–Wind	3 (A, A–K)
Panther–Turkey	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Beaver	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–K)
Panther–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Panther–Panther	1 (A)
Panther–Bear	0
Panther–Wildcat	0
Panther–Salt	0
Panther–Alligator	0
	14

Wind–Bear	4 (A, A–K)
Wind–Panther	3 (A, A–K)
Wind–Deer	2 (A, A–K)
Wind–Wolf	2 (K, A–P)
Wind–Salt	1 (A)
Wind–Beaver	0
Wind–Daddy-longlegs	0
Wind–Wildcat	0
Wind–Turkey	0
Wind–Alligator	0
	12

Salt–Beaver	4 (A, K)
Salt–Wildcat	2 (A–K)
Salt–Wind	1 (A)
Salt–Turkey	1 (A–K)
Salt–Bear	0
Salt–Deer	0
Salt–Daddy-longlegs	0
Salt–Panther	0
Salt–Wolf	0
Salt–Alligator	0
	8

Wolf–Wind	2 (K, A–P)
Wolf–Panther	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Bear	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Beaver	0
Wolf–Deer	0
Wolf–Wildcat	0
Wolf–Turkey	0
Wolf–Salt	0
Wolf–Alligator	0
	5

Alligator–Deer	1 (A–K)

The data regarding the Wolf and Alligator clans is, of course, of no particular significance owing to the small numbers of representatives of each of these clans and the fact that three of the Wolf clan were Pascagoula Indians. Elsewhere there is an intimation that the Bear, Salt, and Wind may have belonged to the same phratry or clan moiety, and this is to some extent borne out by the above data, only one marriage between individuals of these clans—Salt and Wind—being given. However, the material would seem to indicate a feeling of repugnance to marriage between the Bear, Panther, and Wildcat. That the Panther and Wildcat were considered practically equivalent clans is certain, but it is not often that the Bear is found associated with these. In fact, were it not for the tables I should have had no suspicion of it, nothing of the kind having been suggested by any of my informants. The data bears out their contention that prohibition of intermarriage existed between the Deer and Wolf, the Panther and Wildcat, and the Bear and Salt, although it is too small in amount to be satisfactory. There is now no Skunk clan, and therefore we can not test native opinion that the Skunk and Wind were similarly allied. On the other hand the association which they declare to have existed between the Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, and Turkey is certainly no longer in evidence.

I have now touched upon practically all of the more important associations that can be shown with any certainty to have been established between Creek clans. Many others are recorded in my 615

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616 621 526 [177] the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

614 582 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[56] 567 727 597

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[58] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 211.
[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 42, 213, 214, 222, and Bull. 73, p. 376.

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602 614 Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based opon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

614 825 688 A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[56a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[57]

[522] Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[58] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

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[56a] See p. 112. [57] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. ii, p. 115.
[58] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

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its skin for one of his sons. Afterwards he met a man of the Deer clan who took him to task for this but was finally mollified by the assurance that it was so used, not out of disrespect, but because it was held in honor. A man was also supposed to see that proper respect was paid to the totem animal of his father's clan. An instance was related to me in which a man was called to account for having killed a wolf, by another man whose father belonged to the Wolf clan. It is from this clan association that the Creeks applied terms of relationship to animals. According to one informant the Bird people called the buzzards, and all other kinds of birds in fact, "my father," and he added that this form of address was usual with other clans. It is, however, more likely that the term given by way of illustration was applied by persons whose fathers were from the Bird clan. If they themselves had been Birds they would probably have said "my uncle."[58a]

There appears not to have been the slightest objection to killing totem animals from veneration for them as such, and this was just as true in Adair's time. He says:

"The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves. The *wolf* indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns . . . though, at the same time, they are so far from esteeming it a deity, they reckon it the most abominable quadruped of the whole creation."[59]

We should perhaps add to this a taboo against killing the rattlesnake, but there appears not to have been the least connection between their unwillingness to kill this reptile and its eponymous character, and indeed the name of Snake clan is not certainly known to have applied specifically to the rattlesnake.[60]

When a formal council was opened in the tcokofa Bartram says that the tobacco used was brought in in a skin usually taken from that animal from which the chief's clan derived its name.[61]

The Wind clan formed in some respects a privileged class. I have already mentioned the fact that women of this clan were called "grandmothers" by the other people, and we shall see later that, with the possible exception of the Bear, this was the only clan allowed to take up again the clubs with which adulterers were punished, after they

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[58a] See also pp. 145-148.
[59] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.
[60] Consult, however, Bartram, Travels, p. 451; see p. 537 in following paper.
[61] Bartram, op. cit.

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614 had once been laid aside. According to one writer the Wind clan could take them up an indefinite number of times; according to another, four times. This privilege is well remembered. A single writer adds that people of the Bear clan were allowed to take the clubs up twice, but I have been able to learn nothing definite upon the subject from the living Indians. Local privileges connected with the busk ceremonial were, of course, enjoyed by other clans.[62]

In other parts of America clan distinctions are indicated by means of face paintings or tattooings. With the Creeks, however, most of the latter seem to have had to do with war honors. I was told that members of the Raccoon clan painted circles about their eyes, but according to others this was done merely by doctors as a sign that they were able to see in the dark. Paintings used to indicate the towns of the persons using them will be considered presently.[62a]

Another source of information regarding the position of clans in the tribe is still to be tapped, but in order to do this we must first set forth a description of the Creek ceremonial or busk ground, the religious and social center of every Creek community of consequence.

DISTRIBUTION WITH REFERENCE TO THE LAND AND THE TOWN

174 Both the Creeks and the Texas-Alabama have told me that
361 anciently clans lived apart, and in a Creek story of the origin of corn
614 they are represented as scattered about in a number of different camps. Whether or not the major clans are descended from bodies of people which once lived in separate towns and lacked exogamy the local separation of the clans until very late times is an undeniable fact. I may note here the assertion of one of my oldest and best informants to the effect that in olden times the clans were not exogamous, but that upon one occasion a council was held and it was determined that afterwards they should be considered such. This is interesting as marking the native recognition of such a possibility, not as proving
[361] that the change actually took place. The Creek towns in the times when we begin to have knowledge of them consisted of a succession
592 of villages or neighborhoods scattered through the woods and along
614 the streams, and connected by a network of trails. The unit of such a town consisted of a group of houses owned by women of one clan and occupied by themselves, their husbands, and their young children. In practice it worked out something like this. A man, assisted by other members of his family or clan, might build a house in a new situation and clear the usual yard by hoeing up the surface weeds and grass for a considerable space about it. Now, when one of his daughters married her husband, drawn from some other, perhaps distant, locality, would build another house on part of the same

[62] Cf. also Milfort, Mém., p. 254.

[62a] See p. 248.

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cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[88] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

592 614 [574] [888]

The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

344 361

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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344 old coverings are never removed. they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[88] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [89] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[532 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
614] of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

[621 "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the
531] posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[714] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[88] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[89] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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344 554 621 to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihâlgi always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[e] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the mikâlgi or chiefs, and the henihâlgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tástánágâlgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

• 614 622

Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Tulladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[3]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-tcati	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Lutcapoga	do	Bird [4] (Beaver, second chief).
Oktaskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tutokofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutcf	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmustcsi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan talahassee	(1) Aktayatcl (2) (Bear—J. Lewis)	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktayatcl (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktayatcl	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktayatcl (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Łakogalga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [6]	Bear or Wind.[3]
Kowati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[3]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kaslodji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 297.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Logan Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tcłoki clan, perhaps the Aktayatcl, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasłita yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the women's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

[e] See pp. 309-316.

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Town	Chiefs	Henihas
Łapłiko	(1) Bear	(1) Bird (second chief).
	(2) Raccoon	(2) Bear or Wind.
Łiwahali	(1) Panther	(1) Deer.
	(2) Panther	(2) Aktaystci or Fox.
Hillibi	Aktaystci	Alligator, Turkey, and Tàmi.
Upper Eufaula	Aktaystci (anciently Eagle)	Do.[8]
Alabama	Bear [9]	(1) Aktaystci.
		(2) Alligator, Bird, etc.
Kasihta	Bear [10] (Alligator—Gatschet)	Wind (Istani—Hawkins); (Alligator, second chief).
Hitchiti	Bird (Tàmi—Jackson Lewis)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (Deer, in last organization)	Bear (Bird, in last organization).
Yuchi	(Passes from father to son irrespective of clan.)	
Coweta	Fish [11] (Wind)	Bird.[12]
Łikatcka	Alligator	Wind (Bear, second chief).
Eufaula Hobayi	(1) Kapitca	(1) Deer (?).
	(2) Bear (second inf.)	(2) Wind (second inf.)
Chiaha	(1) Raccoon, Potato, or Fox	(1) Bear or Deer.
	(2) Bear	(2) Bear.
	(3) Wind	(3) Aktaystci, Potato, Alligator, Tàmi, Raccoon, Fox.
Onochi	(1) Fox (Jim Sapulpa)	(1) Wind (Jim Sapulpa).
	(2) Potato (Tob Tiger)	(2) Panther (Tob Tiger).
Ochese	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee Seminole	do	Bird (second chief).
Tallahassee	do	Bird.
Hitchiti Seminole	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula Seminole	Kapitca	Panther.[13]
Łiwahali Seminole	(1) Bird	(1) Bear.
	(2) Potato	(2) Bird.
Chiaha Seminole	Bear	Wind.[14]
Mikasuki	(1) Alligator	(1) Alligator (Panther, second chief; Potato, third chief).[15]
	(2) Snake (anciently); Panther (later)	(2) Panther (anciently); Alligator (later).

[8] According to Jackson Lewis. Later the Bird clan seems to have occupied this position, though according to some Hillibi people the Wind once performed the function.

[9] One of the last chiefs belonged to the Wind clan.

[10] According to three different informants.

[11] Hawkins and Ispahihica (Ide-Gatschet) both give the Fish, which we may therefore assume to have been the chief's clan in ancient times.

[12] According to both my own informants and those of Doctor Gatschet (Creek Ms. vocab.).

[13] These clans are called tistanagigi but take the place of the henihagi.

[14] See Fig. 98.

Regarding the Texas Alabama I learned the following facts. Within the memory of living Indians the chieftainship has not passed down in a single clan. The first head chief held in remembrance was leader of the tribe before they came to Texas. His name has not been preserved but he was the grandfather of John Scott, the late chief, and he belonged to the Daddy-longlegs clan. The second head chief is remembered as "old man Antone." He belonged to the Bear clan, and the second chief under him was a Tawasa Indian of the Beaver clan named Celestine. Antone was succeeded by the late chief, John Scott, who was of the Deer clan. The second chief under him was formerly John Walker, a Bear.

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By eliminating the Texas Alabama and the doubtful and less well-authenticated material in the above data and reducing all of the towns of each group under one head we obtain the following summary result. Alternative possibilities are in parentheses.

Town	Chief	Henihà
Abihka	Bear	Raccoon.
Tulsa	Beaver	Bird (or Wind).
Okfuskee	Bear	Wind (or Bird).
Pakan tallahassee	Aktayatci (or Bear)	Do.
Wiogufki	Aktayatci	Wind.
Okchai	Bear	Do.
Wiwohka	Panther (or Bird)	Do.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear	Bear or Wind.
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind.
Tukabahchee	Eagle (or Raccoon)	Do.
Atasi	Bear	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.
Łapłáko	Bear	Bird (or Wind).
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator.
Eufaula, Upper	do	Do.
Alabama	Bear	Aktayatci.
Kasihta	do	Wind (or Tàmi).
Hitchiti	Bird (or Tàmi or Raccoon)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (or Deer)	Bear (or Bird).
Coweta	Fish (or Wind)	Bird.
Eufaula Hobayi	Kapitca	Deer (or Wind)
Chiaha	Fox or Potato	Bear.
Osochi	do	Wind (or Panther).
SEMINOLE TOWNS		
Ochesee	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee	do	Do.
Talla hasutci	do	Do.
Hitchiti	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula	Kapitca	Panther (tàstánągi).
Łiwahali	Bird (or Potato)	Bear (or Bird).
Chiaha	Bear	Wind (tàstánągi).
Mikasuki	Alligator (or Snake)	Panther (or Alligator).

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A study of this table yields certain very interesting facts. Taking the henihàlgi clans first we find that with few exceptions these come from the White side. The Deer occurs twice, once in Hitchiti and once in Eufaula Hobayi, but in the latter case there is an alternative possibility, while the former applies simply to the last organization of the Hitchiti square. Nevertheless this clan is said to have been used at Tukabahchee as henihàlgi during the women's dance. The old woman who gave me the data for Apalchicola said that anciently

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the Hitchiti square was the same as in the Apalchicola town. On the other hand the Seminole Hitchiti had the Toad clan, generally considered akin to the Deer, as their henihâlgi. The Deer was, however, considered a White clan in Chiaha, and Chiaha anciently spoke the Hitchiti language. It is therefore possible that the Deer was once a White clan among Hitchiti-speaking people. Again, the Alligator and their allies were the henihâlgi at Hilibi and Upper Eufaula, perhaps also in the Mikasuki town; indeed an old Mikasuki Indian told me that the Alligator were considered the henihâlgi among all Seminole. While this does not seem to agree with the statements of other Seminole Indians there may nevertheless have been truth in it, since the clans given as henihas among the Seminole are often those which furnished the second chief, and the old organization appears to have fallen to pieces. Possibly the position of the Alligator as henihâlgi may have resulted from the influence exerted by the Eufaula band who formed a considerable body among the Seminole. The Alligator, like the Deer, was also sometimes a White clan, and much more frequently. The Aktayatci are given as henihâlgi among the Alabama by one informant, but the Alabama town is small and the organization badly broken down, and, besides, another informant stated that the Alligator or Bird were the only henihas. Moreover, the Aktayatci in Alabama were said to form part of the same phratry as the Deer which is sometimes White. Only in the Abihka towns have we a well accredited case of a clan of henihas never reckoned among the Whites. But although the Raccoon clan there plainly performed the functions of the henihâlgi one of the very men who gave me the information stated that the south bed was called "bed of the henihâlgi" because the Wind clan sat there, and he added that "it was understood that in every town the Wind clan were the henihâlgi." The chief of the Mikasuki said the same thing. This, of course, can only mean that in the Abihka town there has been a dislocation of the older usage.

An inspection of the table shows the Wind clan mentioned as henihas seventeen times, eight times without qualification. Next stand the Bird, mentioned ten times, and the Bear four times. There can be little doubt that it was the general opinion that the Wind should be henihâlgi, and I am inclined to believe that anciently they were so to a greater extent than at present, but as far back as Hawkins's time we know that they were not henihâlgi in a town as important as Kasihta; perhaps their enjoyment of this dignity was partly theoretical and never carried out in all cases. Nevertheless it is certain that almost invariably the henihâlgi were a White clan, and this I believe once to have been universally the case, for the henihas were associated with peace and sometimes their bed was called the "white or peace cabin."

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Turning to the chiefs, we do not find such a simple proposition. The chief was selected from the Bear clan in 8 and possibly 11 cases, from the Beaver in 4, from the Aktayatci in 3 and possibly 4, from the Raccoon in 2 to 4, the Bird in from 1 to 4, the Fox or Potato in 2 to 3, the Wind in perhaps 3, the Kapitca in 2 cases, and the Fish, Eagle, Panther, Tàmi, Deer, Alligator, and Snake in single cases. The Beaver clan furnished the chiefs in the Tulsa towns and in three Seminole towns which had probably drawn most of their population from the Tulsa towns. The Aktayatci led in Hilibi, Upper Eufaula, Wiogufki, and possibly Pakan tallahassee. The Raccoon is found in two towns traditionally related or closely connected, Tukabahchee and Kealedji, and in Koasati, a near neighbor. The Bird occurs in this position principally in Hitchiti and Hitchiti Seminole, the Wind in the Lower Creek towns, particularly Coweta, and in Tuskegee, the Fox and Potato in the related towns of Chiaha and Osochi, and the Kapitca in Lower Eufaula and in Eufaula Seminole. Of the isolated cases the Eagle is already explained as a branch of or now incorporated with the Raccoon, and in the same way the Fish was an old branch of, or has been incorporated into, the Wind.

The other single cases are all reported from towns that have long given up the busk or which are known to have been reduced very much in numbers and otherwise disorganized. They also occur sometimes where there is disagreement. The Bear clan is the only one that by the number of cases and their distribution suggests a position for the chieftainship similar to that of the Wind for the henihâlgi. This is brought out more strongly by the discovery of several cases in which the Bear has been superseded by some other clan only in recent times. By several early writers we find it stated that the White towns were governed by chiefs and the Red towns by warriors. It is evident that tàstànàgis were never chiefs of towns; therefore all this statement could mean is that the chiefs of Red towns were drawn from Red clans. Examining our lists we find that, in fact, with two exceptions, all of the White towns about which there is unanimity of opinion were ruled by chiefs drawn from White clans. Of the two exceptions one, Wiogufki, claimed relationship with Eufaula and Hilibi, and is said to have been originally a Red town, while the other, Koasati, has long ceased to have busks, and the organization that is remembered is probably one that was adopted after the older form had been partly given up. There are a few other White towns which some hold to have been ruled by Red clans, but one of them, Wiwohka, was thought to be composed of refugees from all quarters, and it early became reduced and disorganized. Another, Pakan tallahassee, which now has the same head clan as Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula, has in late years been closely associated with those towns. Finally, Gatschet was told that the miko of Hitchiti was a Raccoon,

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and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łapłáko, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łapłáko, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck. 614 622

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[3] tcokofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable. 344 554 [614] 621

[3] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw'. See p. 300.

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a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihas is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihas' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihas themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihas, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihas' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

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The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihas, warriors, or youths.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Abihka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Abihka-in-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kan-testi	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tulsa Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutcapoga	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Tcatokofka	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutci	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka	E(h)	N(c)				
Talmutcasi	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wiogufki	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka	S(h)					W(c)
Asilanabi	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Ziloogiga	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S(h))
Tuskegee	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c)(E(w))	N(h), W(c)(—)	
Koasati No. 1	S(c)	S(c)(?)	?	?	?	?
Koasati No. 2	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabahchee	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h)(S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&(E(h))	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kealedji	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Eaplakto	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Liwahali						
Hilibi	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)		W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)		E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w)(N(w)	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W(c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Ziluskin	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha	(W(c))	W(h)(S(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N?(h))
Osochi	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ocheese	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahassee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)(?)		N(w)
Eufaula	S(h)					N(w)
Liwahali	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktaystci	Snake	Potato	Tami
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-tosti	S(w)	E(h)				
Otciapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tulsa Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Lutcapoga	(N(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S (h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tustokofka	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wiogufki	S(w)W(c)	E (y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W (c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asilanabi	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Lalogaga		W(c)				
Wiwohka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h))	E(w)(—)	W(c)	E(w)	N(h)
Tuskegee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))	(E(w))	N(h)(E(w))		N(h)	
Kossati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Kossati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukabahchee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kealedji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Łapłiko	S(h)	S(h)	W(c) (S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Łiwahali	E(c)					
Hilibi		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobayi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))		(N(h))	
Alabama			E(c)			
Kasihta	N(w)	S(h)(and N (w))	N(w)(and S (h))		S(h)	N(w)(S (h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w) (W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Łikatoka	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Osochi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ocheese	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Okfuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahassuci	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Łiwahali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Turkey	Pahosa	Kapitca	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Talladega						
Abihka						
Abihka-in-the-West						
Kan-tosti						
Otciapofa		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Lutcapoga						
Okfuskee	S(y)					
Tostoksofka	N, S					
Abihkutci				S(y)		
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(c)		
Wiogufki	S(w) W(c)					
Tukpafka						
Asilanabi	S(h)					
Okchai						
Łaiogtiga						
Wiwohka		W(c)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Koasati No. 1						
Koasati No. 2						
Tukabahchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kealedji	S(h)				E(h)	
Łaptiko	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Łiwahali						
Hilibi	W(c)					
Upper Eufaula	E(y)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kasihta				N(w)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(c)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(h) (W (c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta						
Łikatcka						
Chiaha					(S(w))	
Osochi			(N(w))	N(w) (S(h))	N(w) (S(h))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochese			S(h)		W(c)	
Okfuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahassutci	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(c)			
Łiwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chiaha						
Mikasuki						

[1] The mating is not by clans.

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Town	Skunk	Fox	Eagle	Wokai	Miscellaneous
Talladega					
Abihka					
Abihka-in-the-West					
Kan-tosti					
Otciapofa					
Tulsa Little River			S(h)		
Lutcapoga			S(w)		N(h) (Tuowastâ)
Okfuskee					
Tostokaofka			W(c)		
Abihkutci	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka					
Talmutcasi					
Pakan tallahassee					
Wiogufki					
Tukpafka					
Asilanabi					
Okchai					
Łalogâlga					
Wiwohka	N(h)				
Tuskegee					
Kosati No. 1					
Koazati No. 2					
Tukabahchee	W(c)(?)				
Atasi					
Kealedji		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Łidjâmi)
Łapłako					
Łiwahali					
Hilibi					
Upper Eufaula					
Eufaula Hobayi		(N(h))			
Alabama		N(w)			(W(c)(S(h)) (Fish)
Kasihta					
Hitchiti					
Okmulgee		S(h)			
Apalachicola					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi [1]					
Coweta					
Łikatcka					
Chiaha	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Osotci		W(c)(—)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Ochesee					S(h) (Otter)
Okfuskee					
Tallahasutci					
Hitchiti					S(h) (Toad and Tcokota)
Eufaula					
Łiwahali					
Chiaha					
Mikasuki					W(c) (Otter)

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

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Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

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Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the east, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

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Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

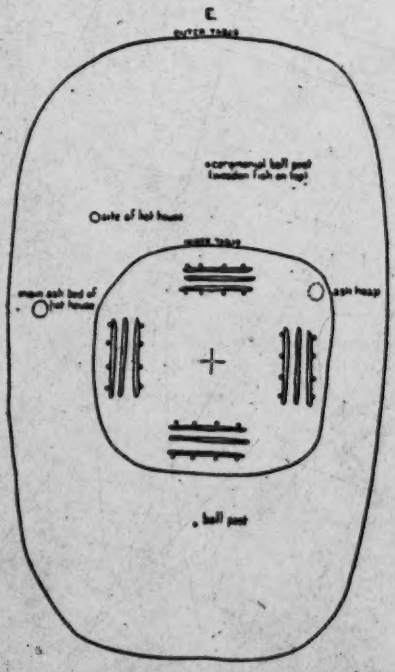

FIG. 37.—Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.[6] Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.[7] He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,[8] and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

[6] See p. 192. [7] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 15. [8] Ibid., p. 184.

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344 raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their
532 red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the
614 deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering
[555] or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy

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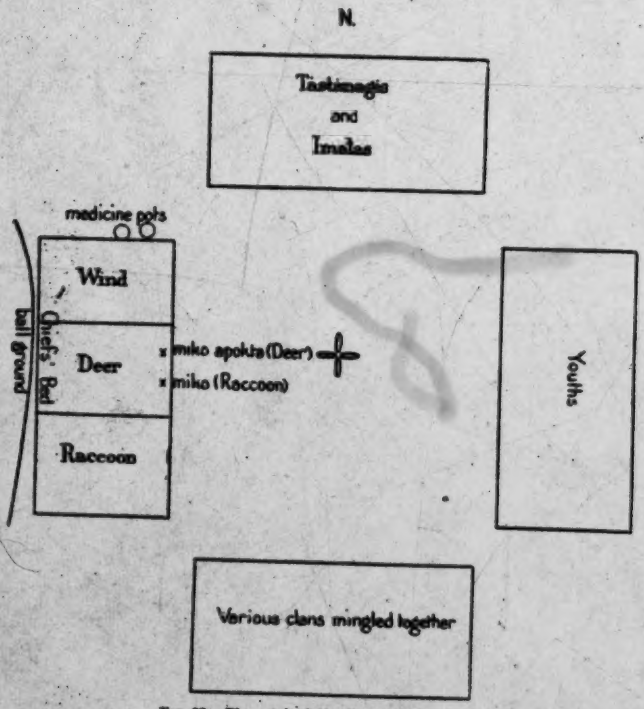

FIG. 38.—Plan of the Lilogilga Square Ground

ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, etc. . . .

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 30-31.

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We will now summarize the seatings of each clan:

Clan	Chiefs' bed	Henihas' bed	Warriors' bed	Youths' bed
Wind	22	20	4	1
Bear	30	11	8	1
Bird	22	12	6	1
Beaver	17	10	5	1
Alligator	11	18	5	5
Deer	10	11	15	3
Panther	10	12	16	3
Raccoon	13	8	11	1
Aktaystci	8	18	8	2
Snake	1	6	1	
Potato	9	9	8	4
Tàmi	2	10	3	4
Turkey	1	4	3	3
Pahosa	1	2	2	2
Kapitca	2	4	4	
Wildcat	3	2	3	1
Wolf	3	2	3	1
Mole	1	2		
Skunk	2	2		
Fox	2	3	2	1
Eagle	1	2		1
Wokai		1		
Teowasta			1	
Fish	2	1		
Toad		1	1	
Otter	1	1		
Tookote		1		
Reed (Cane)			1	
Lidjàmi			1	

The distribution of the smaller clans in the above table agrees very well with that of the larger ones with which they are linked. The principal discrepancies are due to the fact that when the chief was selected from a certain clan that clan moved over in a body into the Chief's bed, and therefore in some cases, in the Raccoon group for instance, the leading clan appears to have been seated in the Chief's bed many more times proportionately than most of the other clans of the phratry.

Turning to the nine first clans, which are representative of the leading Creek phratries, we find that the White clans are found oftenest in the Chief's bed, and next in frequency in the bed of the Henihas, while comparatively seldom are they seated in the beds of the Warriors or Youths. It is to be observed that both the Chiefs' bed and that of the Henihas are frequently spoken of as "White beds," but the former is occupied by White clans more often than the

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latter. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great reduction in numbers which the towns have suffered and the practical abandonment of the Youths' bed, making it necessary to find seats for all of the clans in the three remaining beds. The Warriors' bed, too, does not appear to have been occupied anciently by clans as such, except perhaps the rear rows. In front were the tástánągálgi and imałálgi, who originally owed their positions to exploits in war and were drawn from various clans. In later times these dignities became to a certain extent hereditary, associated with certain clans, and the bed was occupied by clans in the same way as the other beds. It may be said, speaking generally, that the clan of the chief sat in the Chiefs' bed, and when a chief was selected from a new clan that clan moved over into that bed. There are a few cases to the contrary but this is what usually took place. The natural position of a clan is therefore best determined by studying its position when the chief belonged to some other clan. Bearing this in mind an inspection of the arrangement of the square grounds shows plainly that the proper position of the White clans is usually held to be in the beds of the Chiefs and the Henihas. And it is worthy of remark that most of those towns in which these clans appear in the Warriors' bed were of the Hitchiti group, indicating that a somewhat different arrangement obtained there. The Beaver clan is usually identified with, and seated with, the Bird everywhere except in Otciapofa and the Tulsa towns where it was generally the clan of the chief. The Alligator and Aktayatci occur more often in the Henihas' bed than anywhere else. The former is sometimes White, which perhaps accounts in part for its presence here and in the Chiefs' bed; the Aktayatci, however, is always Tciloki and is so much associated with war that the clan is considered—probably as a later development—identical with the tástánągálgi, in Łikatcka and Lutcapoga. This accounts for some

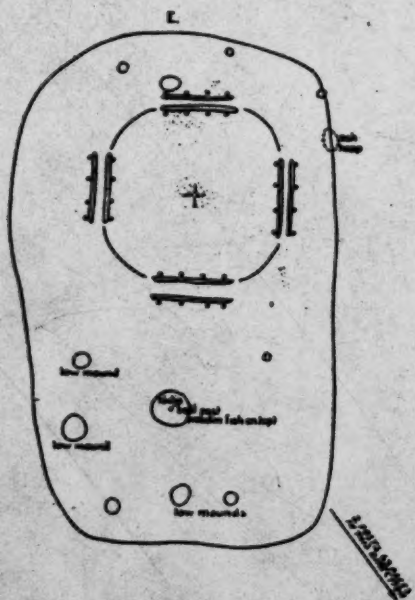

FIG. 20.—Łikągálga Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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of the times when it appears in the Warriors' bed. It appears in the Chiefs' bed several times because the chiefs of the Eufaula towns, Hilibi, Wiogufki, and perhaps Pakan tallahassee, were taken from it.

The Alligator also appears many times in the Chiefs' bed. It is to be noted that when the Aktayatci were chiefs the Alligator were frequently henihas, and in consequence were sometimes taken into the Chiefs' bed. The Alligator were also henihas in Kasihta and were there taken into the Chiefs' bed for the same reason. In some other towns they were partly in the Chiefs' bed and partly in that of

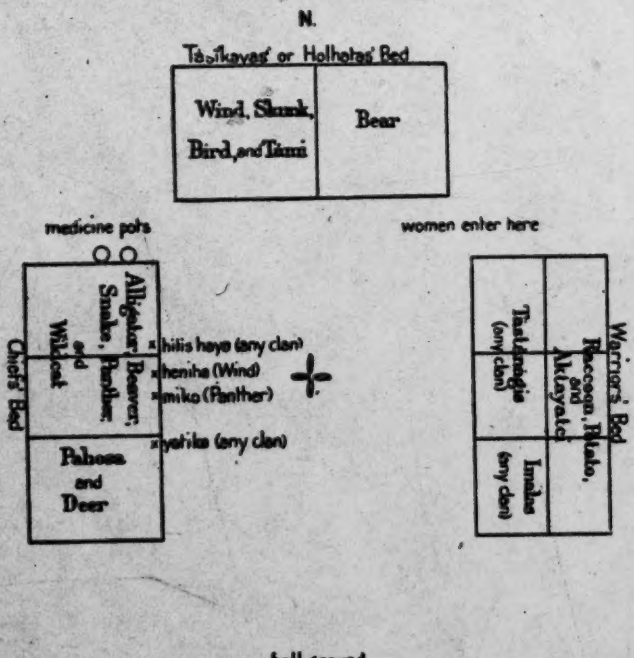

FIG. 48.—Plan of the Wiwukka Square Ground (I)

the Henihas. The Raccoon clan is the only Tciloki clan found more often in the Chiefs' bed than in any other. This position it occupies in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, the Okchai towns, Upper Eufaula, two Seminole towns, Kossati, two Abihka towns, and, according to two informants, in Chiaha and Osochi. Its position in the last two was probably due to the fact that it is identified with the Potato and Fox, to which the town chiefs there belonged. The others are all Upper Creek towns, constituting two geographical groups, the Abihka and the towns on Tallapoosa River. These Raccoon people are

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found more often in the Warriors' bed than in that of the Henihas or Youths, and that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clan is Red. In one or two cases it is said that the Raccoon clan were the tástánagis. They were in the Warriors' bed particularly in the Abihka and Tulsa towns. The only clans found oftener in the Warriors' bed than in any other are the Deer and Panther, rather singular companions one would think, but perhaps explacable on psychological grounds already given,[10] although it is more likely that the association has a

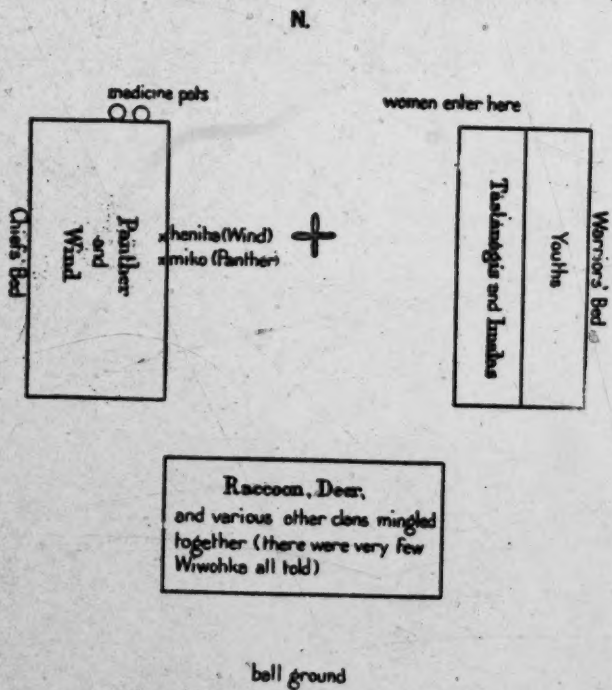

FIG. 41.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II)

historic basis now long forgotten. As in other cases the Panther and Deer sometimes furnish chiefs or henihas and are consequently found in the Chiefs' bed. They occur in the Henihas' bed more often. In the Okfuskee towns they are squeezed into the Youths' bed, owing to the large size of the White clans. In the Abihka towns, where the Warriors' bed is to the east, the Deer are uniformly placed there, while the Panther appear in the Henihas' bed. In Pakan tallahassee the Deer are again in the Warriors' bed and are specifically called tástánágálgi, while the Panther is taken into the

[10] See p. 149.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Tuskegee

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Chiefs' bed. In the Okchai towns, Tukpafka, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Koasati, Kealedji, and Hilibi these clans are found, however, either in the Chiefs' bed or in the bed of the Henihas. Often they are separated and sometimes one is placed in the Youths' bed. The separation occurs more often, however, when the Deer is placed in the Chiefs' bed, the Panther being in the Henihas' bed. The Deer are said to have been taken into the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee

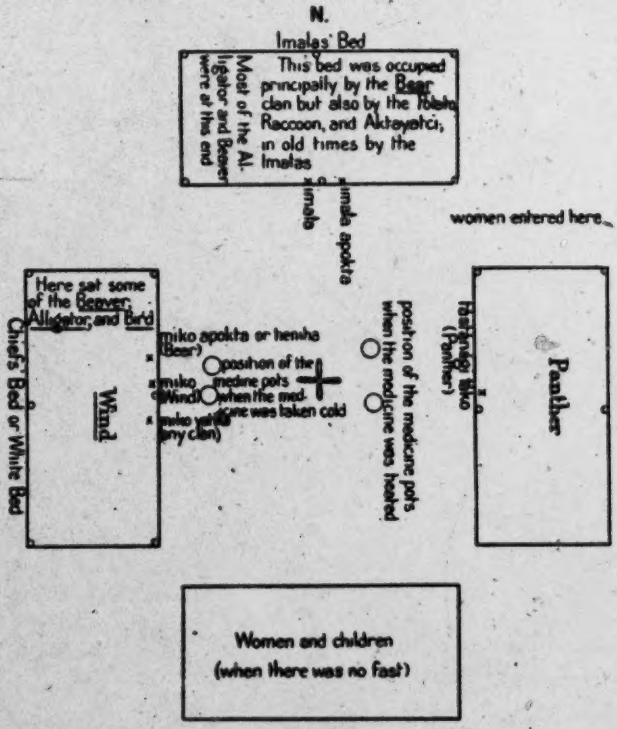

Fig 42.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (I)

because they formed "a choice clan." In Seminole towns the Panther and Deer are almost always placed in the bed of the Warriors.

The important points regarding the nine leading clans brought out by this table are that the White clans—Wind, Bear, Bird, and Beaver—were seated most often in the Chiefs' bed and next to that most frequently in the bed of the Henihas; the Raccoon clan was seated oftenest in the Chiefs' bed and next to that in the Warriors bed; the Alligator and Aktayatci clans were seated most often in the Henihas' bed; and the Panther and Deer clans most often in the Warriors' bed.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

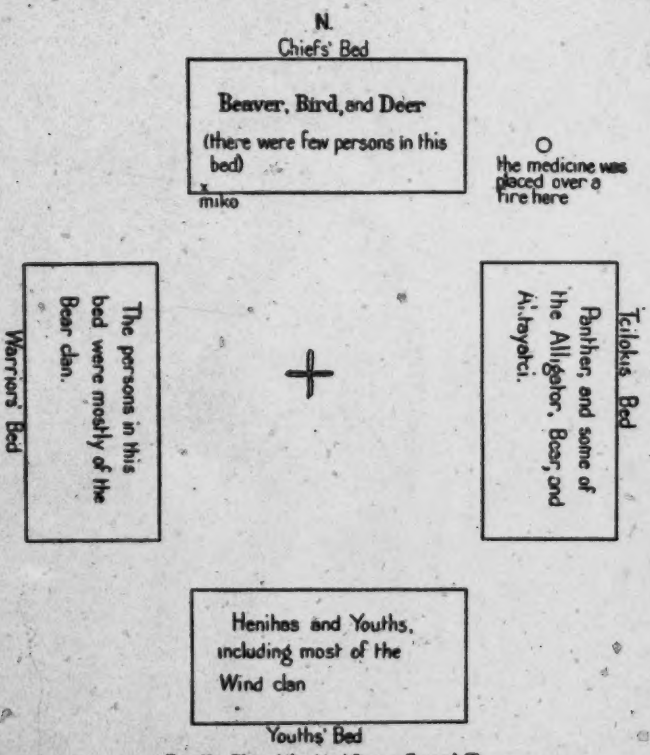

FIG. 50.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Tookote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitca and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Łidjami with the Tukabahchee and related towns and

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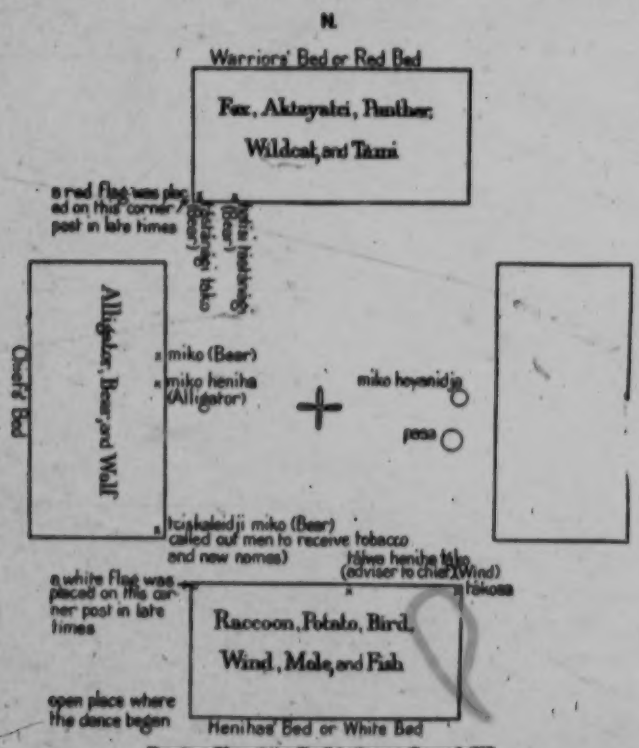

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

the Raccoon with the Tukabahchee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatci is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians

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factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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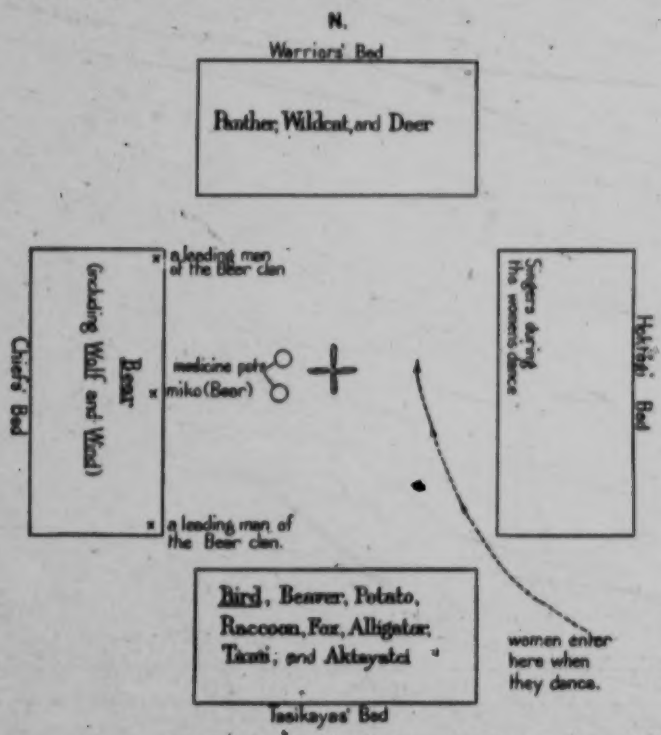

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

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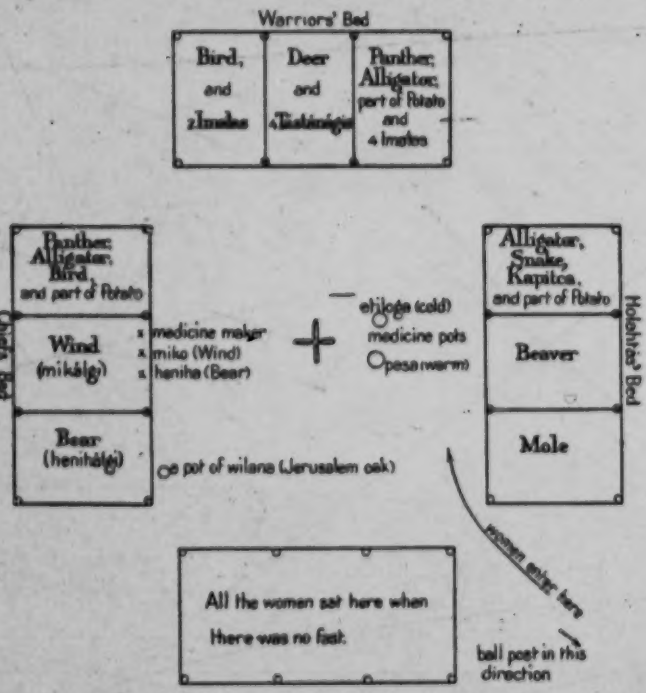

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa ináko) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important

C. [344 621]

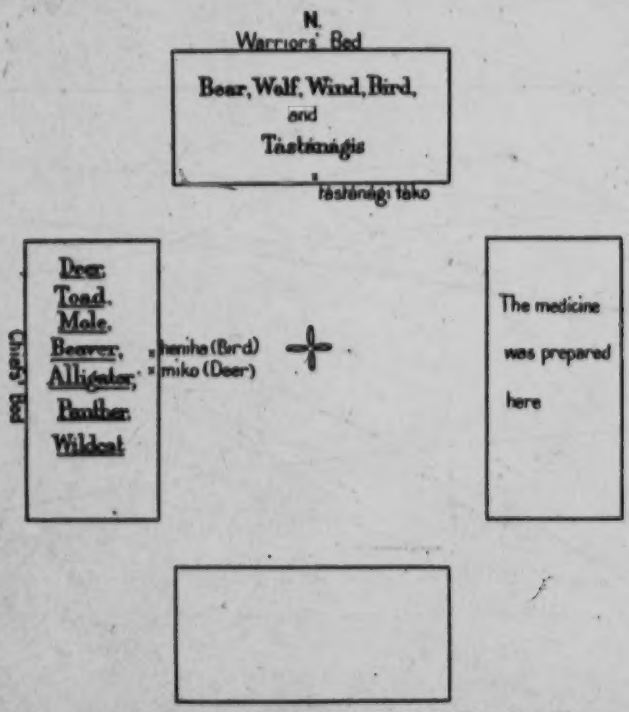

FIG. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Táiwa iáko) (II)

part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

C. [344 621]

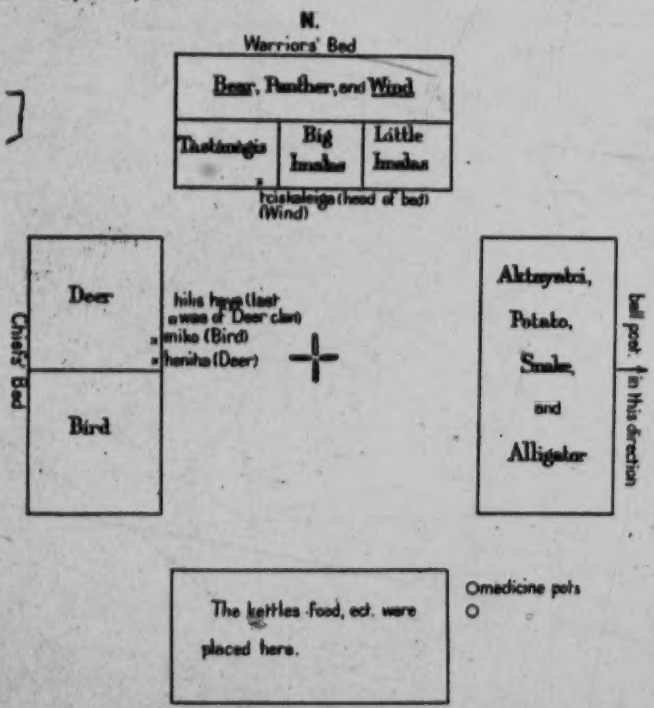

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Yuchi NN20
Southeastern Indians NN3

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use of bird feathers in peace-making ceremonies, and in corroboration of that suggestion it must be remembered that the Bird clan was reckoned a White clan among the Creeks and that it did not include the Eagle or the Turkey. It is interesting to note that in Florida the Bear and Bird clans were associated as they were among the Creeks. The Panther clan is almost as popular as the Bird and Deer, being wanting only from the Cherokee; the nature of the animal accounts sufficiently for this. Of the remaining clans the Wind, Beaver,

Y. [344 621]

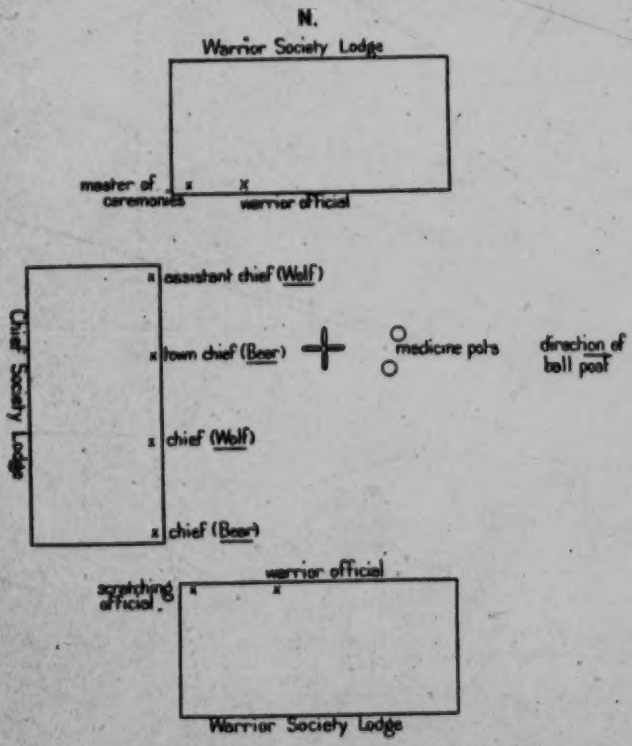

FIG. 76.—Plan of the Yuchi Square Ground. (After Speck)

Alligator, and Snake are most prominent among the Creeks and those tribes particularly influenced by them; the Wolf is most prominent among the Cherokee, and the Buzzard and Earth clans among the Timucua. It is rather remarkable that the Fish was less in evidence among the Creeks than among the Timucua on one side and the Chickasaw on the other.

Whether the clans actually originated with those tribes among which they were most prominent in historic times and spread from them to the others is a question to which no answer can be given

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Southeastern Indians NN3

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on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

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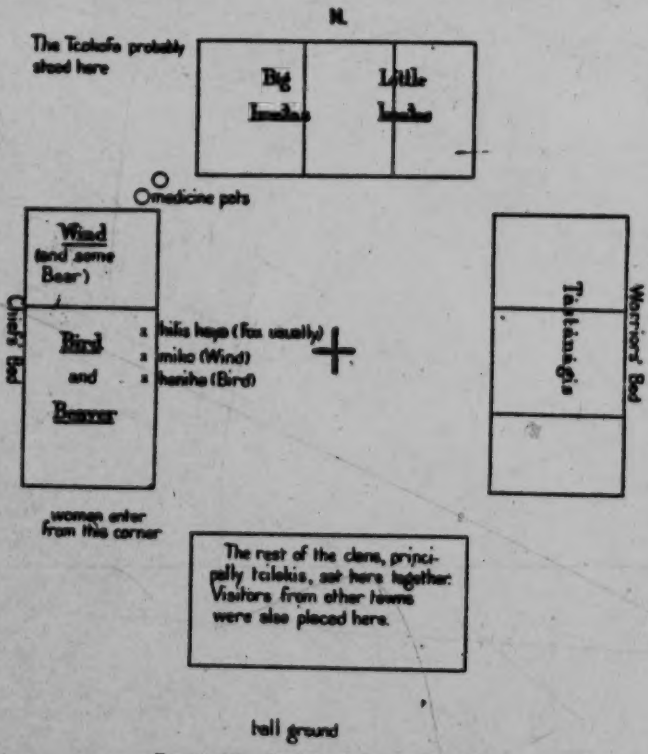

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Southeastern Indians NN3

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Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogálgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent

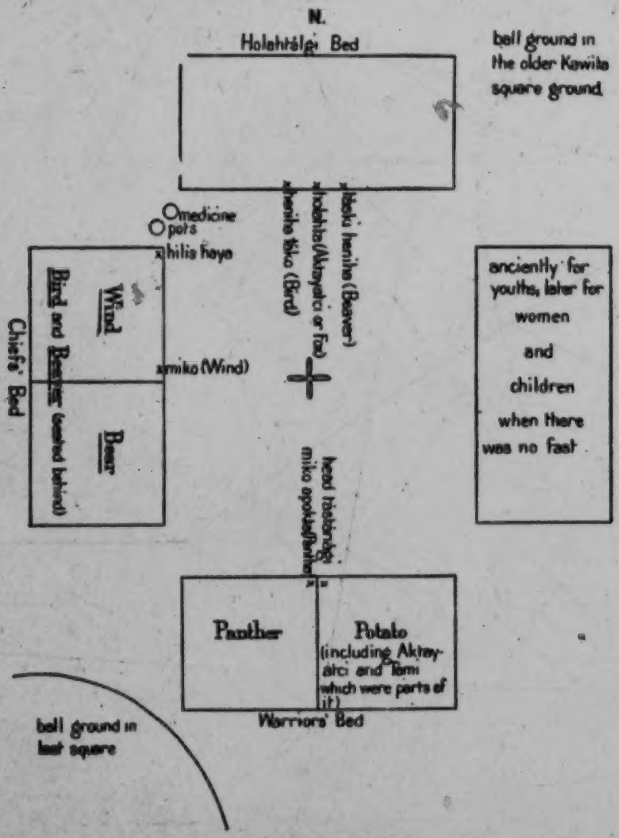

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Cowéta Square Ground (II)

and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko łáko, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he

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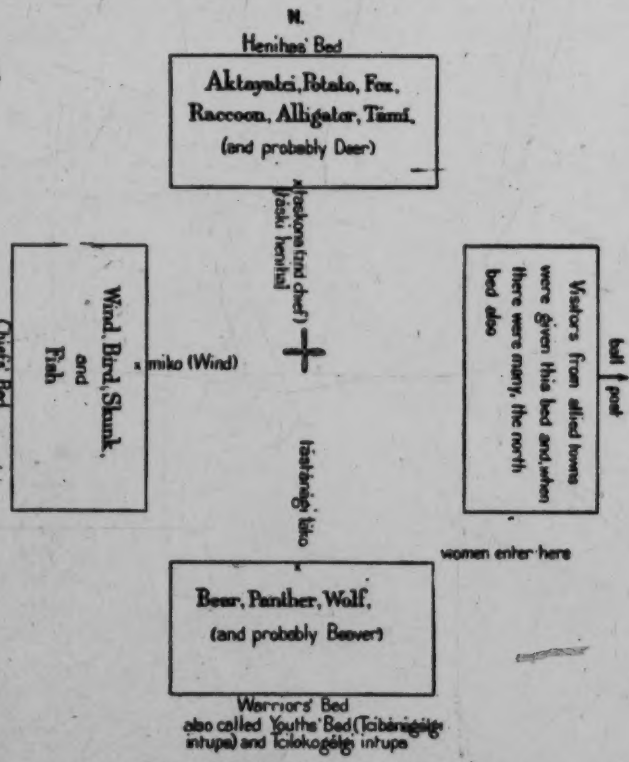

FIG. 82.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

614 622 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi

person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance."[30] As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on

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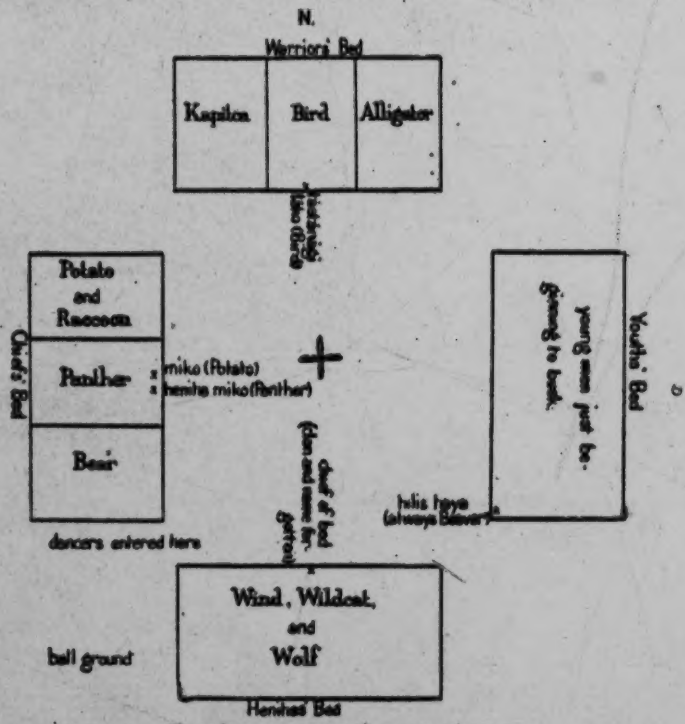

FIG. 34.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (I)

the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtca told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.[31] According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtca himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

[30] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 21.

[31] Gatschet, Ms. notes; see p. 58.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

been entrusted to the White clans (see p. 281). Probably he was chosen in the same way as the second chief who is said to have been nominated by the White clans, and the nomination confirmed, merely as a matter of form, by the Tcilokis. According to Legus Perryman, the chiefs at Lutcapoga, along with the other officers of each of the three beds, were chosen by the members of the other two, the only limitation being in respect to the clan from which they could be taken.

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The chiefs of the Texas Alabama were elected at a general meeting of the tribe, but this statement applies only to recent times, and

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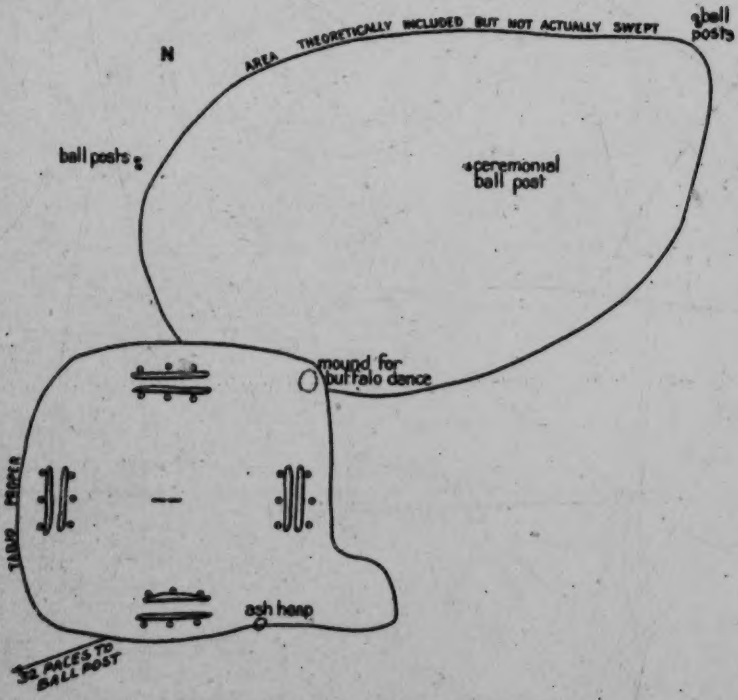

FIG. 88.—Okfuskee Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

before they left the other Creeks in Alabama their custom may have been different.

As we have seen in the case of Tukabahchee, there were sometimes assistant chiefs. At Tukabahchee they were all of one clan, but sometimes they were of different clans, perhaps in such cases the heads of their respective clans, for we know that the oldest or most influential uncle in each presided at clan councils and advised his fellows regarding their conduct. This has been spoken of already. At Pakan tallahassee the miko, who belongs to the Aktayatci clan, sits

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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in the middle of the north bed, on his left his heniha, and on his right, in succession, a second chief of the Wind clan, a third chief of the Bear (or Panther) clan, and a fourth chief of the Bird (or Panther) clan.

Usually, however, there was one principal subordinate chief, or vice chief, miko apokta ("twin chief") as he was called, and the customs regarding him seem to have varied considerably from town

S. [344 621]

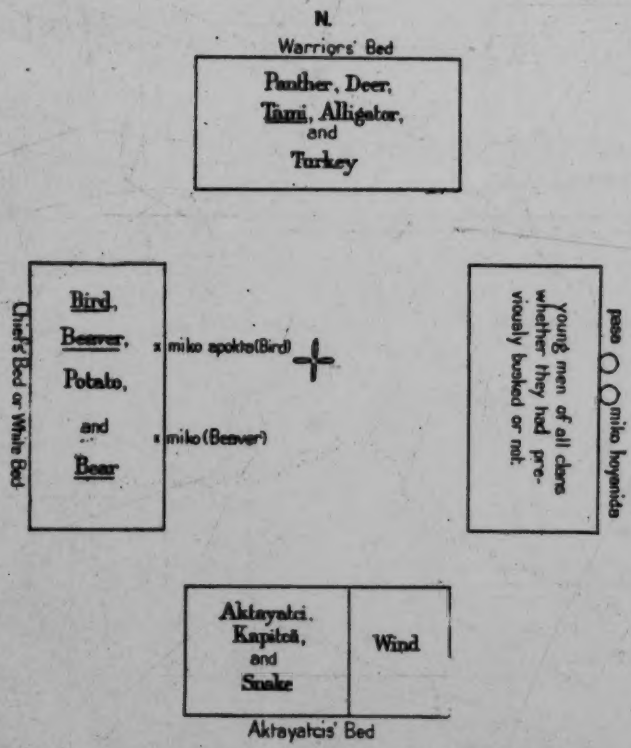

FIG. 39.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahasutci Seminole

to town. Hawkins says of this chief: "When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly." The second chief in Tulsa Canadian, Lutcapoga, and probably in the other Tulsa towns as well, belonged to the Beaver clan, the same as that which furnished the first chief. According to Legus Perryman, the second chief of Lutcapoga "was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

called the itá'lwa mi'ko. He was assistant to the head chief and, while the authority of the latter extended over the town as a whole, he concerned himself with matters of a more local character, particularly those connected with the square. He might be called the "square chief." Similarly, the second chief of Coweta, who was taken from the Panther clan, is said to have been "chief of the square," while the head chief was "speaker for the other towns friendly to Coweta." This may refer back to the time when the Coweta chief was also chief of all the Lower Creeks. The second chief of Łiwahali is said to have been of the Aktayatci or Fox clan and to have taken charge if, for any reason, the miko had to leave the square ground. In Łikatcha the miko belonged to the Alligator clan and the miko apokta to the Bear. I was informed that at Chiaha the miko and heniha were both taken from the Bear clan, but the miko apokta must have been intended instead of the heniha. From Speck it appears that the position of miko apokta at Tuskegee was of a less permanent character. He says: "If the *miko* could not leave his town he appointed a delegate who bore his title to attend the councils of other towns or those of the Confederacy."[29]

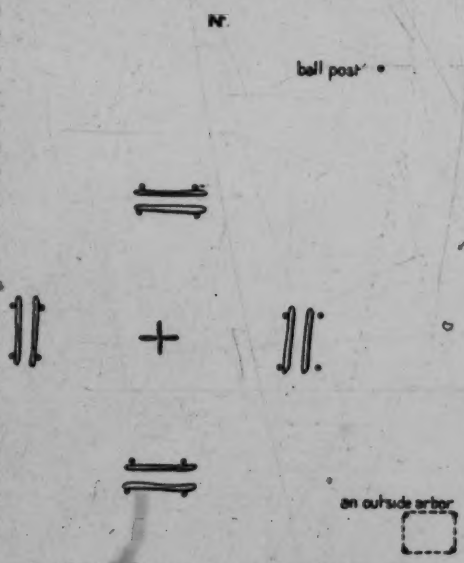

FIG. 90.—Tallahasutci Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Connected evidently with the institution of a miko apokta was a condition reported from several towns in which the chieftainship alternated between two clans. I was informed that in Tcatoksofka such an alternation took place between the Bear and Beaver clans. If the head chief belonged to the Bear clan and the second chief to the Beaver clan, and the former died the latter would become head chief, a member of the Bear clan being chosen as second chief. In Tuskegee a similar alternation took place between the Bear and Wind clans, and in the old Abihka town near Eufaula an alternation is reported between the Bear and Raccoon. This Abihka square has, however, long been given up and the other Abihka towns do not seem

[29] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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to have preserved the custom, although in two of them the chiefs are Bear and the henihas Raccoon. In the Seminole town of Talahasutci there is said to have been an alternation between the Beaver and the Bird clans. I was told that, after the last reorganization of the Hitchiti square in which the miko was taken from the Bird clan and the heniha from the Deer, in an emergency the latter could be made miko and the former heniha.

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In addition to the chiefs, second chiefs, and similar leaders there was anciently a considerable body of persons called mikâgi, or mikâlgi,

S. [344 621]

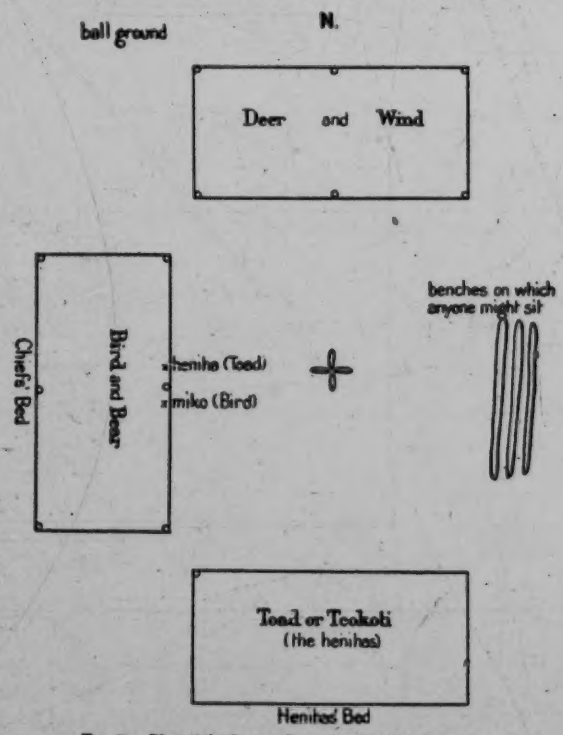

FIG. 91.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole

the plural of miko, who performed minor functions. These were ordinarily taken from the same clan as the head miko, though it may be possible that the appellation was extended beyond under certain circumstances, particularly in later times. It is even possible that the name may have been bestowed at the busk on account of an ancestor who had this title and with no office or dignity attached. All we can say is that the mikâgi belonged theoretically, and usually, to the clan of the head miko. The following account of this class by

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624 been this class which was pointed out to Milfort as the real rulers of the Creek nation when he inquired for their "king."[45]

624 Particular attention should be called to the differentiation of the isti àtcagàgi belonging to the clan of the chiefs as isti àtcagàgi sûlga in Tukabahchee and elsewhere. This differentiation indicates the invasion of the clan and hereditary ideas into an institution mainly based on merit. I do not mean that it necessarily represents a later development, yet it was the side of the institution which became more pronounced in later times. Even an informant as old as Jackson Lewis, in describing the isti àtcagàgi—probably as recognized in Eufaula—says that the term was applied to the men of the same clan as that of the town chief or to men of related clans. He adds that they sat in the central part of the north bed and embraced those who would succeed to the chieftaincy. As we have seen, they were not solely of the royal clan, but it is probably true that those who happened to belong in this group often became chiefs. In Pakan tallahassee and Okchai the hereditary tendency has gone so far that the term is applied to members of the Bird and Wind clans, respectively. It is to be added that the same evolution has taken place with another merit group, the tàstànàgis. At old Abihka near Eufaula I was told that the Raccoon clan were the tàstànàgis, at Kan-tcati the tàstànàgis were of the Panther clan, and at Lutcapoga and Łikatcka of the Aktayatci. At Mikasuki part of the Panther clan is called the "first warriors," part of the Potato clan the "second warriors," and parts of both the "lesser warriors." Nothing could show the decline of the system better than the idea expressed by one of my informants that all of the occupants of a certain bed were at the same time tàstànàgis, tcilokis, and henihas. In Tukabahchee, where the old system is still partially in force, it yet happens that most of the tàstànàgis belong to the Raccoon or royal clan, most of the big imałas to the Potato, and most of the little imałas to the Panther and Bear. It must be remembered, however, that the two first classes were accompanied at the busk by henihas of the Wind clan. We find, furthermore, that certain clans from the Red side are particularly associated with war and often sit in the same bed as the warriors from whom many of their members were chosen, and no doubt this is the real reason why they came in time to be confounded with them. As shown elsewhere, the clans principally associated with war and oftenest seated in the Warriors' bed were the Panther, Deer, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci.[45a] Regarding the Panther, I have evidence that there was a mental association of the characteristics of the animal with the occupation, and I was told in the case of the lesser imałas among the Tukabahchee that they were taken from the Panther and Bear because those two animals have a fierce

[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 208-209.

[45a] See p. 227.

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disposition—and this in spite of the almost universal classification of the Bear as a peace clan. Further evidence of degeneration is shown in some of the Seminole towns in Oklahoma where a singe tàstànàgi has usurped the functions of both the chief's heniha and the miko apokta. 624 614.

At Tukabahchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns as well, the isti àtcagàgi, the tàstànàgis, and some of the other classes bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a share in its government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seen to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war. When it was in its prime it is probable that merit vastly overbalanced, the isti àtcagàgis, tàstànàgis, imalas, and tàsikayas having owed their positions mainly, at least, to individual accomplishments. Although the mikàgi and henihàlgi had to do with peace mainly, they had gone through with the war discipline and had been selected from among the warriors. While they must always belong to certain clans they were, beyond that restriction, elective, and, as these clans were usually numerous, a considerable choice could be exercised. While it is true that the legislative and executive power was vested in a small number of people these were persons who had, for the most part, worked their way up by their talents and bravery, and were really representative of the native ideals of what was highest and most worthy. A power of recall was also exercised in the case of the chief and it is probable that we should find that the same power existed in effect over the other offices. A separation of governmental functions had begun in some particulars, the henihas being a kind of Department of the Interior concerned with the pursuits of peace, and the various classes of warriors, particularly the tàstànàgis, a department concerned with war, and also constituting an internal police. 624 554

Speck is the only authority for the use of face paintings to mark differences in rank. He says: 554 302

"Facial painting was employed to indicate rank in the town. Persons bearing the title of *miko* or *hiniha* wore black paint on one side of the face and red on the other, coloring either the whole face or only the space around the eyes. The second pattern belonged to ordinary initiated men having the title *taskáya* and consisted of four stripes, from the cheek-bone to the angle of the jaw, alternating in red and yellow." [46]

[46] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

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554 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck
302 derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say:

"The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti àtcagàgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the à-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the àsi was the prerogative of the henihàlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the àsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at
•614 different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the
623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

619 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy
631 the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets
642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 346.
[48] See p. 426.
[49] The game described on pp. 469-470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 303.

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desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment. 681

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment. 628 682 614

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[39a] 888

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows: 847

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[40]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[41]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed 754 683

[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 497.
[39] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 28-30.
[39a] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
[40] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 273.
[41] Milfort, Mém., p. 261.

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given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [89]

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [89a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikáno' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

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[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 413.

[89a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 24-25.

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584 girl then goes to the parents of the girl and tells the story. The
585 girl is not consulted in the case. If the parents are willing, a time for the ceremony of marriage is appointed by the connections. At the time appointed an outer house or corn crib is selected near the girl's house and a bowl of sofkee (boiled corn) is placed under the projecting shed of the crib in sight from the house, and here the girl has the privilege of exerting a veto. The girl is informed of the whole business and if she chooses to allow the man to steal up and take a spoonful of sofkee without her seeing him, it is a marriage and the parties sleep the first night in the corn crib. This has been the old custom, but is going out of use. After the ceremony the young man is not allowed to visit the house of his wife by day for the period of a month, but must visit his wife after dark and go away before day. The sofkee part of the ceremony is now generally
595 dispensed with. If a married man takes another wife, the first wife may assent to it passively or, if she chooses, she may whip the woman, but in this case she must move away and yield all her rights to the latter, who becomes the principal wife. In this way the man may take as many women as he pleases and is able to support. The wife, in the exercise of her prerogative, has a right to the assistance of her female relations and when it is exercised the ceremony is severe and makes a lasting impression. The object is to disfigure their victim and the wife uses her nails, scratches the face of the new wife, and whips her with switches. (The severity of this ceremony must exercise a considerable restraint upon both husband and women, making it necessary to consult the wife in advance in order that her assent may be assured, before her rights are encroached upon. Alexander said he knew of a case (*saw it*—and heard the language) when a wife exercised her right, saying as she laid on the lash, "You think it is honey, but I will make it vinegar before I'm done with you.")[10]

585 "Among the Creeks" (says Claiborne), "the marriage ceremony is this: The man gives the woman a piece of venison or some kind of meat, and she gives him an ear of corn in the presence of witnesses. They are then man and wife, at least until the green-corn dance. Then the married couple are released if either of them thinks proper to break the contract. In such case the woman keeps the children."[11]

584 From the accounts obtained by myself it is evident that the regular
614 marriage or "binding" was a clan (or rather exogamous group) affair and that it could be initiated by the clan of the youth or that of the girl. According to one statement the maternal uncles and cousins of a girl—i. e., the people of her clan—talked the matter over—probably at a clan council—and decided upon the young man who ap-

[10] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[11] Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 482.

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peared to them most eligible, one who was a good hunter, a good warrior, or a good ball player, or all of these, he being also of course outside of the prohibited degrees. All his qualifications were reviewed and all possible objections, consanguineal and other, considered. After a majority of the clan relations had agreed they informed the girl's parents, and the latter told their daughter to make her bed ready. Then the youth was brought, and, pointing to the bed, they said to him, "There is your bed. Lie in it." Then they went away and left them. 584 614

On the other hand, at a council of the clan to which a certain youth belonged it might be suggested that he was a nice fellow and getting along in years, and that such and such a girl was well brought up and cared for and an altogether desirable match, and that they had better send over to her people and ask for her. Then they would send someone over. The people of the girl's clan would meet and say "In a few days you will hear from us." The time having elapsed, word would be sent, and, if it were favorable, in a few days more the young man was conducted thither. Then the parents of the girl informed her what was expected of her and told her to prepare her bed. They brought the youth in and told the two that that was to be their bed henceforth.[13] In olden times this was the only legal marriage; nevertheless, from what has been quoted it is apparent that temporary unions were tolerated in the nature of trial marriages or with women who had become outcasts.

Speck was told that a wife sometimes accompanied her husband to his town and resided there, in which case the children belonged to that town.[14] This must have happened rather rarely and in any case would not affect the clanship of the children, which always remained the same as that of the mother. 591

The testimony obtained from the Texas Alabama is to much the same effect as the foregoing. Marriages were arranged by the clan uncles and aunts, and the father and mother of both parties, who first agreed together and then talked to the young people in order to persuade them to agree. When this was accomplished the girl prepared her couch for her husband, who came after all were asleep and got up and left before daylight. He did the same thing every night for about a week, and for a month afterwards his wife's people did not talk much to him nor he to them. 585 [584]

These ceremonies apply particularly to marriage between quite young people. It is said that in marriages which took place later in life the parties concerned had as much voice in the matter as their clansmen and clanswomen. Probably they had more, as the

[13] Sometimes a separate house was put up for them before the wedding took place. See p. 373, and Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. ii, p. 117.

[14] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. ii, p. 117.

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589 Elsewhere the same observer informs us that, in 1840, the Creek national council undertook to reduce the period of enforced widowhood to 12 months, but so much opposition was aroused that they were forced to restore the old law the next year.[27]

[736] The Tukabahchee chief informed Hitchcock that when there were widows or orphans with no one to take care of them he called the people out and had them put up a house for them, fence in a garden, and plant corn.

Claiborne says:

"With the Creeks, when a man dies, his wives can not dress up, or go into company, or attend the dances or appear in the town square, or bind up their hair for the period of 12 months, during which time they must remain chaste under the penalty of beating and cropping as above stated. The relations of the deceased husband have the privilege of releasing them from the observance of this custom before the year is out, but they seldom do so."[28]

[587 The fact comes out plainly in all of these accounts that the clan, or rather the family group within the clan, which has furnished the husband or the wife of the widow or widower feels itself under obligations to supply his or her place, and on the other hand that it has the prior right to supply it. That not merely the man but the group had acquired the right to the individual is shown clearly by Swan's statement above that a widow who made free with any man until after four summers was considered an adulteress. This does not mean a communal right, however; merely a right to furnish the bereaved party with another spouse. .614]

As might have been anticipated, Adair has a great deal to say on this subject, though it must be understood that his remarks apply more particularly to the Chickasaw:

"All the Indian widows, by an established strict penal law, mourn for the loss of their deceased husbands; and among some tribes for the space of three or four years. . . .

"The Muskohge widows are obliged to live a chaste single life, for the tedious space of four years; and the Chikkasah women, for the term of three, at the risque of the law of adultery being executed against the recusants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the first year of her widowhood, she is obliged through the fear of shame to lament her loss, in very intense audible strains. . . .

"Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diversions, at the penalty of an adulteress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this respect. The

[27] See p. 384.
[28] Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 488.

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at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved. 000

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable: 796 614

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'[35b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikinobánga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others." [36]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atásá, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[37] Atásá posts 796 642 621 619

[35b] This is really the horned owl.

[36] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134–135.

[37] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atásá sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogálga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłáko, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Támi with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

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614 [615]

Lidjàmi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, and Muskrat[1] were usually placed with the Raccoon.

Some phratral associations, however, were confined to one or a few towns and did not extend throughout the nation. Thus the Potato was commonly placed in one phratry with the Raccoon but in Tukabahchee it was separated. The Beaver was usually placed with the Bird, but in Alabama it was quite distinct. On the other hand it was sometimes classed with the Alligator. Occasionally the Aktayatci formed one phratry with the Raccoon, and much more rarely the Deer and Panther were found together. Differences of this kind were due in some measure to the council system. Every important clan in a given town, or every group of related clans, held meetings during the annual ceremony known as the busk and each listened to an address by its oldest capable male member or "uncle." If an individual came to live in a town in which his own clan or his phratral group was not represented, he would elect to affiliate with one of those already in existence. It was usual for all of the children of each group of this kind to consider themselves brothers and sisters between whom marriage was ordinarily prohibited. However, the information I received shows plainly that sexual intimacy between individuals of linked clans was not considered as serious as between members of the same clan. It is specifically stated regarding some of these clans that "they were kin" up to noon, or up to midnight, and separate the rest of the time, *i. e.*, a limited taboo was maintained against them. It is also said that a man would sometimes pretend that a woman whom he wished to marry was of a certain clan, for which he would manufacture a name, although she was in fact of his own, and that, if he were a man of influence, he often "put over" this new creation of his. On the other hand, I have been told that, even though children of certain of the primary clans were brought up together, they would never be regarded as brothers and sisters. It is quite plain that all sorts of variations had grown up in response to unpredictable situations.

When one eliminates the obscure and the constantly linked clans, about nine are left of something like major importance. These are the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther. We should perhaps add the Potato. The Beaver, however, has importance mainly in one group of towns, and the Aktayatci appear to have been rather closely associated with the Hitchiti and the Seminole, but also with Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula.

[1] In the 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (p. 116) I erroneously called this the Mink.

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614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagálgi, "White People," and Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tciloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tciloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tciloki. The Alligator is most often Tciloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tciloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tciloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohił Yáhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

621 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups
624 in each town which had official functions. Some of these were

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determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała lâbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanâgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstânâgi łàko or holibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikâlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhâlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhâlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhâlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called istatcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhâlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

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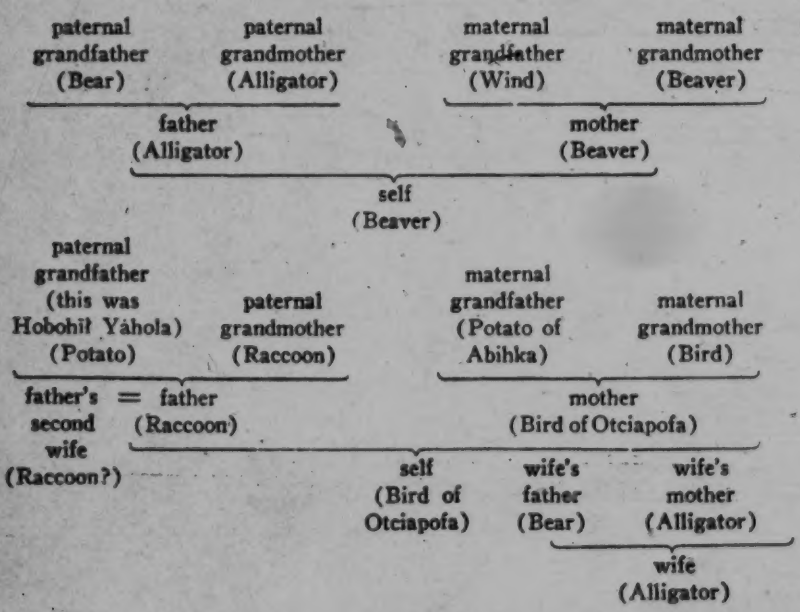
GENEALOGIES

The two brief genealogies which follow will illustrate in some measure the influence of the clan system on marriage. The first is the genealogy of Jeff Canard of Łapłáko; the second that of Earnest Gouge of Hanna, the latter of especial interest because it includes the famous orator Hobohił Yáhola.



CONCLUSION

The busk undoubtedly represents a long period of development, and as the stages through which it passed and the elements entering into it have been lost, we can never understand it fully. Its main purpose, however, was evident. It was to restore the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rupture. Hence the new fire, extracted from its abiding place in the wood and not as yet sullied by contact with humanity. Hence the rigorous fast accompanied by administration of medicines divinely revealed to the ancestors, the general pardon of offenders, the sabbath calm prescribed for that period of regeneration, the use of white paint, and the employment of the term white—"the white day," "the white smoke," "the white drink"—in various parts of the ritual. The one discordant note seems to have been provided by the women's dance, since the leaders

[For seating arrangements of clans in square grounds and for general information on the role of clans in community organization, see category 621]

[For a tabular list of clans and a comparison and discussion of clanship in this group with that in selected tribes of the Southeast, see 1: Swanton, NN11 Creek, category 116, pp. 114-120.]

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614 171 One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tápàsànà', with that for daddy-longlegs, tápohsàlà. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

• 615 It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogàlgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcàlgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogàlgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

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The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanàlgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanàlgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 188.
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 156; vol. IX, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

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thought the proper designation of the clan was Nokfilâlgi, a name originally applied to a mythic animal but later given to the white people. We must be a little cautious about this, however, because some of Gatschet's aged informants told him that properly the Nokfilâlgi were a native tribe which disappeared long ago.[13] If the interpretation is correct we should naturally suppose that the clan originated in early intermarriages between Indians and Spaniards, but the purely conventional use of Sawanogâlgi warns us against placing too much reliance upon such an hypothesis. 615.

Clans were linked together into phratries in various ways. Many were small and were considered merely as minor branches of some large clan; others were coordinate in size and importance, though not necessarily of equal importance in every town. Some appear to have been almost entirely confined to certain villages, while others were represented nearly everywhere. Still more remarkable is the fact, hardly paralleled elsewhere, that the very same clans were often linked into a phratry in some towns and separated in others, sometimes even linked with different clans. The relationship of certain clans was recognized practically throughout the nation, but in the case of many others there was no such uniformity. We may divide the associations which we find into three classes: (1) The affiliations of obscure clans for which we have perhaps the authority of but one or two persons; (2) associations recognized almost universally; and (3) associations which varied from one town to another. 615 184

Of the first class were the Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, and Kantâlâlgi, said to be Lower Eufaula clans affiliated with the Bear. A Seminole informant stated that the name Asunâlgi referred to the âsi or black drink; another maintained that it was from Spanish moss, asunwa. Both of these informants, however, agreed that this clan belonged with the Bear, and the former added that it was because the female bear, when she is going to bring forth her cubs, pulls down âsi bushes for a bed; hence the âsi was said to be the bear's grandparent. The Inlanisâlgi were connected with the Bird clan. One of my informants knew an old man who claimed that he belonged to the Hilislâgi or Medicine clan. He classed himself with the Bird people and this was natural since the Bird was a White or Peace clan with which we should expect medicine to be associated. The Turtle clan (Lutcâlgi) is said to have been connected with the Wind. On one occasion, when a man belonging to the Wildcat clan was being tried in an Indian court, a prospective juryman presented himself who said that he belonged to the Liâlgi or "Arrow people." As he claimed that this clan was connected with the Wildcat and Panther he was excused from service. 615

According to an old man, people were on one occasion about to kill the mink but he escaped into the cane, therefore the Mink clan

[13] See p. 61.

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•615 claimed to be connected with the Cane. According to another old man, however, the Mink was akin to the Beaver. Jackson Lewis, one of the best of my informants, affirmed that the Cane clan was "kindred to and nearly the same as the Raccoon clan," while an old Seminole connected it with the Beaver and Potato. When we remember that the Raccoon and Potato were often classed together we see a reason for the association of this set of clans—Mink, Cane, Beaver, Raccoon, and Potato. According to another informant, the Cane clan in Kealedji was associated with the Mole, Raccoon, Potato, Fox, and Łidjámálgi clans, which agrees with the statement of Jackson Lewis; but I learned that in the Hitchiti town among the Seminole it was placed in one group with the Deer, Panther, and Pahosálgi. This would be an altogether different classification from that given by the others. According to Jackson Lewis, the Hickorynut clan was kindred to the Eagle. The Tcowastálgi were either identical with the Potato clan or, what is more probable, closely associated with it. At some period in the not remote past the Fox and Daddy-longlegs clans are said to have united into one which afterwards received the name Raccoon. This did not involve the Texas Alabama, and in any case can only have meant that the Fox and Daddy-longlegs combined with an already existing Raccoon clan.[14] The Yanasálgi are thought, for what reason I know not, to have belonged among the Tciloki clans to be discussed presently. Nothing more has been preserved regarding the connection of this clan, or the affiliations of the Atciálgi, Okilisálgi, Sidjotcápkálgi, or Wałakálgi, while, as we have seen, those of the Sulálgi and Muklasálgi are in doubt. The name Okilisálgi is, uncertainly, said to refer to the weevil (átci-suklaitcá), but this seems rather far-fetched and Gatschet's suggestion that it was an attempt at "English" is attractive in view of the seeming identification of a Spanish clan.[15]

615 614 621 Before giving an account of the other clan associations—(2) and (3)—it will be necessary to explain a Creek institution which has an important bearing on this question. At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (pawa), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the

[14] See p. 154. [15] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 158; Ms. vocab.

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rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them already noted.

In the subjoined list I give the clan councils in all of the Creek and Seminole towns from which I was able to obtain information. Some towns are so nearly extinct that mistakes have undoubtedly been made, but the list embodies the best information to be had. Where two informants have been consulted and the testimony of these has differed considerably I have inserted the conflicting lists, numbering them (1) and (2).

Clan Councils by Towns

UPPER CREEKS

White towns

Talladega:
1. Raccoon, Aktayatci.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird.
5. Alligator, Beaver.[16]
6. Deer.
7. Panther.

Abihka-in-the-West:
1. Bird, Alligator, Beaver.
2. Bear, Panther, Wind.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.

Kan-tcati:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Deer.
3. Panther.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.
6. Alligator.
7. Bird.
8. Beaver (but perhaps placed with the Bird).

Otciapofa:
1. Panther.
2. Potato.
3. Tâmi.
4. Wind.
5. Pahosa.
6. Beaver.

Otciapofa—Continued.
7. Bear.
8. Aktayatci.
9. Raccoon.
10. Deer.

Tulsa Little River:[17]
1. Bird, Eagle.
2. Deer, Pahosa, Panther, Kapitca(?).[18]
3. Wildcat.
4. Potato.
5. Raccoon.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Wind.
8. Bear.
9. Beaver.
10. Otter.[19]

Lutcapoga (1):
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bird.
5. Beaver.
6. Bear.
7. Wind.
8. Deer.

Lutcapoga (2)
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Panther.
2. Aktayatci. Kapitca, Eagle.
3. Bear, Bird, Beaver.[20]
4. Wind.

[16] The number of Beaver people in this town was very small.
[17] The Turkey was also represented here, but its relations are unknown.
[18] The classification of the Kapitca in this group seems very doubtful. One informant also separated the Pahosa from it, but with less reason, as may be seen if we compare the associations of the Deer and Pahosa in other places.
[19] The presence of an Otter clan here depends on the testimony of one informant, although a very good one, who stated that in this town, unlike some others, the Beaver and Otter people intermarried.
[20] In the Tulsa towns, unlike most others, the Beaver and Bird seem to have preserved their independence and therefore informant 2 is probably wrong. Which informant is right regarding the Bird and Bear it is impossible for me to determine.

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Okfuskee:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Bear.
5. Bird.
6. Beaver.
7. Wind.
8. Panther.
9. Aktayatci.

Abihkutci:
1. Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, Woksi, Eagle, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Bird, Beaver.
5. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
6. Deer, Pahosa, Mole.
7. Panther, Wildcat.

Nuyaka:
1. Bear.
2. Wind.
3. Bird.
4. Beaver.
5. Deer.
6. Panther.
7. Alligator.
8. Raccoon.

Pakan tallahassee (1):
1. Bird, Bear, Wolf.
2. Wind, Aktayatci.[32]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Deer.
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey(?).

Pakan tallahassee (2):
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci.

Wiogufki (1):
1. Raccoon, Potato(?).
2. Alligator, Tâmi, Snake.
3. Bird, Pahosa.
4. Kapitca, Aktayatci.
5. Wind.
6. Beaver.
7. Bear.
8. Deer.

Wiogufki (2):
1. Bear, Beaver, Bird, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Wind.
5. Panther, Wildcat.

Asilanabi:
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Deer(?).[32a]
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Panther.[32a]
4. Wind.
5. Aktayatci.

(Okchai and Łałogałga were probably the same as Asilanabi.)

Wiwohka:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Kapitca.
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Wind, Skunk.
4. Bear, Bird, Wolf.
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Snake, Beaver.
6. Deer, Pahosa.
7. Aktayatci.[33]

Tuskegee:[33]
1. Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi.
2. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci.
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Bird.
5. Wind.
6. Bear.

Koasati No. 2:
1. Wind, Bear (and all Whites).
2. Raccoon, Alligator, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, Daddy-longlegs (and all Tcilokí).

Red towns

Tukaoahchee:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Aktayatci.
2. Raccoon, Eagle.[34]
3. Potato, Fox.
4. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Woksi.
5. Wind, Skunk
6. Deer.
7. Bird, Beaver, Otter.[35]
8. Bear.

[32] The association of the Wind and Aktayatci seems improbable.
[32a] But see p. 149 for a probable Deer-Panther association at Okchai.
[33] The Aktayatci perhaps belong in group 1.
[33] Spec notes in this town also the Deer, Fox, Mink, Snake, Buzzard, Skunk, and Rabbit clans.
[34] Some place the Potato in this group.
[35] There is some uncertainty as to the position of the Otter.

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Atasi (very defective):
1. Alligator, Turkey.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird, Beaver (?).
5. Aktayatci.
6. Panther.
7. Deer.
8. Raccoon, Potato.

Kealedji:
1. Mole, Raccoon, Potato,[53] Fox, Ledjâmi, Kohasa.
2. Skunk, Wind.
3. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey, Woksi.
4. Aktayatci.
5. Bear, Wolf.
6. Bird, Beaver.
7. Deer.
8. Panther.

Laplâko:[54]
1. Pahosa, Deer.
2. Beaver, Bear, Bird.[55]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Aktayatci, Kapitca (?).
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
7. Wind.

Hilibi:
1. Raccoon, Potato.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Bird.
6. Deer.

Upper Eufaula:[56]
1. Aktayatci, Potato, Raccoon.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf, Bird (?).
4. Panther.
5. Deer.
6. Tâmi, Turkey, Alligator.

Alabama (1):
1. Aktayatci, Deer.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Beaver.

Alabama (2):
1. Alligator, Wind, Bird, Turkey, Aktayatci.[58]
2. Bear, Salt, Panther,[59] Wildcat.[59]

Alabama in Texas:
1. Deer, Wolf.[60]
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Bear, Salt.
4. Alligator, Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, Turkey.
5. Wind, Skunk.

LOWER CREEKS

White towns

Kasihta:[61]
1. Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Fox, Raccoon, Beaver.
2. Wind, Fish (?).
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Panther.
5. Deer.[64]
6. Mole.

Hitchiti:
1. Pahosa, Mole, Deer.
2. Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Snake, Otter, Aktayatci.
3. Potato.
4. Panther.
5. Bear.
6. Wind

Okmulgee:[65]
1. Tâmi, Alligator.
2. Deer, Panther.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Beaver, Bird.
5. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Fox.
6. Wind.

[53] According to one informant, Potato belonged in group 3.

[54] There were also some of the Potato clan; associations unknown.

[55] An inferior informant classified the Bird and Bear separately.

[56] The Beaver clan was also represented here formerly; it sat with the Wind, Bear, Wolf, and Bird, but whether it was linked with any or all of these is uncertain.

[57] The association of Aktayatci and Wind seems improbable, but one other case of the kind has been noted (see Pakan tallahassee).

[58] There were very few representatives of these clans in Alabama.

[59] The only representatives of the Wolf clan living in 1912 were descended from the Pasaugeula tribe of Indians.

[60] The Bird clan was also represented in this town, but I did not obtain its linkage, though it sat with the Deer.

[61] Sat with 1 but could intermarry with them.

[64] Legus Perryman, probably referring to this town, said that the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator formed one council, a statement which, if true, would bring 1 and 5 together. The late David Hodge, who belonged to Okmulgee, declared that the Bird, Deer, and Aktayatci clans were all related, the women of these clans calling each other "sisters." This was denied by Perryman and seems improbable in the light of what we know of these clans elsewhere, although it is possible that the first two were so connected.

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Apalachicola:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Deer, Mole, Toad.
2. Bird, Snake, Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Beaver, Kapitca.
3. Wind.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Raccoon, Potato.
6. Aktayatci.

Yuchi:
1. Bear, Wolf.
2. Deer, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat.
3. Alligator, Fish, Beaver.
4. Bird.

Red towns

Coweta (1):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.

Coweta (2):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver, Wind, Bear.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.

Lower Eufaula:
1. Wind, Otter, Skunk, Mole, Teokote, Toad(?).
2. Bear, Nokfaha, Wolf, Salt, Fresh-land, Asunwa.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake, Alligator, Wokai.
4. Bird, Beaver, Tàmi.
5. Deer, Pahosa, Turkey, Panther, Wildcat.
6. Fox, Raccoon, Potato.

Chiaha:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatci.
2. Wolf, Bear, Deer(?).
3. Panther.
4. Bird.
5. Wind, Skunk, Fish.
6. Beaver.
7. Alligator, Tàmi.

Osochi:
(All that is known is that the Panther and Wildcat and the Bear and Wolf did not intermarry.)

SEMINOLE TOWNS

White towns

Ochesee:
1. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Otter.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Potato, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon(?).
5. Panther.
6. Deer.

Okfuskee:
1. Bird, Beaver.
2. Bear, Deer, Pahosa, Potato, Raccoon.
3. Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, Aktayatci.
4. Panther.
5. Wind.

Tallahasutci:
1. Beaver, Potato.
2. Tàmi, Alligator, Turkey.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake.
4. Wind (possibly with last).
5. Bear.
6. Bird.
7. Deer, Panther.

Hitchiti Seminole:
1. Wind, Skunk, Otter.
2. Bird, Aktayatci, Snake, Alligator, Tàmi.
3. Deer, Panther, Kohosa (Cane?), Pahosa.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Toad, Teokote, Mole.
6. Beaver, Potato.

Red towns

Eufaula:
1. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey, Kapitca, Snake, Aktayatci.
2. Deer (probably including the Pahosa).
3. Raccoon.
4. Potato.
5. Panther.
6. Wind.
7. Bear.[86]
8. Bird.[86]

[86] There were a few people of the Bird clan and one belonging to the Bear which had not been definitely placed, perhaps because in recent years no occasion had arisen which demanded definite allocation.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Chiaha:
1. Wind, Skunk.
2. Raccoon, Fox.
3. Potato.
4. Bird.
5. Bear.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Alligator.
8. Deer.
9. Beaver.

Łiwahali:
1. Beaver, Otter, Bird, Turkey, Tâmi, Bear, Salt.
2. Wind.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Potato, Raccoon.*
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.

Mikasuki: (Unobtainable.)

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The facts are now before us; let us proceed to an analysis of them. In the following table I have recorded the number of times each association of any two clans takes place, and the number of times any two clans are recorded in each town unassociated. UC stands for "Upper Creeks," A for "Alabama," K for "Koasati," LC for "Lower Creeks," H for "Hitchiti," Y for "Yuchi," and S for "Seminole." To.=="Total."

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* Another informant stated that the Potato and Raccoon clans were anciently classed with the Bird.

Associations of Creek Clans

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*Tc*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*Tc*
Wind and Skunk	6	1		2	1		1	11								
Wind and Fish				2				2						1		1
Wind and Otter				1	1		1	3	2				1		1	4
Wind and Bear	1		1	1				3	18	2		4	4	1	6	35
Wind and Deer						1		1	17	3	1	4	4		6	35
Wind and Panther	1					1		2	18	2	1	4	4		5	34
Wind and Mole				1				1	2			1	3			6
Wind and Bird		1		1				2	18		1	3	4		5	31
Wind and Alligator		1						1	17	1	1	3	4	1	7	34
Wind and Turkey		1						1	11	1		2	1		3	18
Wind and Tcokote				1				1					1			1
Wind and Toad				1				1				2				2
Wind and Raccoon									19		1	4	2		5	31
Wind and Beaver				1				1	19	2	1	3	4	1	5	35
Wind and Aktayatci	1	1						2	16	1	1	4	4		6	32
Wind and Potato									15			3	4		6	28
Wind and Tami									13			3	4		3	23
Wind and Pahosa									7			1	2		3	13
Wind and Eagle									4							4
Wind and Kapitca									6			1	1		5	13
Wind and Wildcat									7	2		2	2			13
Wind and Tcowasta									2			1				3
Wind and Wolf									5	1		2	3	1	1	13
Wind and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Wind and Nokfaha												1				1
Wind and Salt										2		1			1	4
Wind and Fresh-land												1				1

Wind and Asunwa												1				1
Wind and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Wind and Woksi									3			1				4
Wind and Fish														1		1
Wind and Łidjâmi									1							1
Wind and Cane									1				1			2
Wind and Daddy-longlegs										1	1					2
Bear and Wolf	6			4	3	1	1	15		1						1
Bear and Salt		2		1			1	4								
Bear and Panther	1	1						2	18	1	1	4	4	1	5	34
Bear and Bird	7			1			1	9	14	1	1	3	4		4	27
Bear and Beaver	5			1			1	7	15	2	1	4	4	1	4	31
Bear and Alligator	3							3	17	2	1	4	4	1	6	35
Bear and Tâmi	3						1	4	13			4	4		2	23
Bear and Turkey	3						1	4	9	2		2	1		2	16
Bear and Deer	1			1			1	3	17	2	1	2	4	1	5	32
Bear and Otter							1	1	2			1	2		1	6
Bear and Pahosa							1	1	7			1	2		2	12
Bear and Potato							1	1	15			4	4		5	28
Bear and Raccoon							1	1	20		1	4	2		4	31
Bear and Aktayatci									17	1	1	4	4		6	33
Bear and Daddy-longlegs										1	1					2
Bear and Asunwa				1				1								
Bear and Fresh-land				1				1								
Bear and Nokfaha				1				1								
Bear and Fish												2		1		3
Bear and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Bear and Wildcat									7			2	2			11
Bear and Skunk									6			2	1		1	10
Bear and Mole									2			2	3			7
Bear and Teokote												1	1			2

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Bear and Toad												1	2			3
Bear and Kapitca									6			1	1		5	13
Bear and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Bear and Wokai									3			1				4
Bear and Eagle									4							4
Bear and Tcowasta									2							2
Bear and Łidjámi									1							1
Bear and Cane									1				1			2
Panther and Wildcat	6	2		3	2			13	1							1
Panther and Deer	1		1	2	3	1	1	9	15	1		2	1		4	23
Panther and Mole					1			1	2			1	2			5
Panther and Raccoon	1		1					2	18			4	2		4	28
Panther and Potato	1							1	13			4	4		5	26
Panther and Pahosa	1			1	1			3	5				1		3	9
Panther and Alligator			1					1	16	2		4	4	1	5	32
Panther and Beaver			1					1	18	1		4	4	1	4	32
Panther and Nokfaha												1				1
Panther and Łidjámi									1							1
Panther and Bird			1					1	18	1		3	4		4	30
Panther and Aktayatci	1		1					2	15	1		4	4		5	29
Panther and Salt		1						1		1		1			1	3
Panther and Turkey				1				1	11	2		1	1		3	18
Panther and Cane					1			1	1							1
Panther and Daddy-longlegs			1					1		1						1
Panther and Tcowasta	1							1	1							1
Panther and Kapitca	1							1	4			1	1		5	11
Panther and Wolf									4	1		3	3	1	1	13

Panther and Fish												2		1		3
Panther and Tàmi									12			4	4		3	23
Panther and Fox									3			4	1			8
Panther and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Panther and Skunk									6	1		2	1			10
Panther and Mole									2			2	2			6
Panther and Tcokote												1	1			2
Panther and Toad					1			1				1	1			2
Panther and Fresh-land												1				1
Panther and Asunwa												1				1
Panther and Snake									1			1	3		5	10
Panther and Wokal									3			1				4
Panther and Eagle									4							4
Deer and Pahoea	5			1	2		3	11	2							2
Deer and Mole	1				2			3	1			2	1			4
Deer and Tcokote												1	1			2
Deer and Toad					1		1	2				1	1			2
Deer and Wildcat				2	2			4	6	1						7
Deer and Bird	1		1					2	17			3	4		6	30
Deer and Beaver	1		1					2	16	2		4	4	1	5	32
Deer and Alligator	1		1					2	16	1		4	4	1	6	32
Deer and Tàmi	1							1	12			4	4		3	23
Deer and Turkey	1			1				2	10	1		1	1		3	16
Deer and Artayatci		1	1					2	15			4	4		6	29
Deer and Wolf		1		1				2	5			2	3	1	1	12
Deer and Raccoon			1				1	2	20			4	2		4	30
Deer and Cane					1			1	1							1
Deer and Daddy-longlegs			1					1		1						1
Deer and Potato								1	14			4	4		5	27
Deer and Kapitca	1							1	4			1	1		5	11
Deer and Lidjàmi									1							1
Deer and Fish												2		1		3

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Deer and Fox									3			4	1		1	9
Deer and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Deer and Skunk												2		1		3
Deer and Nokfaha												1				1
Deer and Salt										1		1			1	3
Deer and Fresh-land												1				1
Deer and Asunwa												1				1
Deer and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Deer and Wokai									3			1				4
Deer and Eagle									3							3
Deer and Tcowasta									1							1
Bird and Beaver	10		1	2	3		3	19	9			1	1		2	13
Bird and Snake					3			3	2			1			5	8
Bird and Alligator	4	1	1		3			9	16			3	1		6	26
Bird and Aktayatci		1	1		2			4	16			3	2		6	27
Bird and Turkey	3	1			1		1	6	10			2			2	14
Bird and Tâmi	3			1	3		1	8	12			2	1		2	17
Bird and Kapitca					1			1	6			1			5	12
Bird and Eagle	1							1	3							3
Bird and Wolf	3							3	3			2	3		1	9
Bird and Pahosa	1							1	5			1	2		3	11
Bird and Otter	1				1		1	3	1			1	1		1	4
Bird and Salt								1		1		1				2
Bird and Potato							1	1	14			3	4		5	26
Bird and Raccoon			1				1	2	19			3	2		4	28
Bird and Daddy-longlegs			1					1								
Bird and Wildcat									7	1		2	2			12

Bird and Skunk									6			2	1		1	10
Bird and Fox									3			3	1		1	8
Bird and Mole									2			1	3			6
Bird and Teokote												1	1			2
Bird and Toad												1	2			3
Bird and Nokfaha												1				1
Bird and Fresh-land												1				1
Bird and Asunwa												1				1
Bird and Woksi									3			1				4
Bird and Teowasta									2							2
Bird and Lidjâmi									1							1
Bird and Cane									1				1			2
Bird and Fish												1				1
Beaver and Potato				1	1		2	4	13			3	3		3	22
Beaver and Tâmi	5			2	2		1	10	8			2	2		1	13
Beaver and Aktayâtci			1	1	1			3	15	1		3	3		5	27
Beaver and Fox				1				1	3			3	1		1	8
Beaver and Alligator	7	1	1	1	2	1		13	10			3	2		5	20
Beaver and Racoon			1	1			1	3	18			3	2		3	26
Beaver and Snake	1				2			3	1			1	1		4	7
Beaver and Turkey	4	1			1		1	7	6			2			1	9
Beaver and Kapitca					1			1	6			1			4	11
Beaver and Fish						1		1				2				2
Beaver and Otter	1				1		1	3	1			1	1		1	4
Beaver and Salt							1	1		1		1				2
Beaver and Daddy-longlegs		1	1					2								
Beaver and Wildcat									6	1		2	2			11
Beaver and Wolf									3	1		3	3	1	1	12
Beaver and Skunk									5	1		2	1		1	10
Beaver and Mole									2			2	3			7
Beaver and Teokote												1	1			2
Beaver and Toad												1	2			3

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Beaver and Nokfaha												1				1
Beaver and Fresh-land												1				1
Beaver and Asunwa												1				1
Beaver and Woksi									3			1				4
Beaver and Pahosa									7			1	2		2	11
Beaver and Eagle									4							4
Beaver and Tcowasta									2							2
Beaver and Łidjámi									1							1
Beaver and Cane									1				1			2
Alligator and Tàmi	13			3	4		2	22				1			1	2
Alligator and Turkey	12	2		1	1		2	18				1			1	2
Alligator and Potato				2				2	13			2	4		6	25
Alligator and Aktayatci		1	1	3	2		4	11	15			1	2		2	20
Alligator and Fox				2				2	3			2	1		1	7
Alligator and Snake	2			1	3		4	10							1	1
Alligator and Raccoon			1	2				3	18			2	2		5	27
Alligator and Kapitca				1	1		4	6	4						1	5
Alligator and Fish						1		1				2				2
Alligator and Woksi	2			1				3	1							1
Alligator and Otter					1			1	1			1	1		2	5
Alligator and Eagle									2							2
Alligator and Tcowasta									1							1
Alligator and Salt										2		1			1	4
Alligator and Daddy-longlegs		1	1					2								
Alligator and Wildcat									6	1		2	2		1	12
Alligator and Skunk									6	1		2	1		1	11
Alligator and Mole									2			2	3			7

Alligator and Tcokote												1	1			2
Alligator and Toad												1	2			3
Alligator and Nokfaha												1				1
Alligator and Fresh-land												1				1
Alligator and Asunwa												1				1
Alligator and Pahoss									5			1	2		3	11
Alligator and Wolf									6	1		3	3		1	14
Alligator and Cane									1				1			2
Alligator and Łidjámi									1							1
Tàmi and Turkey	11			1	1		3	16				1				1
Tàmi and Potato				2	1			3	12			2	4		3	21
Tàmi and Aktayatci				2	2		1	5	14			2	2		2	20
Tàmi and Fox				2	1			3	3			2	1			6
Tàmi and Raccoon				2	1			3	14			2	2		2	20
Tàmi and Snake	2				3		1	6				1			2	3
Tàmi and Kapitca					1		1	2	4			1			2	7
Tàmi and Woksi	2							2	1			1				2
Tàmi and Otter					1		1	2				1	1			2
Tàmi and Salt							1	1				1				1
Tàmi and Wildcat									6			2	2			10
Tàmi and Skunk									6			2	1			9
Tàmi and Mole									2			2	3			7
Tàmi and Tcokote												1	1			2
Tàmi and Toad												1	2			3
Tàmi and Nokfaha												1				1
Tàmi and Fresh-land												1				1
Tàmi and Asunwa												1				1
Tàmi and Pahoss									6			1	2		2	11
Tàmi and Eagle									2							2
Tàmi and Łidjámi									1							1
Tàmi and Cane									1				1			2
Tàmi and Wolf									6			3	3			12

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Tàmi and Tcowasta									1							1
Tàmi and Fish												2				2
Turkey and Snake	1				1		1	3				1			2	3
Turkey and Kapitcs					1		1	2	3			1			2	6
Turkey and Wokai	2							2	1			1				2
Turkey and Pahoss				1				1	4						2	6
Turkey and Salt							1	1		2		1				3
Turkey and Aktayatci		1		1			1	3	12			1	1		2	16
Turkey and Raccoon				1				1	12			1	1		2	16
Turkey and Potato				1				1	10			1	1		3	15
Turkey and Otter							1	1	1			1				2
Turkey and Daddy-longlegs		1						1								
Turkey and Wildcat				1				1	5	2		1	1			9
Turkey and Skunk									6			1				7
Turkey and Wolf									5	1		1	1			8
Turkey and Mole									2			1	1			4
Turkey and Tcokote												1				1
Turkey and Toad												1	1			2
Turkey and Nokfaha												1				1
Turkey and Fresh-land												1				1
Turkey and Asunwa												1				1
Turkey and Eagle									2							2
Turkey and Tcowasta									1							1
Turkey and Fox				1				1	2			2				4
Turkey and Lidjàmi									1							1
Turkey and Cane									1							1
Aktayatci and Kapitcs	4			1			5	10	2				1			3

SWANTON] SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Aktayatci and Wokxi	1			1				2	2								2
Aktayatci and Snake				1	2		5	8	2				1				3
Aktayatci and Potato	3			3	1			7	11			1	3		6		21
Aktayatci and Fox	1			3	1			5	2			1			1		4
Aktayatci and Raccoon	4		1	3	1			9	13			1	1		5		20
Aktayatci and Eagle	2							2	2								2
Aktayatci and Otter					1			1	2			1	1		2		6
Aktayatci and Wildcat	1							1	6	1		2	2				11
Aktayatci and Daddy-longlegs			1					1									
Aktayatci and Salt										1		1			1		3
Aktayatci and Skunk									5			2	1		1		9
Aktayatci and Mole									2			2	3				7
Aktayatci and Pahoss									7			1	2		3		13
Aktayatci and Teokote												1	1				2
Aktayatci and Toad												1	2				3
Aktayatci and Nokfaha												1					1
Aktayatci and Fresh-land												1					1
Aktayatci and Azunwa												1					1
Aktayatci and Wolf									6			2	3		1		12
Aktayatci and Teowasta									2								2
Aktayatci and Cane									1				1				2
Aktayatci and Lidjámi									1								1
Aktayatci and Fish												2					2
Raccoon and Fish												2					2
Raccoon and Potato	12			4	2		3	21	3						2		5
Raccoon and Wokxi	1							1	2			1					3
Raccoon and Eagle	2							2	2								2
Raccoon and Kapitca	2							2	4			1	1		4		10
Raccoon and Mole	1							1	1			2	1				4
Raccoon and Fox	2			4	1		1	8	1								1
Raccoon and Pahoss							1	1	7			1			2		10
Raccoon and Daddy-longlegs			1					1									

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Raccoon and Łidjâmi	1							1								
Raccoon and Cane	1							1								
Raccoon and Tcowasta	2							2								
Raccoon and Wildcat									6			2	2			10
Raccoon and Otter									1			1			2	4
Raccoon and Skunk									6			2			1	9
Raccoon and Salt												1			1	2
Raccoon and Snake									2			2			4	8
Raccoon and Tcokote												1				1
Raccoon and Toad												1	1			2
Raccoon and Nokfaha												1				1
Raccoon and Fresh-land												1				1
Raccoon and Asunwa												1				1
Raccoon and Wolf									6			3	2		1	12
Potato and Fox	3			4	1			8							1	1
Potato and Woksi	1							1	2			1				3
Potato and Eagle	1							1	3							3
Potato and Kapitca	2							2	3			1	1		5	10
Potato and Pahosa							1	1	6			1	2		2	11
Potato and Tcowasta	2							2								
Potato and Łidjâmi	1							1								
Potato and Cane	1							1					1			1
Potato and Skunk									5			2	1		1	9
Potato and Wildcat									5			2	2			9
Potato and Otter									2			1	2		2	7
Potato and Mole	1							1	1			2	3			6
Potato and Salt												1			1	2

Potato and Snake									2			1	3		5	11
Potato and Teokote												1	1			2
Potato and Toad												1	2			3
Potato and Nokfaha												1				1
Potato and Fish												2				2
Potato and Fresh-land												1				1
Potato and Asunwa												1				1
Potato and Wolf									5			3	3		1	12
Fox and Łidjámi	1							1								
Fox and Cane	1							1								
Fox and Mole	1							1	1			2				3
Fox and Wildcat									2			2	1			5
Fox and Otter									1			1				2
Fox and Skunk									4			2			1	7
Fox and Salt												1				1
Fox and Snake												1				1
Fox and Pahosa									1			1				2
Fox and Teokote												1				1
Fox and Toad												1				1
Fox and Nokfaha												1				1
Fox and Fresh-land												1				1
Fox and Asunwa												1				1
Fox and Wolf									2			3	1			6
Fox and Fish												2				2
Fox and Eagle	1							1	1							1
Fox and Wokal	1							1	2							2
Fox and Kapitca	1							1				1				1
Wolf and Fish												2				2
Wolf and Nokfaha				1				1								
Wolf and Asunwa				1				1								
Wolf and Fresh-land				1				1								
Wolf and Salt				1				1		1						1

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Wolf and Wildcat									3	1		1	2			7
Wolf and Skunk									4	1		2	1			8
Wolf and Mole									2			2	2			6
Wolf and Teokote												1	1			2
Wolf and Toad												1	2			3
Wolf and Pahosa									2			1	1			4
Wolf and Otter												1	1		1	3
Wolf and Kapitca									2			1	1		1	5
Wolf and Snake									1			1	2		1	5
Wolf and Eagle									1							1
Wolf and Teowasta									1							1
Wolf and Woksi									2			1				3
Wolf and Łidjámi									1							1
Wolf and Cane									1				1			2
Wolf and Daddy-longlegs										1						1
Mole and Teokote				1	1			2								
Mole and Toad				1	2			3								
Mole and Pahosa	1				1			2				1	1			2
Mole and Wildcat					1			1	1			1				2
Mole and Eagle									1							1
Mole and Otter				1				1					2			2
Mole and Skunk				1				1	2				1			3
Mole and Łidjámi	1							1								
Mole and Cane	1							1					1			1
Mole and Nokfaha												1				1
Mole and Salt												1				1
Mole and Fresh-land												1				1

Mole and Asunwa												1					1
Mole and Kapitca									1			1	1				3
Mole and Snake												1	3				4
Mole and Woksi									2			1					3
Mole and Fish												1					1
Snake and Kapitca				1	1		5	7	2								2
Snake and Woksi				1				1									
Snake and Otter					1			1				1	1		2		4
Snake and Pahosa									2			1	2		3		8
Snake and Wildcat									1			1	1				3
Snake and Skunk									1			1	1				3
Snake and Teokote												1	1				2
Snake and Toad												1	2				3
Snake and Nokfaha												1					1
Snake and Salt												1			1		2
Snake and Fresh-land												1					1
Snake and Asunwa												1					1
Snake and Teowasta									1								1
Snake and Cane												1					1
Kapitca and Eagle	2							2	1								1
Kapitca and Woksi	1			1				2									
Kapitca and Teowasta	1							1	1								1
Kapitca and Wildcat									4			1	1				6
Kapitca and Otter									1			1			2		4
Kapitca and Skunk									2			1					3
Kapitca and Teokote												1					1
Kapitca and Toad												1	1				2
Kapitca and Nokfaha												1					1
Kapitca and Fresh-land												1					1
Kapitca and Asunwa												1					1
Kapitca and Salt												1			1		2
Kapitca and Pahosa	1							1	4			1			3		8

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of disassociations in the same tribe							
	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To	UC	A	K	LC	H	Y	S	To
Pahosa and Cane					1			1								
Pahosa and Wildcat				1				1	4							4
Pahosa and Otter									1			1	2		1	5
Pahosa and Skunk									2			1	1			4
Pahosa and Tookote												1	1			2
Pahosa and Toad												1	1			2
Pahosa and Nokfaha												1				1
Pahosa and Salt												1			1	2
Pahosa and Fresh-land												1				1
Pahosa and Asunwa												1				1
Pahosa and Woksi									1			1				2
Pahosa and Eagle									2							2
Pahosa and Tcowasta									1							1
Eagle and Woksi	1							1	1							1
Eagle and Wildcat									3							3
Eagle and Otter									2							2
Eagle and Tcowasta									1							1
Eagle and Skunk									2							2
Skunk and Fish				1				1								
Skunk and Otter				1	1			2								
Skunk and Tookote				1				1					1			1
Skunk and Toad				1				1					1			1
Skunk and Salt										1		1				2
Skunk and Wildcat									3	1		1				5
Skunk and Nokfaha												1				1
Skunk and Fresh-land												1				1
Skunk and Asunwa												1				1

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Skunk and Wokŭ									3				1					4
Skunk and Łidjâmi									1									1
Skunk and Cane									1					1				2
Skunk and Nokfaha													1					1
Skunk and Teowasta									1									1
Skunk and Daddy-longlegs										1								1
Otter and Teokote				1				1						1				1
Otter and Toad				1				1						1				1
Otter and Salt							1	1					1					1
Otter and Wildcat									2				1					3
Otter and Fish																		
Otter and Nokfaha													1					1
Otter and Fresh-land													1					1
Otter and Asunwa													1					1
Otter and Wokŭ									1				1					2
Salt and Nokfaha				1				1										
Salt and Fresh-land				1				1										
Salt and Asunwa				1				1										
Salt and Wildcat		1						1		1			1					2
Salt and Wokŭ													1					1
Salt and Teokote													1					1
Salt and Toad													1					1
Salt and Daddy-longlegs										1								1
Wildcat and Teokote													1					1
Wildcat and Toad					1			1					1					1
Wildcat and Nokfaha													1					1
Wildcat and Fresh-land													1					1
Wildcat and Asunwa													1					1
Wildcat and Wokŭ									2				1					3
Wildcat and Teowasta									1				1					2
Wildcat and Daddy-longlegs										1								1
Teokote and Toad				1	1			2										

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ASSOCIATIONS OF CREEK CLANS—Continued

Association	Number of associations in the same tribe								Number of dissociations in the same tribe							
	UC	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*	*UC*	*A*	*K*	*LC*	*H*	*Y*	*S*	*To*
Tcokote and Nokfaha												1				1
Tcokote and Fresh-land												1				1
Tcokote and Asunwa												1				1
Tcokote and Woksi												1				1
Tcokote and Cane													1			1
Toad and Cane													1			1
Toad and Nokfaha												1				1
Toad and Fresh-land												1				1
Toad and Asunwa												1				1
Toad and Woksi												1				1
Woksi and Cane									1							1
Woksi and Łidjámi									1							1
Woksi and Nokfaha												1				1
Woksi and Fresh-land												1				1
Woksi and Asunwa												1				1
Nokfaha and Fresh-land				1				1								
Nokfaha and Asunwa				1				1								
Fresh-land and Asunwa				1				1								
Cane and Łidjámi	1							1								

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The Bear and Wolf were associated almost everywhere. The latter, while very much smaller, was, strangely enough, called the "uncle" of the former, which in turn was its "nephew." The Wildcat and Panther were also associated and again it was the smaller, the Wildcat, which was the "uncle."[38] This was also true of the Skunk, which was always reckoned as part of the Wind and was the "uncle" of it. Such a connection is remembered even by the Alabama in Texas. A well-nigh universal association was also formed between the Alligator, Tàmi, and Turkey. In this group the Tàmi were said to be the "uncles" by one informant and the Alligator by another. While the other associations appear to be natural, indicated by the related nature of the animals, one is at first puzzled to know what connection could have been found between the Alligator and the Turkey. The word tàmi suggests a large flying thing, hence the connection of Tàmi and Turkey is explicable. According to one informant the linking of the other two was because both the alligator and the turkey come from eggs, and if this was the real reason the Creeks had made one step toward determining those intimate relations which we now know to exist biologically between birds and reptiles. In connection with the use of terms of relationship for entire clans Stiggins's remark to the effect that "all grown women of the Wind family are to be called grandmother by all the other families" is of value. "All the families," he adds, "are connected as friends or some distant relation throughout the nation."[39] In his version of the migration legend Hawkins's Kasihta informant says that the Coweta Indians chose the Fish clan to supply their chiefs,[40] and in Gatschet's plan of the Kasihta square ground it occupies the northern half of the chiefs' arbor and is given as that from which the "vice-chief" was chosen.[41] Jackson Lewis told me that it was kindred to the Alligator, and my Yuchi informant placed it in one phratry with the Alligator and Beaver. The Coweta and Kasihta Indians declared, however, that it was a minor branch of the Wind clan, and this seems to be the general opinion. It is borne out to some extent by Hawkins's statement quoted above, coupled with the fact that in later times Coweta chiefs were selected from the Wind. The same thing is perhaps indicated by the further fact that in Kasihta it seems to have shared the functions of heniha with the Wind. Some Creeks deny that there was a Rabbit clan, and explain the use of such a term as a mere joke, since the Rabbit was "trickster" among all southeastern Indians. Others, however, and apparently the better informed, affirm that

[38] In explanation of this association Mr. McCombs told me that all creatures with claws were considered kindred and hence the clans named from them were also akin, but this would apply equally to the Bear, Panther, Raccoon and others which were rarely brought together.

[39] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 32.

[40] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 32; see p. 33.

[41] Gatschet, Mig. Leg., vol. II, p. 122.

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there was really a clan of the name and that, like the Skunk and Fish, it was a minor division of the Wind. Among the Hitchiti-speaking people and the Lower Eufaula Indians were three small clans called Mole, Toad, and Tcokote. The two former are uniformly said to have belonged together.[42] According to one of my informants the Tcokote was distinct, but those better qualified to pass an opinion declared that it belonged to the same group and one went so far as to state that Tcokote was another name for the Toad clan. The way in which the Mole is said to have split from the rest has been already related. The Mole and Toad—and the Tcokote also, if the majority of my informants are correct—usually formed one phratry with the Deer.

A most perplexing complex included the Fox, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci. Some of the older people state that in their youth the Fox clan was much more prominent but declined in later years, while the Raccoon and Potato clans rose into prominence in its place. I have already mentioned the supposed origin of the Raccoon from the union of the Fox and Daddy-longlegs and my reasons for doubting it, but there can be no question regarding the close connection that existed between the two former, for in eight of the nine cases in which the Fox clan is mentioned in my lists it belongs to the same phratry as the Raccoon. The connection between the Potato and Fox was equally close; according to my records they were in separate phratries in only one town, and that a settlement of the Seminole. The Raccoon and Potato clans intermarried in Tukabahchee, at least in late times, but almost everywhere else they were considered to belong to one phratry. In Łapłáko the Raccoon people were denominated "uncles" by the Potato people. The only other exceptions which my lists contain are from towns where the information is least trustworthy. According to Legus Perryman the Potato clan had come from the Raccoon; in fact he gave this as an occurrence which "all admit." The same informant also stated, as a fact "well known," that the Aktayatci clan had come from the Fox, but this is in the highest degree doubtful, though it is true that in some towns the Aktayatci was linked up with the Fox as well as the Raccoon and Potato. In fact the Aktayatci is found in three different positions—independent, associated with the Raccoon, Fox, and Potato, or associated with the Alligator and their allies and the Snake. In Kasihta, Coweta, and one or two other towns the three groups are brought together in one phratry, this clan perhaps being the ground of the association. Among Seminole towns the association of the Aktayatci with the Alligator and Snake is especially marked, and this can be accounted for very well if the explanation of the name Aktayatci given me by an old Seminole is correct. He interpreted it to mean "something traveling about," reference being

[42] Gatschet's informants and mine all agreed on this.

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intended to the water moccasin. Knowing as we do how often secondary interpretations are given by primitive people to terms the actual meaning of which has been forgotten we can not feel sure that this explanation is the true one, but there is reason to believe that it represents the opinion of the Lower Creeks and Seminoles among whom the association took place and therefore it at least gives their justification for that particular association.[49] It also explains the association of the Aktayatci and Alligator. In 11 cases they are placed in the same phratry; in 20 cases they are separated.

It should be noticed that this linkage takes place principally in Lower Creek and Seminole towns, while the separation is mainly among the Upper Creeks. The Kapitca, a name which by some is interpreted "lye drip" or "ashes," also appear oftenest among the Seminole, though they are mentioned as well in six Upper Creek towns, one Lower Creek town, and one Hitchiti town. In all but 3 of the 13 towns in which they and the Aktayatci occur together the two are in the same phratry, and one of the exceptions is a town with an imperfect record. They are associated with the Snake clan in 7 out of 9 cases. The Woksi were a comparatively obscure clan not recorded from many towns. Jackson Lewis said that they were "almost the same" as the Aktayatci. They are in fact found in the same group with this clan and the Kapitca in Abihkutci and Lower Eufaula. In Kealedji they are separated and put with the Alligator, but, knowing the frequent association of the Alligator and Aktayatci, this is susceptible of explanation. The Daddy-longlegs is one of those clans most largely represented among the Texas Alabama, but it is barely remembered by the Alabama and Koasati of Oklahoma. According to a Koasati informant in Oklahoma this clan was "the same as the Aktayatci and Alligator," and his statement is important because it agrees with the classification remembered by the Texas Alabama in accordance with which they formed one phratry with the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver. The Łidjàmi was a small clan which seems to have been found principally in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, and some related towns. According to current report they were a branch of the Raccoon. Another clan connected with the Raccoon was the Eagle. One of my informants placed this with the Bird, a natural enough assumption, but that he was mistaken is shown both by the direct testimony of better informed individuals and by certain supplementary considerations. In the first place Jackson Lewis, whose evidence is always valuable, stated that this was the leader among the Tciloki clans, in the dual division to be explained presently. The Bird, on the contrary, was one of the

[49] The prefix ak- signifies motion into water or something down in the water and hence bears out the suggestion very well. Ayatci means "to travel about" but this leaves the 't unexplained. Perhaps tayatci comes rather from tayat, abundant, sufficient.

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615 leading clans on the opposite side, and, as a mark of this distinction, in the tcitahaia, the so-called "feather dance," those who belonged on the Tciloki side carried eagle feathers [43a] on their wands while those who belonged on the opposite side, the White side, carried white crane feathers. The leading position ascribed to the Eagle by Jackson Lewis is explained by Hawkins's statement to the effect that in [122] his day the chiefs of Tukabahchee, the leading town of the Upper Creeks, were selected from it.[44] At the present time, however, Tukabahchee chiefs are selected from the Raccoon clan, a fact easily accounted for if the Eagle and Raccoon were closely related. Indeed, one of my best informants gave this very reason. In my lists the Eagle and Raccoon are found classed together at Abihkutci. At Lutcapoga it is said that the Eagle was placed with the Aktayatci and Kapitca, but, as we have seen, these were sometimes classed with the Raccoon and Potato. The Salt clan seems to have been particularly prominent in the Alabama tribe. Legus Perryman stated that it was a branch of the Bear, and he is confirmed in every one of the four instances in which the two names occur together in my lists. It is particularly important to obeserve that this association is preserved by the Alabama Indians in Texas. Jackson Lewis classed the Otter with "the Alligator and other water clans," and one might naturally expect it, but as a matter of fact in three of the seven cases which I have recorded it is placed in one phratry with the Wind and Skunk, while in three of the others it is with the Bird and Beaver. All of these clans are White clans; I am therefore of the opinion that the Otter was also considered a White clan and was attached to the others on account of some supposed resemblance to the Skunk and Beaver.

Native informants generally state that the Pahosa are the same as, a part of, or kindred to, the Deer, and this testimony is confirmed by my lists where the two clans are linked together in 11 out of 13 cases in which they are both mentioned, the two exceptions being probably due to imperfect information from the towns concerned. According to Kasihta yahola the Deer people called the Pahosa their "uncles" and the Pahosa called the Deer people their "nephews." The connection of the Mole, Toad, and Tcokote with the Deer has been referred to. The Mole also appears once with the Wind and once with the Raccoon.

The position of the Beaver clan is somewhat peculiar. It was particularly prominent in the towns of the Tulsa group, where it usually supplied the chiefs, and in these towns it ordinarily occurs in a separate phratry. Elsewhere, however, it is so commonly associated with the Bird that many Creeks consider the connection axiomatic. The Beaver people are said to have called the Bird people their "uncles"

[43a] And also, it is said, buzzard feathers. [44] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 68.

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Alabama
Koasati

while the Bird people called the Beaver people their "nephews." A saying of one of my informants apropos of this connection should be quoted, to the effect that "anything in contact with water is supposed to be akin to birds." Presumably the birds to which he referred were water birds, since white crane feathers were a symbol of the White clans. Where the Beaver is not linked with the Bird and where it does not stand by itself it is usually placed with the Alligator on account of this same association with water. Altogether it occurs thirteen times with the Alligator, nineteen times with the Bird, and eleven times separated from both. Its associations with other clans are not nearly so pronounced. One of my informants said that the Bird and Beaver "sometimes claimed the Potato were of one phratry with themselves," but this assertion receives comparatively little support from the tables, except perhaps in the case of the Beaver. 615.

While the Panther clan ordinarily stands apart from all others except the Wildcat, in some towns an association exists with the Deer which is evidently more than accidental. Although the number of times this linking takes place totals only 9 as against 23 cases in which it is absent, the important fact is that wherever the Panther is linked with another clan—leaving out of consideration the Wildcat—that clan is almost always the Deer. It may also be significant that this linking is more pronounced among the Hitchiti towns—in three out of four—than elsewhere. This association was also confirmed by an Okchai Indian named Barney Leader, who said: "The story is that Panther and Deer lived together as friends, but at noon Panther jumped upon Deer and killed him. So the Panther and Deer clans are one until noon and after that separate. Until noon the same terms of relationship are extended over both clans." In Texas the Deer is linked with the Wolf instead of with the Panther and this happens twice among the Oklahoma Creeks. In consequence, one or two cases are found in which this clan is associated with the Bear.

The Bear clan usually stands clearly apart from all groups except as already noted. In some Upper Creek towns, however, particularly the group to which Pakan tallahassee, Fish Pond, and Wiwohka belong, there is an association with the Bird and Beaver, the Bear-Bird association occurring seven times out of twenty-one among the Upper Creeks and the Bear-Beaver five times out of twenty. This association is to be explained, I think, by the fact that these clans were all White clans. Although not even hinted by any of my informants, material which I collected from the Alabama and Koasati Indians in Texas and Louisiana seems to suggest a repugnance to marriage between persons of the Bear and Panther clans.

The Alabama have a town in Polk County, Texas, with scattering representatives throughout southeastern Louisiana, while the Koasati have a town in Louisiana, but a few relatives living with the Texas Alabama. I was able to secure a very satisfactory statement of the 615 614

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Alabama
Koasati

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clan affiliations of most of these Indians, the testimony of my several informants agreeing very well, and this information is included in the following tables. While there are undoubtedly some omissions, they include, on the other hand, as many deceased members of the two tribes as my informants could recall.

ALABAMA

Clan	Living in Texas	Living in Louisiana	Total
Bear	53	11	64
Daddy-longlegs	42	5	47
Deer	36	6	42
Panther	34	3	37
Beaver	23	1	24
Salt	11	3	14
Wind	9	1	10
Wildcat	5	--------	5
Total	213	30	243

KOASATI

Wildcat	6	20	26
Beaver	6	18	24
Turkey	2	19	21
Panther	2	4	6
Wind	4	2	6
Bear	3	1	4
Salt	1	2	3
Deer	--------	1	1
Wolf	1	--------	1
Alligator	1	--------	1
Total	26	67	93

In the Alabama town were also three members of the Wolf clan, but they belonged properly to the old Pascagoula tribe and therefore are not listed. In the Alabama table most of the children are included and in the Koasati table most of them are left out. This accounts in part for the greater apparent population of the Alabama, although, as a matter of fact, the actual figures are somewhat in their favor.

The contrasts between these two tables are rather striking. Thus the three most populous Alabama clans, Bear, Daddy-longlegs, and Deer, are poorly represented among the Koasati, the second of them not at all. The Salt also seems to be rather an Alabama than a Koasati clan. On the other hand, the Wildcat, the leading Koasati clan, is represented by only five persons among the Alabama, and I have reason to believe that they are really Koasati. The Panther clan is very well represented in Texas, and the relationship between it and the Wildcat was considered so close that informants sometimes gave the affiliations of a person as Panther, sometimes as Wild-

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Alabama
Koasati

cat. It is now impossible to say whether the Wildcat clan of the Koasati was originally distinct from the Panther clan of the Alabama, or whether the Koasati merely preferred to use the name Wildcat, the Alabama choosing rather that of Panther. The Beaver and Wind are the clans represented most evenly in the two tribes, though the representatives of the Wind among the Koasati are now deceased. 615 614

From the Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas and Louisiana I collected records of 95 marriages, exclusive of some unions between Indians and Negroes. This information is contained in the following list, the clan of the male being placed first. Individuals of the Koasati tribe are distinguished by the letter (K), and those of the Pascagoula tribe by the letter (P). The rest are Alabama. 615 614 582

Bear–Daddy-longlegs	5	
Daddy-longlegs–Bear	4	
		9
Deer–Bear	4	
Bear–Deer	2	
		6
Bear–Beaver	4	
Bear–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Beaver (K)	5	
Beaver (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		6
Turkey (K)–Wildcat (K)	4	
Wildcat (K)–Turkey (K)	2	
		6
Deer–Beaver	1	
Deer–Beaver (K)	1	
Beaver (K)–Deer	3	
		5
Deer–Panther	3	
Panther–Deer	1	
		4
Deer–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Deer	2	
		4
Bear–Wind	2	
Bear–Wind (K)	2	
		4
Beaver (K)–Wildcat (K)	1	
Wildcat (K)–Beaver (K)	3	
		4
Beaver–Salt	2	
Salt (K)–Beaver (K)	2	
		4
Beaver–Daddy-longlegs	2	
Daddy-longlegs–Beaver	1	
		3
Wind–Panther	2	
Wind (K)–Panther	1	
		3
Panther–Turkey (K)	1	
Panther (K)–Turkey (K)	1	
		2
Deer–Wind	1	
Wind (K)–Deer	1	
		2
Panther (K)–Beaver (K)	1	
Panther–Beaver (K)	1	
		2
Wolf (P)–Wind	1	
Wolf (K)–Wind (K)	1	
		2
Bear–Turkey (K)	1	
Turkey (K)–Bear (K)	1	
		2
Salt–Wildcat (K)		2
Daddy-longlegs–Panther (K)		1
Deer–Alligator (K)		1
Wildcat (K)–Deer		1
Wolf (P)–Panther		1
Bear–Wildcat (K)		1
Wolf (P)–Daddy-longlegs		1
Wolf (P)–Bear		1
Salt–Wind		1
Salt–Turkey (K)		1
Daddy-longlegs–Turkey (K)		1
Beaver (K)–Lost Beaver (K)		1
Panther–Panther		1
Wildcat (K)–Wildcat (K)		1
Bear–Bear		1
Daddy-longlegs–Daddy-longlegs		1
Deer–Choctaw		2
Choctaw–Bear		2
		95

This includes 42 marriages in which both individuals were Alabama Indians, 25 in which both were Koasati, 20 between Alabama and Koasati, 4 between Alabama and Pascagoula, and 4 between Alabama and Choctaw.

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Excluding unions with Choctaw, the number of marriages into which each clan entered is as follows:

Beaver	31	Panther	14
Bear	30	Wind	12
Deer	23	Salt	8
Daddy-longlegs	20	Wolf	5
Turkey	18	Alligator	1
Wildcat	15		

It will now be instructive to ascertain how the marriages of each clan were distributed among the other clans, and this is shown by the following tables:

Beaver-Bear	6 (A, K, A-K)
Beaver-Turkey	6 (K)
Beaver-Deer	5 (A, A-K)
Beaver-Wildcat	4 (K)
Beaver-Salt	4 (A, K)
Beaver-Daddy-longlegs	3 (A)
Beaver-Panther	2 (K, A-K)
Beaver-Lost Beaver	1 (K)
Beaver-Wind	0
Beaver-Wolf	0
Beaver-Alligator	0
	31

Bear-Daddy-longlegs	9 (A)
Bear-Deer	8 (A)
Bear-Beaver	6 (A, K, A-K)
Bear-Wind	4 (A, A-K)
Bear-Turkey	2 (K, A-K)
Bear-Wildcat	1 (A-K)
Bear-Wolf	1 (A-P)
Bear-Bear	1 (A)
Bear-Panther	0
Bear-Salt	0
Bear-Alligator	0
	30

Deer-Bear	6 (A)
Deer-Beaver	5 (A, A-K)
Deer-Panther	4 (A)
Deer-Daddy-longlegs	4 (A)
Deer-Wind	2 (A, A-K)
Deer-Alligator	1 (A-K)
Deer-Wildcat	1 (A-K)
Deer-Turkey	0
Deer-Salt	0
	23

Daddy-longlegs-Bear	9 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Deer	4 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Beaver	3 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Panther	1 (A-K)
Daddy-longlegs-Wolf	1 (A-P)
Daddy-longlegs-Turkey	1 (A-K)
Daddy-longlegs-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A)
Daddy-longlegs-Wildcat	0
Daddy-longlegs-Wind	0
Daddy-longlegs-Salt	0
Daddy-longlegs-Alligator	0
	20

Turkey-Beaver	6 (K)
Turkey-Wildcat	6 (K)
Turkey-Panther	2 (K, A-K)
Turkey-Bear	2 (K, A-K)
Turkey-Salt	1 (A-K)
Turkey-Daddy-longlegs	1 (A-K)
Turkey-Deer	0
Turkey-Wind	0
Turkey-Wolf	0
Turkey-Alligator	0
	18

Wildcat-Turkey	6 (K)
Wildcat-Beaver	4 (K)
Wildcat-Salt	2 (A-K)
Wildcat-Deer	1 (A-K)
Wildcat-Bear	1 (A-K)
Wildcat-Wildcat	1 (K)
Wildcat-Daddy-longlegs	0
Wildcat-Panther	0
Wildcat-Wind	0
Wildcat-Wolf	0
Wildcat-Alligator	0
	15

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Panther–Deer	4 (A)
Panther–Wind	3 (A, A–K)
Panther–Turkey	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Beaver	2 (K, A–K)
Panther–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–K)
Panther–Wolf	1 (A–P)
Panther–Panther	1 (A)
Panther–Bear	0
Panther–Wildcat	0
Panther–Salt	0
Panther–Alligator	0
	14

Wind–Bear	4 (A, A–K)
Wind–Panther	3 (A, A–K)
Wind–Deer	2 (A, A–K)
Wind–Wolf	2 (K, A–P)
Wind–Salt	1 (A)
Wind–Beaver	0
Wind–Daddy-longlegs	0
Wind–Wildcat	0
Wind–Turkey	0
Wind–Alligator	0
	12

Salt–Beaver	4 (A, K)
Salt–Wildcat	2 (A–K)
Salt–Wind	1 (A)
Salt–Turkey	1 (A–K)
Salt–Bear	0
Salt–Deer	0
Salt–Daddy-longlegs	0
Salt–Panther	0
Salt–Wolf	0
Salt–Alligator	0
	8

Wolf–Wind	2 (K, A–P)
Wolf–Panther	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Daddy-longlegs	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Bear	1 (A–P)
Wolf–Beaver	0
Wolf–Deer	0
Wolf–Wildcat	0
Wolf–Turkey	0
Wolf–Salt	0
Wolf–Alligator	0
	5

Alligator–Deer	1 (A–K)

The data regarding the Wolf and Alligator clans is, of course, of no particular significance owing to the small numbers of representatives of each of these clans and the fact that three of the Wolf clan were Pascagoula Indians. Elsewhere there is an intimation that the Bear, Salt, and Wind may have belonged to the same phratry or clan moiety, and this is to some extent borne out by the above data, only one marriage between individuals of these clans—Salt and Wind—being given. However, the material would seem to indicate a feeling of repugnance to marriage between the Bear, Panther, and Wildcat. That the Panther and Wildcat were considered practically equivalent clans is certain, but it is not often that the Bear is found associated with these. In fact, were it not for the tables I should have had no suspicion of it, nothing of the kind having been suggested by any of my informants. The data bears out their contention that prohibition of intermarriage existed between the Deer and Wolf, the Panther and Wildcat, and the Bear and Salt, although it is too small in amount to be satisfactory. There is now no Skunk clan, and therefore we can not test native opinion that the Skunk and Wind were similarly allied. On the other hand the association which they declare to have existed between the Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, and Turkey is certainly no longer in evidence.

I have now touched upon practically all of the more important associations that can be shown with any certainty to have been established between Creek clans. Many others are recorded in my 615

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lists as having taken place in from one to three towns, and undoubtedly some of these actually occurred, but, owing to the breakdown of the system and the chance for error in collecting information from so many informants of varying degrees of reliability, too much confidence must not be placed in them. Our analysis shows that the 50 or more clans, the names of which can in any way be recovered, fall for the most part into a small number of groups headed by a few clans more prominent than the rest. About nine such groups may be made out, headed, respectively, by the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon, Alligator, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther, although, as we have seen, associations are also found between several of these, as, for instance, the Bird and Beaver, Raccoon and Aktayatci, Aktayatci and Alligator, Beaver and Alligator, and Deer and Panther. Legus Perryman, one of my oldest informants, denominated these very clans, minus the Raccoon, "old original clans." It is interesting to compare this list with the clans mentioned by Adair, Bartram, and Stiggins, which, it is to be presumed, were those most prominent in the times in which they wrote, though in a few cases Adair mentions a clan in order to back up some argument. In various places he refers to the following: Eagle, Panther, Buffalo, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, Tortoise, Snake, Fish, Wind, Raven, and Sphane.[45] In one place he seems to distinguish between the Panther and "Tyger,"[46] but elsewhere he speaks of the "Panther or Tyger."[47] Five of the clans in his list, the Wind, Bear, Deer, Raccoon, and Panther, are among the nine principal clans recognized to-day; three more, the Eagle, Snake, and Fish, have, or are remembered to have had, considerable prominence; three others, the Buffalo, Tortoise, and Sphane, are known to have existed; and only one, the Raven, has vanished from life and from memory as well.[48] Bartram mentions, incidentally, the Wildcat, Otter, Bear, and Rattlesnake.[49] By the last he probably means the Snake clan. With this understanding all are well-known clans, though it happens that only one, the Bear, is of major importance. Stiggins says: "The nation consists of nine clans or families, viz, the Wind, the Bear, the Panther, the Bird, the Polecat, the Fox, the Potato, the Red Paint, and the Isfauna which is composed of many small clans."[50] The first four of these belong to the leading nine of to-day, and the Fox and Potato are connected with two others, the Raccoon and Aktayatci. I have spoken of the Red Paint already, also of the "Isfauna."[51] The Polecat or Skunk is the only one this writer mentions which may be said to have been strictly a minor clan. It is not surprising that a clan with an uninterpretable name, such as the Aktayatci, should not have been selected by these writers

[45] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 15, 21, 131.
[46] Ibid., p. 15.
[47] Ibid., p. 21.
[48] Consult, however, p. 119, footnote 2.
[49] Bartram, Travels, p. 451.
[50] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[51] See pp. 119, 120.

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in giving specimens of the clan names, and the Beaver we know to have had importance only in one or two localities. The omission of the Bird by Adair, however, and particularly the failure of any of these writers to notice the Alligator, is singular. Perhaps the Snake was representative of the Alligator group at that time. On the other hand, the Bird and Alligator may have arisen to prominence only at a very late period. Still, these early lists as a whole yield no proof of any violent change in the clan composition of Creek peoples.

In all of the cross grouping to which attention has been given it is remarkable to what an extent the Wind clan stands by itself. Out of 38 possibilities for association between this clan and the Bear—both of which it should be remarked are White clans like the Bird and Beaver—there are but 3 cases in which they fall together. Only 2 out of 36 are found between the Wind and Panther, 2 out of 33 between the Wind and Bird, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Deer, 1 out of 35 between the Wind and Alligator, 2 out of 34 between the Wind and Aktayatci, 1 out of 36 between the Wind and Beaver, and in 31 possibilities there is not a single association between this clan and the Raccoon. The remaining clans rank, with reference to their independence, in about the following order: Panther, Deer, Bear, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Alligator, Bird, and Beaver. If, however, we consider the number of different clans with which associations were formed instead of the total number of associations we would have to set down the Bird and Beaver as more independent than the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator.

The following table illustrates in concrete form the connection of the various Creek clans in so far as it can be determined. The nine principal phratries are numbered, and all of the clans which occur under each are usually found in this association. The relationships which we find between the phratries themselves are indicated by ARROWS.

1. Wind, Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, Turtle.
2. Bear, Wolf, Salt, Nokfaha, Asunwa, Fresh-land.
3. Bird, Medicine, Inlanisi.

↑

4. Beaver.

↑

5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Daddy-longlegs.

↑

6. Raccoon, Łidjâmi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, Mink.
   Potato, Teowasta.

↑

7. Aktayatci, Snake, Kapitca, Woksi.
8. Deer, Pahosa, Mole, Toad, Teokote.

↑

9. Panther, Wildcat, Arrow.

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615 One of the difficulties with which this investigation is beset is that analogies between clan names, or the animals which gave their names to clans, have brought about certain mental associations and it is not always certain whether an alleged clan association may not have been assumed by the informant without having actually taken place. This fact also renders it very difficult to determine any genetic relationship between clans, even those most closely connected. For instance, an association was assumed by some of my informants between the Eagle and the Bird and also between the Turkey and the Bird, when, as a matter of fact, the Eagle is linked with the Raccoon and the Turkey with the Alligator. There is evidently a conscious tendency to find an association between the water animals. This explains why the Beaver is at times united with the Alligator, and the Alligator linked with the Aktayatci. For the same reason the Fish, Mink, and Otter are also sometimes said to be connected with the Beaver. Indeed the lack of intimate correspondence between clans named after water animals is rather marked when one considers the strength of the desire to unite them. As I shall have occasion to show more than once, Indians are most skillful in inventing reasons for institutions or customs already in existence. Native explanations of the association of the Bird and Beaver and the Bird and Alligator are examples.[51a] There are other linkings which might seem beyond Indian ingenuity to account for, yet I believe that reasons for such associations would be discovered by them.

As nearly as can be made out from the information given by Pareja the Timucua of Florida had the following phratries:

White Deer, in some provinces called Great Deer (no linkages given).

Dirt (or Earth) (no linkages given).

Fish (including two minor divisions); Tucunubala, Irihibano; Apichi (Rabbit?).

Buzzard; a clan called Nuculaha (consisting of three coordinate or subordinate parts); Chorofa; Usinaca; Aychanisino; Napoya; Amacahuri; White Fox; Amusaya.

Bird; Bear; Habachaca; and others.

Acheha; Panther; Partridge; Dog (Efaca); Hobatine; Quasi; Chehelu.

MOIETIES

616 In addition to the linking of clan to clan, varying considerably as we have seen, from one town to another, there existed a dual division of clans to which allusion has several times been made. This did not run across clans like the Chiefs and Warriors societies of the Yuchi[52] but separated clan from clan. One of these two

[51a] See pp. 145, 149.

[52] See Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi, pp. 74-78.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogâlga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłako, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tâmi with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

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Lidjàmi, Eagle, Hickory nut, Fox, Cane, and Muskrat[1] were usually placed with the Raccoon.

Some phratral associations, however, were confined to one or a few towns and did not extend throughout the nation. Thus the Potato was commonly placed in one phratry with the Raccoon but in Tukabahchee it was separated. The Beaver was usually placed with the Bird, but in Alabama it was quite distinct. On the other hand it was sometimes classed with the Alligator. Occasionally the Aktayatci formed one phratry with the Raccoon, and much more rarely the Deer and Panther were found together. Differences of this kind were due in some measure to the council system. Every important clan in a given town, or every group of related clans, held meetings during the annual ceremony known as the busk and each listened to an address by its oldest capable male member or "uncle." If an individual came to live in a town in which his own clan or his phratral group was not represented, he would elect to affiliate with one of those already in existence. It was usual for all of the children of each group of this kind to consider themselves brothers and sisters between whom marriage was ordinarily prohibited. However, the information I received shows plainly that sexual intimacy between individuals of linked clans was not considered as serious as between members of the same clan. It is specifically stated regarding some of these clans that "they were kin" up to noon, or up to midnight, and separate the rest of the time, *i. e.*, a limited taboo was maintained against them. It is also said that a man would sometimes pretend that a woman whom he wished to marry was of a certain clan, for which he would manufacture a name, although she was in fact of his own, and that, if he were a man of influence, he often "put over" this new creation of his. On the other hand, I have been told that, even though children of certain of the primary clans were brought up together, they would never be regarded as brothers and sisters. It is quite plain that all sorts of variations had grown up in response to unpredictable situations.

When one eliminates the obscure and the constantly linked clans, about nine are left of something like major importance. These are the Wind, Bear, Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Panther. We should perhaps add the Potato. The Beaver, however, has importance mainly in one group of towns, and the Aktayatci appear to have been rather closely associated with the Hitchiti and the Seminole, but also with Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula.

[1] In the 42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (p. 116) I erroneously called this the Mink.

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Bird; Bear; Habachaca; and others.

Acheha; Panther; Partridge; Dog (Efaca); Hobatine; Quasi; Chehelu.

Moieties

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[51a] See pp. 145, 149.

[52] See Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi, pp. 74-78.

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One of these two moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tági or Hola'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste. 616 • [619]

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans. 616 773 539

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began." 526

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the 621 616 101

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same time from what town or towns each clan was reported. Numbers after the W and Tc tell how the clans were associated in phratries within the town, the 1's being in one phratry, the 2's in another, and so on.

Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Talladega	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	W	W		W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc.
Abihka-in-the-West	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(1)	Tc(4)	
Kan-tcati	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Otciapofa	W(1)	W(2)		Tc(3)		Tc(4)	W(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Tulsa Little River	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)		Tc(5)	W(5)	?(6)	Tc(7).
Lutcapoga	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(6)	?(7).
Okfuskee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	Tc(9).
Tcatoksofka	W	W	W	W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Nuyaka	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Talmutcasi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pakan tallahassee	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6?).
Wiogufki	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W?(2)	Tc(3)	W?(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Tukpafka	W			W		Tc	Tc	Tc	
Asilanabi	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)
Okchai (probably same connections).	W	W	W	W	W	Tc		Tc	Tc.
Łálogálga	?					?		?	
Wiwohka	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	(?5)	?(6)	?(7 perhaps 6).
Tuskegee	W(1)	W(2)	?(3)	W(4)	Tc?(4)		Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc?(6).
Koasati No. 2	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2).

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Snake
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W							
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati		Tc(3)						
Otciapofa		Tc(8)	W(9)	Tc(10)				
Tulsa Little River		?(5)	?(5)		Tc(5)	?(3)	Tc(9)(7)	
Lutcapoga		?(6)		?(4)	?(7)	?(7)		
Okfuskee		Tc(8)	Tc(6)	Tc(5)			Tc(5)	
Tcatoksofka						W	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(2)	Tc(7)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(7)	Tc(7)	Tc(4)	
Nuyaka								
Talmutcasi		?						
Pakan tallahassee	W(2)			W(2?)			W(2?)	
Wiogufki		Tc(5)		W?(2)	Tc(6)		W?(2)	Tc(2).
Tukpafka		Tc						
Asilanabi		Tc(4)		Tc(2)			Tc(2)	
Okchai (probably same connections).				W			W	
Łálogálga								
Wiwohka	?(2)	?(6)	?(4)	?(3)	?(6)		?(3)	?(3).
Tuskegee		Tc(6)		Tc(4)				
Koasati No. 2								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Fox	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Otter	Toowasta	Tapasola
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)								
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-testi								
Otciapofa								
Tulsa Little River					?(9)	Tc(10)		
Lutcapoga							?(1)	
Okfuskee								
Tcatokaofka								
Abihkutci	Tc(7)	Tc?(7)	W(1)	Tc?(5)	Tc(6)			
Nuyaka								
Tasmutcasi								
Pakan tallahassee			W(1)		Tc(4)			
Wiogufki								
Tukpafka								
Asilanabi						W(2)?		
Okchai (probably same connections).								
Łalogalga								
Wiwohka			?(1)		?(5)		?(6)	
Tuskegee					Tc(5)			
Koasati No. 2								Tc(2).

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Tukabahchee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Atasi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3?)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Kealedji	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	W(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(4).
Łapłáko	W(1)	Tc(2)	W(2?)	W(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Łiwahali	W	W	W		Tc?	Tc	Tc		Tc.
Hilibi		W(1)	W(2)	?	Tc(3)	Tc(4) [W(4) (J. L.)]		Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Eufaula (Upper)	W(1)	W(2?)	W(2?)	W(?)	W(6)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)[1]	Tc(5)	Tc(5).
Alabama	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(5)	Tc(3?) W[2]	Tc(4)	Tc(2)		Tc(4).
Alabama in Texas	?(1)	?(2)		?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Tukabahchee		Tc(8)		Tc(4)		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(8).
Atasi		Tc(7?)		Tc(4?)			Tc(4)	
Kealedji	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(4)			Tc(4)	Tc(7).
Łapłáko		Tc(?)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)		Tc(3)	
Łiwahali								?
Hilibi	W(1)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)			Tc(3)	
Eufaula (Upper)	W	Tc(5)		W(6)			W(6)	
Alabama							Tc(3?)	
Alabama in Texas	?(4)						?(3)	

[1] Formerly it is said to have been White.

[2] According to Billy Yahola.

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjâmi	Fish
Tukabahchee	Tc(4)	W(1)		Tc(6)				
Atasi								
Kealedji	Tc(4)	W(1)	Tc(7)				Tc(7)	
Łapłáko				Tc(5)				
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)		W(1)						
Alabama				Tc(2)				
Alabama in Texas		?(1)		?(5)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Teokote	Salt	Nokłaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Tukabahchee								
Atasi								
Kealedji		Tc(7)						
Łapłako								
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)								
Alabama				W(2)				
Alabama in Texas				?(2)				?(3).

LOWER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Kasihta	W(1)	W(2)	W?	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(3)	Tc(3).
Hitchiti	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(2)	W(3)	?(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)
Okmulgee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(57).
Yuchi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(1)	Tc(1)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tâmi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Kasihta	W(2)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)				Tc(3).
Hitchiti		Tc(6)	Tc(4)					
Okmulgee	W(2)	Tc(6)		Tc(4)				Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(2)	Tc(57)		Tc(3)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)	
Yuchi	W(2)							

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjâmi	Fish
Kasihta			Tc?(6)	Tc(5)?				W?(1).
Hitchiti			Tc(4)		Tc(3)			
Okmulgee				Tc(5)				
Apalachicola			Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)			
Yuchi		W(1)		Tc(1?)				W(4).

Town	Toad	Cane	Teokote	Salt	Nokłaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Kasihta								
Hitchiti								
Okmulgee								
Apalachicola	Tc?(4)							
Yuchi								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

LOWER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Coweta	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(4).
Łikatcka	?	W			?	Tc	?		?.
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)	Tc(2)	?(3)	?(3)	W(4)	?(5)	?(5)	?(6)	?(4).
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	W(27)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Osochi	?	?(1)	?	?	?	?	?(2)	?	?.

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Coweta		Tc(4)		Tc(4)				Tc(4).
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(2)	?(6)	?(5)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	
Chiaha	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(5)				Tc(7).
Osochi	?(1)	?			?			?.

Town	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Coweta				Tc(5)				
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(4)	?(1)	?(1)	?(5)	?(4)	?(1)		
Chiaha		W(1)			Tc?(37)			W?(7).
Osochi				?(2)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tookote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asumwa	Tapasola
Coweta								
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)		?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	
Chiaha								
Osochi								

SEMINOLE TOWNS 1/A

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Ochasse	W?(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	(W)(37)	Tc(4).
Okfuskee	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(2)	?(5)	?(2)	?(4).
Tallahassutci	Tc(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6)		Tc(6).
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(3)	?(5)	?(5)		?(3).
Eufaula	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)		?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(7)	?(4).
Łiwahali	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(3)
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc (6)		Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Mikasuki		?		?	?		?		

1/A [For key to symbols, see pp. 157-158, category 116. -- Analyst

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

SEMINOLE TOWNS—Continued

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tâmi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox	Woksi
Ochesee	W(2)	W(3)			Tc(4)				
Okfuskee		?(2)	?(2)		?(4)				
Tallahasutci		?(4)		W?(5)	?(8)		?(5)		
Hitchiti	?(2)	?(4)	?(5)	?(3)					
Eufaula		?(8)	?(5)	?(4)	?(4)		?(4)		
Łiwahali		Tc(6)	Tc(4)	W(2)	Tc(3)		W(2)		
Chiaha		Tc(9)						Tc(7)	
Mikasuki		?							

Town	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Toad	Fish	Teokote	Salt	Cane
Ochesee				Tc(4)	W?(1)					
Okfuskee				?(4)						
Tallahasutci				Tc(8)						
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(6)		?(3)	?(1)	?(6)		?(6)		?(5).
Eufaula				?(4)						
Łiwahali				Tc(3)	W(2)				W(2)	
Chiaha	W(1)									
Mikasuki					?					

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On examining this list we find but one town in which the Wind are set down as Tcilokogâlgi. This is the Seminole town of Tallahasutci and I believe the statement to be an error. The Seminole towns were built up from several different Creek towns and do not represent an old organization. Among other changes this institution of Whites and Tcilokis fell rapidly into decay, and for three of the towns I have been unable to get any information. Moreover, all of the old men of Tallahasutci are dead and, although I am sure that my informant tried to give correct information, he probably erred. The Bear occurs twice as Tciloki, in Eufaula Hobayi and Łaplâko. In the first case not much reliance is to be placed on the information, since the town has long given up its square and my informant merely said in a general way that the Bear were the Tciloki and the Alligator the Whites. The information regarding Łaplâko was, however, from one of my oldest informants and was furnished in a positive manner without hesitation. It is true that in the sister town of Łiwahali the Bear is given as White, but my Łiwahali informant was a comparatively young man, and the Łiwahali square was given up much before that of Łaplâko. In accordance with the history of the Creek towns, as worked out in another place,[53a] Łaplâko and Łiwahali would seem to have represented a division more ancient than the Tukabahchee, Eufaula, or many other groups of towns upon the Red side, and it is quite likely that the assignment of the Bear to the Tciloki was peculiar to them. In the same towns

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[53a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-258.

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the Bird and Beaver are White. This is their usual classification, but my lists show that they were Tciloki in Alabama, Koasati, Apalachicola and two of the Abihka towns. That they were actually Tciloki in Alabama is attested by several informants within and without that town, and one of my interpreters, himself a Tukabahchee, recalled, as a subject of general amusement, that when a ball game was to be played the Bird clan in Alabama sided against the Whites. If the Bird and Beaver were Whites in Alabama they were probably Whites in Koasati also, the two towns having been close together and being related in language. It is also probable that this difference obtained among the Hitchiti. It is true that in Okmulgee the Bird appear as White and the Beaver as Tciloki and in Hitchiti proper the Beaver as White and the Bird as Tciloki, but my authorities for this were much younger than the one for Apalachicola and their squares were among the first to be given up. In two of the four Abihka towns the Bird and Beaver would seem to have been White and in two Tciloki. The information with respect to Talladega, in which the two are Whites, should have been the most correct, since that square is still maintained; since the Bird and Beaver seem to be Tciloki among the tribes incorporated into the Creeks, perhaps the disturbance in some Abihka towns may have been due to the Natchez who settled with them. The Beaver are also given as Tciloki in Otciapofa and Kasihta. In the latter place this seems to have been a late arrangement, due to the fact that there were no Birds, and the three Beaver were seated with the Potato clan and hence classed on the same side with them. Something like this may be the secret of the change at Otciapofa. Another reason is suggested by the case of Asilanabi, where the Beaver was also Tciloki although the Bird was White. My information was from the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łałogálga and is probably correct. It appears that the anomaly was due in part at least to the association of the Beaver with water animals like the Alligator.

But sometimes the association of the Alligator and Beaver seems to have worked in the opposite direction, the Alligator being placed among the Whites. From my notes this would appear to have been the case at Talladega, the old Abihka town near Eufaula, Oklahoma, at Pakan tallahassee, Wiogufki, Okchai, Atasi, Eufaula Hobayi, and Yuchi. While some of these cases do not rest on altogether satisfactory information there can be no doubt that such a classification occurred at times. We have no means of knowing whether it was characteristic of the Creeks in olden days or is a later innovation. The Deer clan is said, on the best authority obtainable, to have been reckoned a White clan in Chiaha, and this, according to an Indian of the neighboring Coweta town, was because it was there associated with the Bird. It might also be mentioned that in Tukabahchee the

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Deer were employed as henihas during the women's dance, and the henihas, as we shall see, were connected with peace. In Otciapofa the Pahosa are said to have been not merely Whites but the leading clan among the Whites, and as the Pahosa and Deer were uniformly linked together the condition noted in Chiaha may have been duplicated in Otciapofa. The Panther clan is given as White in Otciapofa, Little River Tulsa, Wiogufki, and Kealedji, the evidence in the last case being particularly good. Although the Panther is to-day almost always regarded as Tciloki some of my oldest and best informants, including Jackson Lewis and Big Jack of Hilibi, asserted positively that it was properly a White clan. According to the latter it was a White clan which had been turned over to the Tciloki to make their numbers even with the numbers of the Whites. Referring back to the origin myths it is seen that corroborative evidence may be adduced from that source.[62] If the Panther was anciently White it is to be presumed that the Wildcat was White also, but of this I have no certain knowledge. The Potato and Raccoon were said by one of my very best informants to have been reckoned as White clans in the Seminole town of Ochesee. While I am not prepared to deny the fact it would be so unique that I believe it must have been due to some later readjustment and does not represent an original condition. An informant reported that the Eagle was a White clan in Tcatoksofka but this was probably due to a mistaken association of the Eagle and Bird clans such as I have mentioned elsewhere.

Summing up, then, we find that the Wind and Bear are almost always White, the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Potato almost always Tciloki, the Bird and Beaver Tciloki occasionally but usually White, the Alligator, Deer, and Panther White occasionally but usually Tciloki. The clans linked with each of these so constantly as to be reckoned subdivisions were considered of the same moiety.

At first sight it would seem as though the connection of the names of the White clans with peace were very remote, but "where there's a will there's a way," especially when it comes to ex post facto explanations, and here is how my good informant, Jackson Lewis, solved the enigma in connection with four of these.

"The Wind is considered a peace clan because the wind can drive away clouds, fogs, and so on, and bring on clear, pleasant weather for mankind. The name of the Bird clan is understood to apply to birds with white plumage, such as the crane, pelican, spring crane, etc. Crane feathers were borne by dancers belonging to White clans at Tukabahchee, while those of the other side carried eagle feathers. The Bear is a peace clan because the bear is regarded as exceedingly watchful and therefore useful in the interests of peace. The Wolf, as a branch of the Bear, is a peace clan because the Wolf is a close

[62] See pp. 111-112.

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observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear." 616

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.[55a] 621

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Łapłáko the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Bear and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group. 616 621 582

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties. 616 621 526

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had 616 621 526 177

[55a] See pp. 111-112.

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616 621 526 [177] the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

614 582 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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By eliminating the Texas Alabama and the doubtful and less well-authenticated material in the above data and reducing all of the towns of each group under one head we obtain the following summary result. Alternative possibilities are in parentheses.

Town	Chief	Henihà
Abihka	Bear	Raccoon.
Tulsa	Beaver	Bird (or Wind).
Okfuskee	Bear	Wind (or Bird).
Pakan tallahassee	Aktayatci (or Bear)	Do.
Wiogufki	Aktayatci	Wind.
Okchai	Bear	Do.
Wiwohka	Panther (or Bird)	Do.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear	Bear or Wind.
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind.
Tukabahchee	Eagle (or Raccoon)	Do.
Atasi	Bear	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.
Łapłàko	Bear	Bird (or Wind).
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator.
Eufaula, Upper	do	Do.
Alabama	Bear	Aktayatci.
Kasihta	do	Wind (or Tàmi).
Hitchiti	Bird (or Tàmi or Raccoon)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (or Deer)	Bear (or Bird).
Coweta	Fish (or Wind)	Bird.
Eufaula Hobayi	Kapitca	Deer (or Wind)
Chiaha	Fox or Potato	Bear.
Osochi	do	Wind (or Panther).
SEMINOLE TOWNS		
Ochesee	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee	do	Do.
Talla hasutci	do	Do.
Hitchiti	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula	Kapitca	Panther (tàstànàgi).
Łiwahali	Bird (or Potato)	Bear (or Bird).
Chiaha	Bear	Wind (tàstànàgi).
Mikasuki	Alligator (or Snake)	Panther (or Alligator).

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A study of this table yields certain very interesting facts. Taking the henihàlgi clans first we find that with few exceptions these come from the White side. The Deer occurs twice, once in Hitchiti and once in Eufaula Hobayi, but in the latter case there is an alternative possibility, while the former applies simply to the last organization of the Hitchiti square. Nevertheless this clan is said to have been used at Tukabahchee as henihàlgi during the women's dance. The old woman who gave me the data for Apalchicola said that anciently

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the Hitchiti square was the same as in the Apalchicola town. On the other hand the Seminole Hitchiti had the Toad clan, generally considered akin to the Deer, as their henihâlgi. The Deer was, however, considered a White clan in Chiaha, and Chiaha anciently spoke the Hitchiti language. It is therefore possible that the Deer was once a White clan among Hitchiti-speaking people. Again, the Alligator and their allies were the henihâlgi at Hilibi and Upper Eufaula, perhaps also in the Mikasuki town; indeed an old Mikasuki Indian told me that the Alligator were considered the henihâlgi among all Seminole. While this does not seem to agree with the statements of other Seminole Indians there may nevertheless have been truth in it, since the clans given as henihas among the Seminole are often those which furnished the second chief, and the old organization appears to have fallen to pieces. Possibly the position of the Alligator as henihâlgi may have resulted from the influence exerted by the Eufaula band who formed a considerable body among the Seminole. The Alligator, like the Deer, was also sometimes a White clan, and much more frequently. The Aktayatci are given as henihâlgi among the Alabama by one informant, but the Alabama town is small and the organization badly broken down, and, besides, another informant stated that the Alligator or Bird were the only henihas. Moreover, the Aktayatci in Alabama were said to form part of the same phratry as the Deer which is sometimes White. Only in the Abihka towns have we a well accredited case of a clan of henihas never reckoned among the Whites. But although the Raccoon clan there plainly performed the functions of the henihâlgi one of the very men who gave me the information stated that the south bed was called "bed of the henihâlgi" because the Wind clan sat there, and he added that "it was understood that in every town the Wind clan were the henihâlgi." The chief of the Mikasuki said the same thing. This, of course, can only mean that in the Abihka town there has been a dislocation of the older usage.

An inspection of the table shows the Wind clan mentioned as henihas seventeen times, eight times without qualification. Next stand the Bird, mentioned ten times, and the Bear four times. There can be little doubt that it was the general opinion that the Wind should be henihâlgi, and I am inclined to believe that anciently they were so to a greater extent than at present, but as far back as Hawkins's time we know that they were not henihâlgi in a town as important as Kasihta; perhaps their enjoyment of this dignity was partly theoretical and never carried out in all cases. Nevertheless it is certain that almost invariably the henihâlgi were a White clan, and this I believe once to have been universally the case, for the henihas were associated with peace and sometimes their bed was called the "white or peace cabin."

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Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

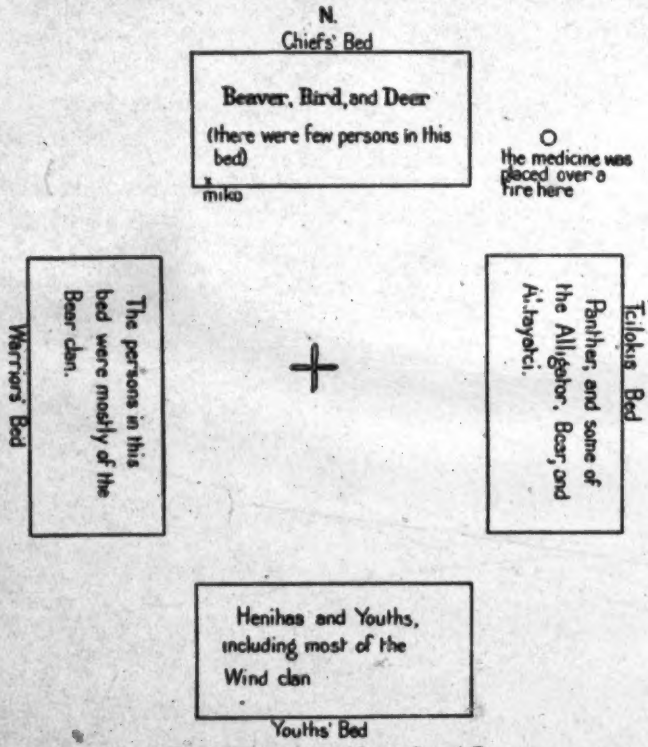

FIG. 80.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Etha., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

towns alone being under mikos.[20] If he means by warriors men bearing the title tástánagi we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

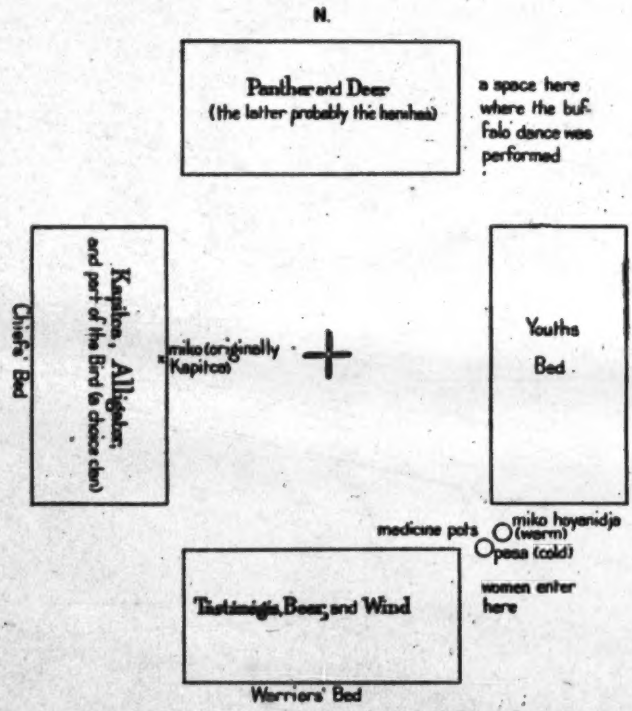

FIG. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

[20] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.

[i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11

614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

●616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagálgi, "White People," and Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tciloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tciloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tciloki. The Alligator is most often Tciloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tciloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tciloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohīł Yáhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

621 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups
624 in each town which had official functions. Some of these were

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanīdja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanīdja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [47b] [622]

Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[47b] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atàsà). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

[609] "'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilàlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 619 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[48]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[48] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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story is not, however, ancient, since it is a well-known historical fact that on the outbreak of the Creek-American war the Tukabahchee were hard pressed by other Upper Creek towns until the Coweta came to their assistance.

Undoubtedly there were once myths similar to those told about the Tukabahchee and Coweta, to account for the friendships and differences of all the principal groups of towns in the confederacy, but not many have come down to us. The following fragment tells of the relations between the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali, the latter probably the most ancient Red Town among the Upper Creeks. It was related by an old Indian named Kasihta Yahola, since deceased, who belonged to Łapłáko, a branch of Łiwahali.

"The ancestors of the Tukabahchee and the Łiwahali were once in a fog or vapor which prevented them from seeing each other. The Łiwahali wanted to see the Tukabahchee very much, and finally the fog was blown away so that they could do so. For some time the Ispokogis (Tukabahchee Indians) would not speak to them. At last they said, 'Who are you?' They answered, 'We are the Holiwahalis ("those who cut the war in two")'. Then the Łiwahali asked in their turn who the strangers might be and they answered, 'We are the Ispokogis and Tukabahchee.' Then said the Tukabahchee, 'All right, you shall be our younger brothers.'"

The following is told regarding the Tukabahchee, Atasi, and Łiwahali:

"Once, in ancient times, the Łiwahali became angry with the Atasi and determined to destroy them. But the Tukabahchee said to the Łiwahali, 'Don't do that. They might be of use to you in picking up spoons or something of that sort.' The Łiwahali persisted in their determination, however, until the Tukabahchee said, 'If you destroy them, you will have me on your back,' when they gave it up."

This story was perhaps evolved to express or explain the friendship which grew up between Tukabahchee and Atasi. In later times the former called the Atasi, "the carers of our medicine."

Another set of myths deals with the ancient town of Coosa and its offspring, although the latter are mentioned but seldom, the myth usually confining itself to a mere account of the origin of the mother town and an explanation of its name. One of these stories has been given already in the Tulsa migration legend.[46a] Another informant said that Coosa was called Taloksû'mgi ("Town-lost-in-the water") by the Creeks, and that it had sunk into the water until nothing could be seen of it except the ball post. According to still another, the town was swallowed up by an earthquake. Two persons escaped by jumping into Coosa River and swimming to land. When they were found by people from other towns they were making little bows.

[46a] See p. 58.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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The place where this happened is said to be called "the rocky sunken place in the Coosa River." Owing to "some powerful attraction" no birds could cross at that point except one called the koskosa, and from this fact both river and town obtained their name. The last circumstance was also known to Jackson Lewis. A story related to the above was told by a Nuyaka Indian and is to the effect that the Coosa were a people found in the river of that name in vessels—which must have been canoes—carrying white flags at either end. They were taken out and made into a town by the Hickory Ground (Otciapofa) people who protected them. Therefore they came to be considered as the offspring of Hickory Ground.

173 539

The longest and best version which I myself obtained was related by an old man of Hilibi named Woksi miko and runs thus:

"An unmarried woman in the town of Coosa (Kosa or Koza) went to draw water from the spring and was afterward found to be pregnant. When her child was born it was spotted. Then her brothers and some of her relatives thought this was the offspring of a water tiger (wi katca), which the Muskogee now identify with the leopard, became angry with her, and wanted to kill it. But she had some old relatives who opposed them and finally prevailed. The busk ground and 'hot house' where they councilled about this stood near the river, and the girl ran to the water tiger and said 'There is an effort being made to kill my child, but they have not killed it yet.' Then the water tiger said 'Let those who are disposed to defend the child move away from the rest.' The woman told these what the water tiger had said, so they moved away from the town, and that night the water tiger brought on a great inundation which covered Coosa, with its square ground and all, but for years after people could see there the main timbers that braced the old tcokofa. The water tiger took the woman home to live with him. Then the few persons who were left alive came together and said 'We were once a great town but now there are very, very few of us and we are ashamed of having fallen off so in numbers (istá'kosi). Nevertheless let us get together and make another town for ourselves,' and they did so, establishing the town we now know as Tulsa (istalsosi).[48b] Those who were engulfed in the river did not all die, and afterward people could hear a drum beaten there when they were dancing and having their good times. There is now a whirlpool on the site of the old town and close to the river. Sometimes people used to see beams whirling round in this eddy, and occasionally men sitting upon them. No bird could fly over the whirlpool, and those which tried always fell into the center of it and were drowned. But there is a small bird with a yellow breast which seems to say 'koskoza' and this could fly across

[48b] The first word seems to be a contraction of isti ásakosi, "many people ashamed," while the second is isti alsosi, "one (or a few) ashamed." The first is a pun on Kosa; the second on Tulsa.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Natchez N08

N. 601 171 C. 601 171

In its main outlines this is like the better known systems already described.* There are, however, two or three divergencies which would perhaps be of importance if we could be assured of the reliability of our data. One of these was the use of terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister having no etymological connection with the words for own father and own mother; another the employment by a woman of a term for elder sister distinct from the term used by a man for his elder brother. There is not a trace of the first of these anomalies in Cherokee any more than in the common Muskhogean tongues. Cherokee and ordinary Muskhogean usage do indeed diverge in applying terms to the brothers and sisters, but Natchez agrees with neither. Among the Cherokee there is one reciprocal term applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. A man has distinct terms for elder brother and younger brother, neither of which is, indeed, used by the woman, but, unlike Natchez, she has only one term for all of her sisters.

C. 601 619

When we come to the discussion of clans we shall find that terms of relationship, particularly the terms "uncle" and "nephew," were sometimes applied to clans taken as a whole (see pp. 145–149). They were also extended to towns and foreign tribes. Thus Tukabahchee has frequently been called "the mother town" (tálwa itcki), an appellation shared also by Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, and Otciapofa. Malatchi, head chief of the Creeks about the middle of the eighteenth century and probably a Kasihta Indian, speaks of the Chickasaw as his "younger brothers" and himself as their "elder brother."[62] McGillivray informed Barton that the Cherokee had been longer in the east than the Creeks and therefore called the latter their "younger brothers."[63] Like so many other tribes, the Creeks called the Delaware Indians their "grandfathers" and they were called "grandchildren" by both Delaware and Shawnee.[64] Schoolcraft, who gives this information, also adds: "Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known; but by some it is."[64] The French were formerly said to be the "fathers" of the southern Indians, and at the present day the same term is applied to the Americans.

C. 601

The examination of these systems of relationship, particularly that of the Muskogee, makes it evident that they are based upon essentially the same factors as our own—blood, marriage, sex, relative age, social contact—although the fourth item has much greater prominence. To these the influence of the artificial exogamous group must be added, but it can not be too strongly emphasized that this factor merely gives a certain twist to a system by no means de-

[62] Bossuwarth's Ms. Journal, p. 59. [64] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, 1, p. 288.
[63] Barton, New Views, p. xiv.

* [See pp. 79-95, category 116. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

One of these two
moieties was called Hathagàlgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogàlgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanàlgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafàskàlgi, which is, however, applied to the tàstànàgàlgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagàlgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'màlgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tàgi or Hola'tàlgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagàlgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste. 616 [619].

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans. 616 773 539

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began." 526

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the 621 616 101

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Tuskegee

The Town

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Although the word tálwa is employed rather loosely for both a town and a tribe, its proper signification seems to have been rather tribal, a town or city in our sense of the term, a center of population, being indicated by the word talofa. A tálwa appears to have consisted of a body of people who had their own square ground and

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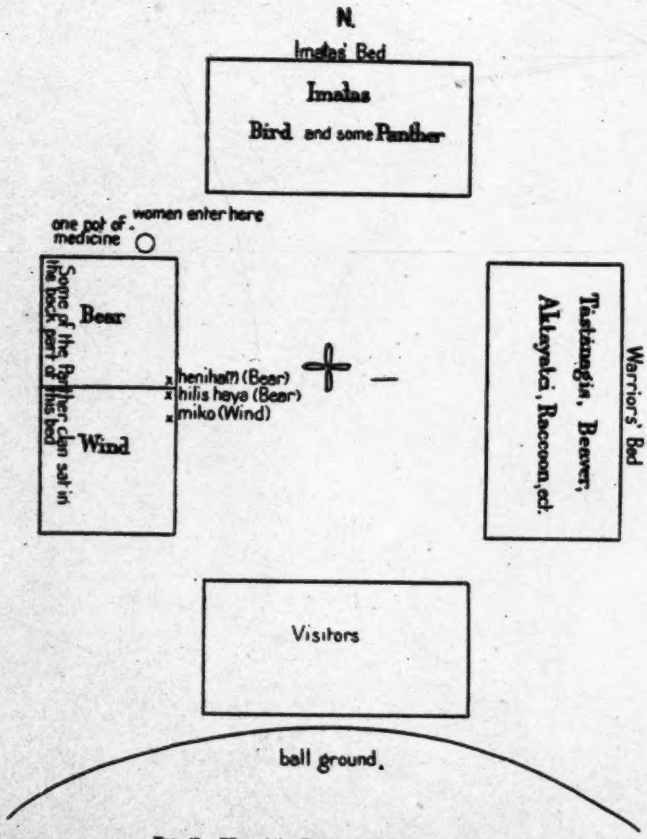

Fig. 42.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)

actually formed a little state. In later times many such tálwa were formed by segmentation and they were closely related, but the farther back we go the more distinct do the differences between the various tálwa appear to be. These tálwa might, of course, consist of a number of distinct villages, but, except that they were usually composed of knots of clan relatives, no permanence and no particular coherence attached to these latter.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

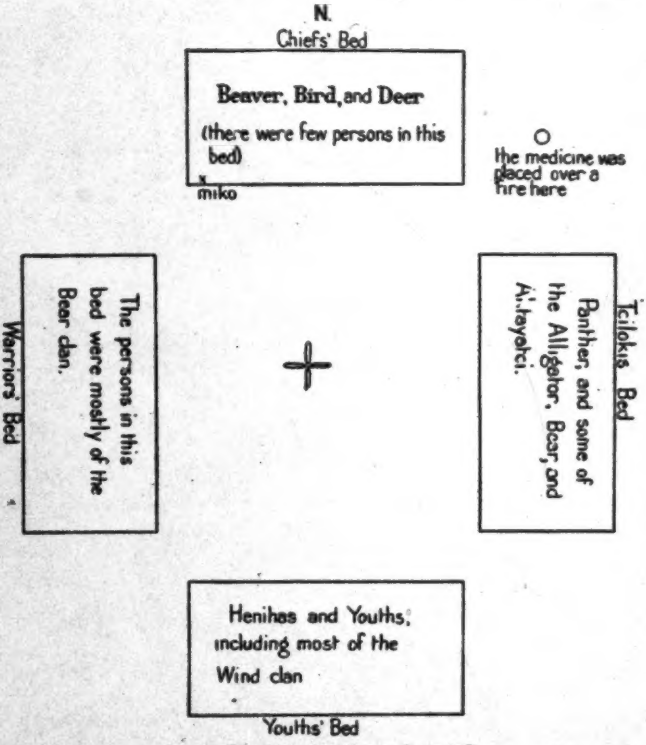

FIG. 50.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

621 one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was
•619 used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate
177 an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choc-
[609] taw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[14] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable

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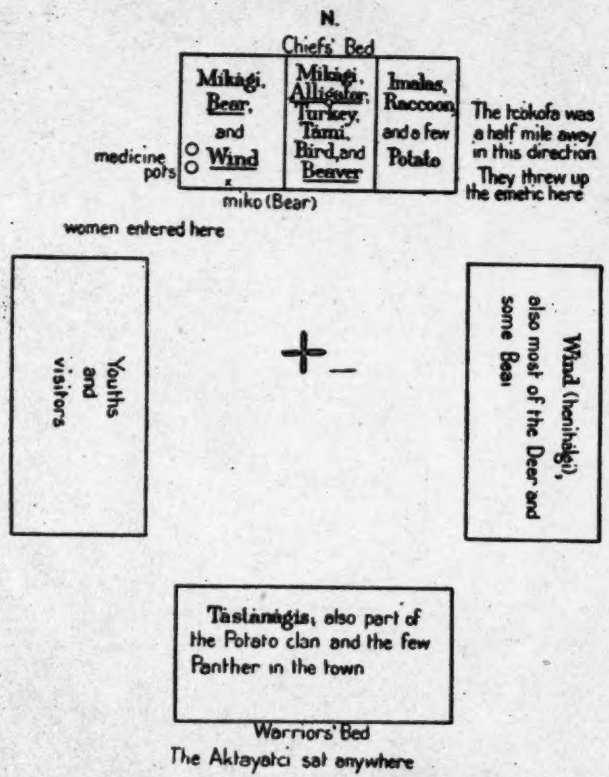

FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

621 Jackson Lewis used the name Tâlwa mikâgi for the White towns
619 and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 329.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also, in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfus-

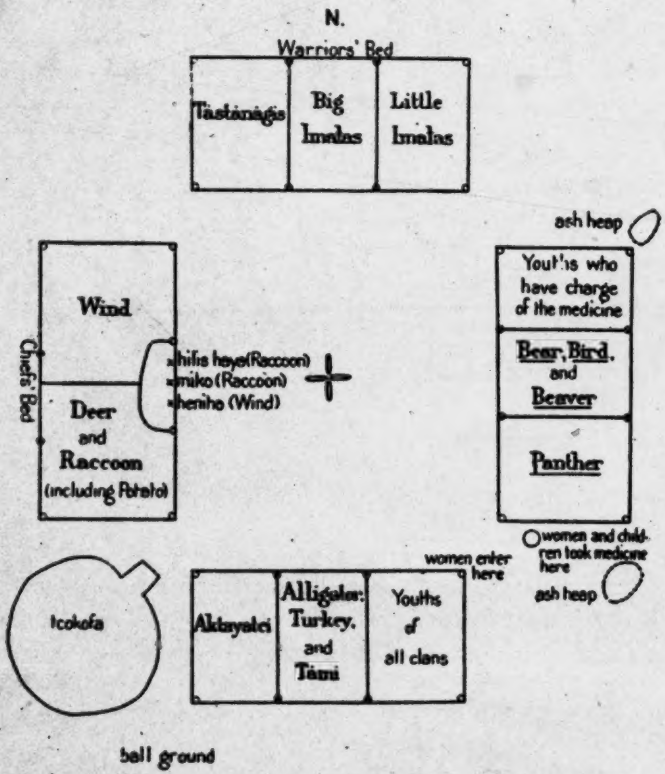

FIG. 82.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (I)

kee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered into against each other and their antithetical peace and war functions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

609 was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite
• 619 those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually
calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such
621 invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent.
Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

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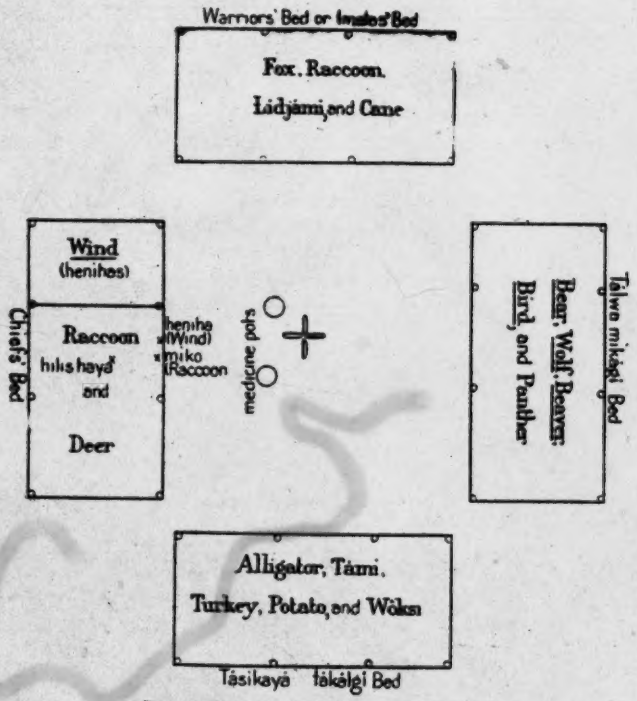

FIG. 53.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

609 Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were
619 known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bar-
621 tram,[17] and Adair[18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that
778 human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 387.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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[344]

event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[18a] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

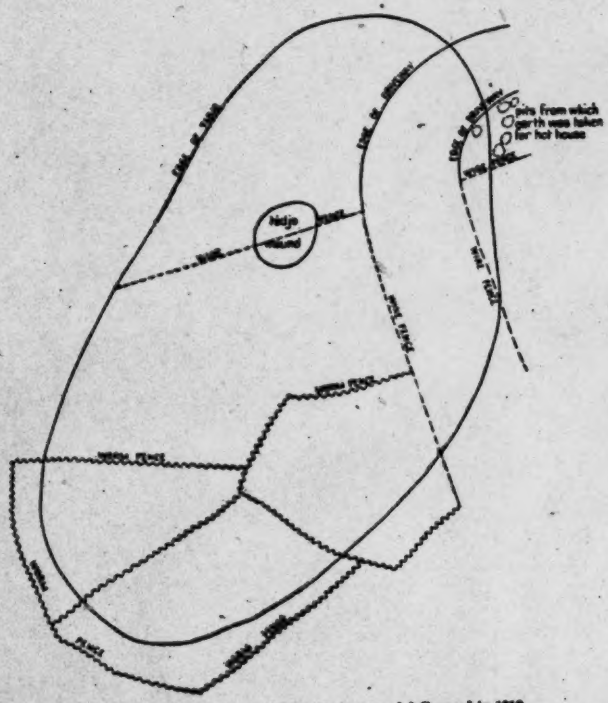

FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly." [18]

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[18a] Bartram, Travels, pp. 397-398.

[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 150.

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619 621 [526] The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

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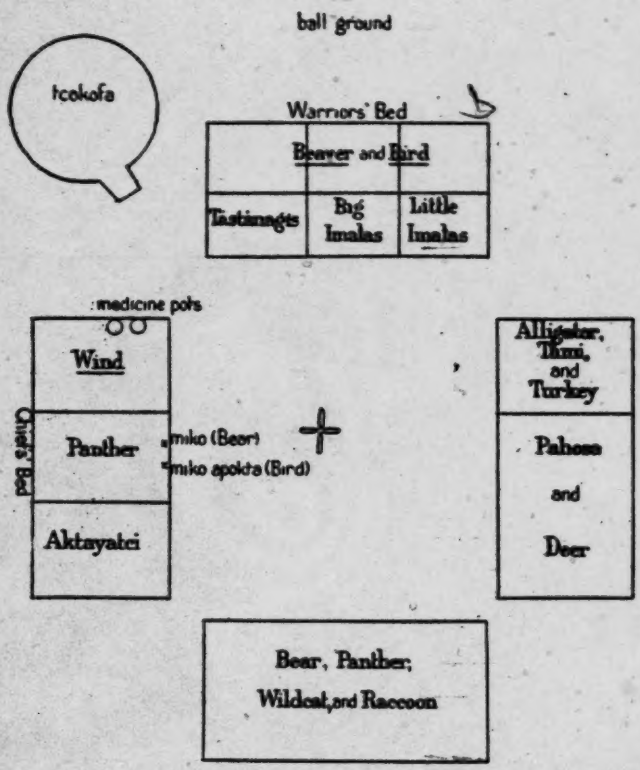

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (1).

619 101 Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.	Tulsa Canadian.	Wiogufki.
Apalachicola.	Lutcapoga.	Tukpafka.
Hitchiti.	Okfuskee.	Wiwohka.
Sawokli.	Tcatoksofka.	Pakan tallahassee.
Okmulgee.	Abihkutci.	Okchai.
Kawaigi.	Nuyaka.	Łálogálga.
Okitiyagana.	Abihka.	Asilanabi.
Yuchi.[29]	Abihka-in-the-West.	Koasati (1 and 2).
Coosa.	Talladega.	Tuskegee.
Otciapofa.	Kan-tcati.	
Tulsa Little River.	Wakokai.	

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RED

Coweta.	Eufaula Hobayi.	Łapłáko.
Łikateka.	Tukabahchee.	Hilibi.
Chiaha.[88]	Kealedji.	Kiteopataki.
Osochi.	Hatchee tcaba.	Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Hotalgihuyana.	Atasi.	Talmutcasi.
Eufaula.	Holiwahali.	Alabama.

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ball ground

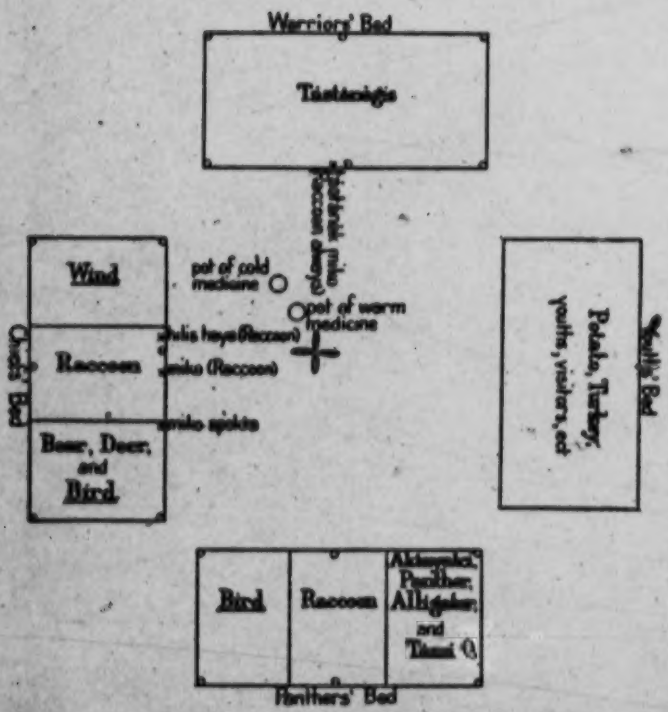

FIG. 56.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (II)

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This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Koasati was a Red town, a conclusion which

[88] The relative position of Chiaha and Tuchi is confirmed by David Tallt who mentions a ball game May 8, 1832, in which the former defeated the latter (Morenus, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 388).

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may have been deduced from the fact that in recent years the related Alabama town was on the Red side. From the evidence which I collected, however, it would seem that it is Alabama which has changed, and that only in late times owing to some difference with the Okchai Indians with whom the Alabama people had formerly been allied. Jackson Lewis in fact placed Alabama on the White side, but on the other hand he thought that Wiogufki and Tukpafka were Red.[21] Such a classification of these last two towns was concurred in by some other informants, and Eufaula hadjo told me that Wiogufki had formerly been Red and had become a White town very recently. As Tukpafka was a branch, or at any rate a coordinate part, of Wiogufki, it was probably classed with it. This shift was perhaps responsible for the confusion regarding Wiogufki in the mind of one old man who said that he believed Wiogufki played on both sides. Eufaula hadjo's statement was, however, confirmed by Big Jack of Hilibi who affirmed that at one time Wiogufki, Tukpafka, Wakokai, Sakapadai, Talmutcasi, and Pakan tallahassee were of the same fire clan as Coweta and Łapłáko but had gotten changed. I am inclined to doubt the correctness of this in so far as it applies to the last two towns. Possibly the social and political upheavals which accompanied the Civil War may have been responsible for some of the confusion. One of my best informants among the Okchai Indians thought that Wiogufki was really a White town, but that it probably had some agreement with Hilibi and Eufaula that, as good friends and neighbors, they would never play against each other. While Eufaula hadjo and Big Jack are probably right this is interesting as showing that agreements of the sort were not unknown, or at least not inconceivable. I am inclined to think that Talmutcasi was originally White, because it seems to have been a branch of the well-known White town of Okfuskee. An old Coweta Indian stated that some of the Abihka Indians were claimed by Coweta and some by Kasihta, but this confusion, as in the case of Wiwohka, was very likely due to marriages outside. The standing of Abihka on the White side was not questioned by anyone else.

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FIG. 57.—The Łapłáko "rallying ground" used before ball games, as it appeared in 1912

[21] The original position of Alabama as a White town is also indicated by what Bossu says regarding it: "The Albamons have called their country the white ground, or country of peace, and rest on their mats, that is to say attack no one. A kind of allegory through which they seem to announce to all the nations of the earth, that the bloody hatchet is buried, and people can come and trade in all safety."—Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. 2, p. 47.

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According to Silas Jefferson the Chiaha were the chief opponents of the Tuskegee after they had removed to Oklahoma, but the latter played frequently with the Wiwohka, and sometimes with the Hilibi, and, in the old country, against the Alabama. The Hitchiti and Apalachicola were usually matched against the Atasi.

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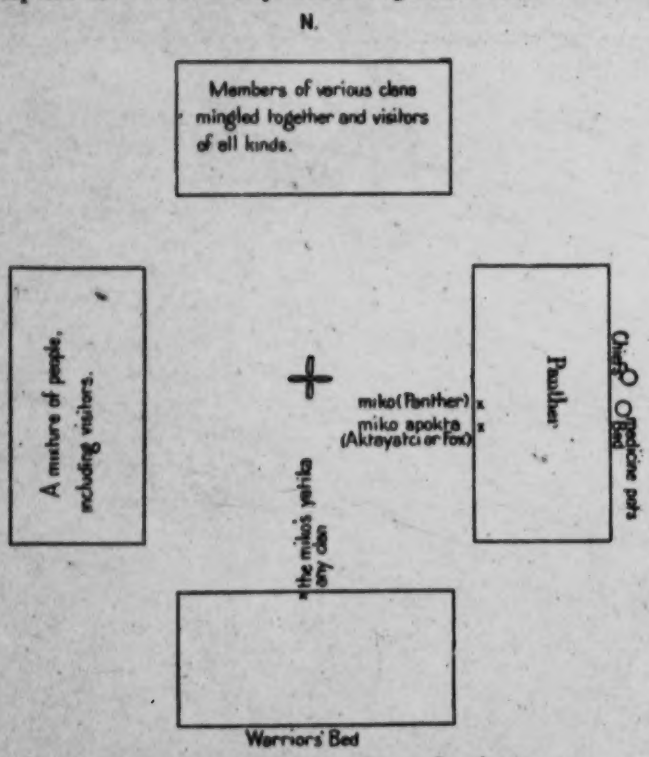

FIG. 38.—Plan of the Liwahali Square Ground

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The corresponding division among the Seminole in Oklahoma is said to have been as follows:

White	Red
Okfuskee	Eufaula.
Tallahasutci	Liwahali (including the Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki).
Ochesee	Chiaha.
Hitchiti	Mikasuki.

This agrees perfectly with the alignment among the Creeks if, as I now suspect, the Mikasuki were a branch of the Chiaha Indians instead of the Hitchiti proper.

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At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opilłáko, and Łálogálga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

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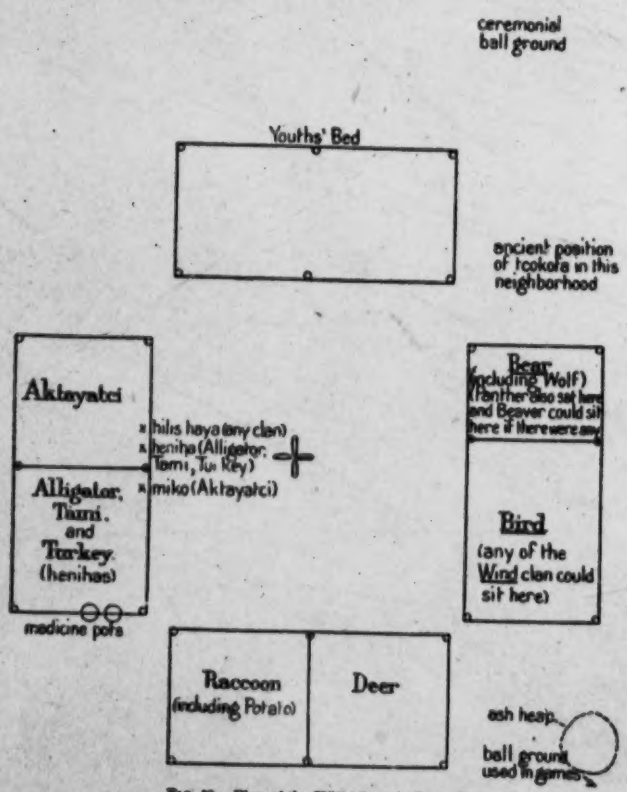

FIG. 58.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Hołiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

9. Okchaiyutci, Koasati, Kan-tcati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga. 619

Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potcas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opilláko in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."[22] In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

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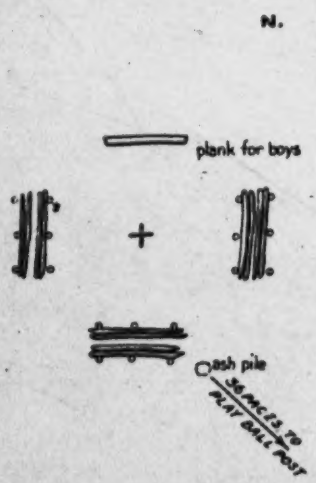

FIG. 60.—Hitchi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

EVOLUTION OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts. 173 642

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 262.

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Muskogee

GOVERNMENT

•619 621 642 The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confedera-

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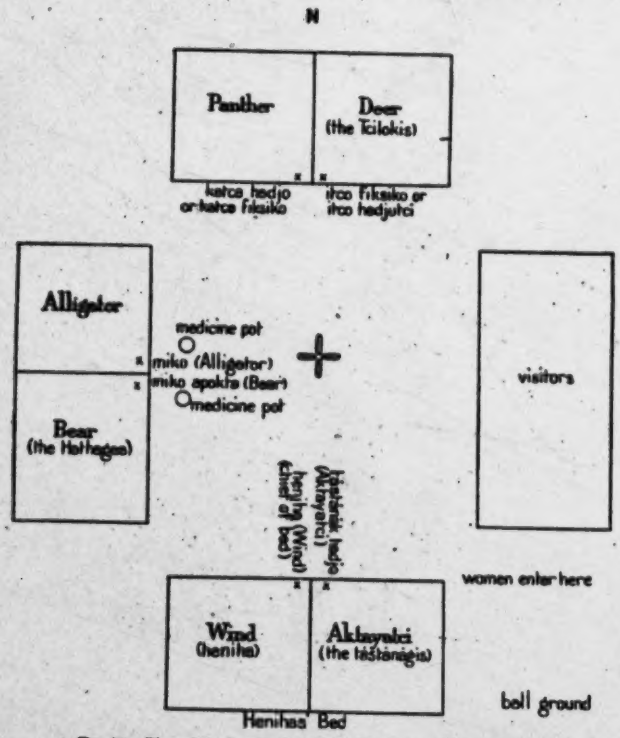

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Square Ground of Łikstcka or Broken Arrow

tion, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

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Muskogee

towns alone being under mikos.[28] If he means by warriors men bearing the title tástánagi we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

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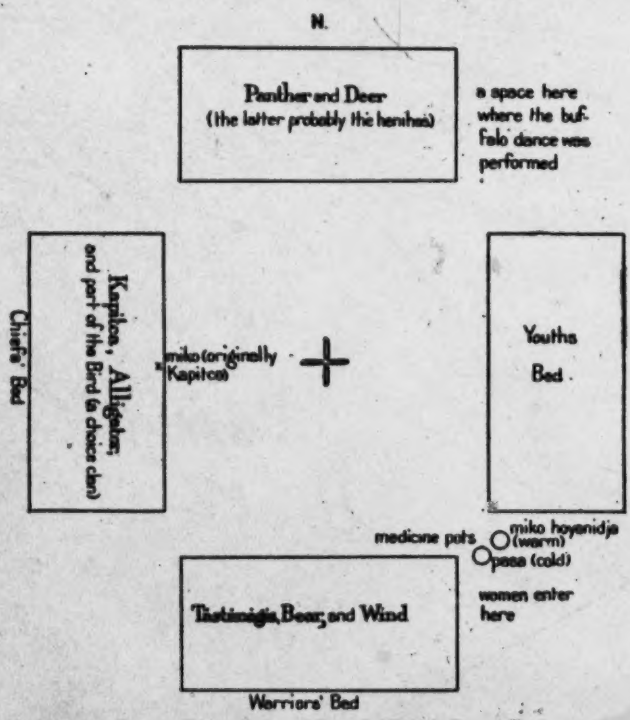

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FIG. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

622

[28] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

[i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

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554 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck
302 derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say:

"The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti átcagági] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the ã-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the ási was the prerogative of the henihálgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the ási was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been
614 referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the
623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

•619 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy
631 the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets
642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 246.
[48] See p. 436.
[49] The game described on pp. 469–470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 293.

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

came to be known to the white people as Upper and Lower Creeks. While the confederation appears to have originated with the Lower Creek towns Kasihta and Coweta, the Upper Creeks were more numerous and naturally demanded recognition. One of the largest and most powerful Upper Creek towns was Tukabahchee, which early entered upon terms of friendship with Coweta and soon came to be considered as the head war town of the Upper Creeks. To complete the mythic number four and to include a White town from among the Upper Creeks, Abihka was added to these,[53] and the four were regarded as the "foundation towns" of the confederacy, Coweta and Kasihta being, respectively, the head war and peace towns of the Lower Creeks and Tukabahchee and Abihka the head war and peace towns of the Upper Creeks. There is said to have been a great deal of social rivalry between them. Each of these four towns also had a ceremonial title. Coweta was called Coweta máhmā'yągi, "tall or high Coweta;" Kasihta, Kasihta łáko, "Big Kasihta;" Tukabahchee, Tukabahchee spokogi; and Abihka, Abihka nągi. The meaning of the Abihka title is unknown, but since Abihka was the frontier town against the Cherokee and Chickasaw, its people were also called "the door shutters." For, as Jackson Lewis explained, enemies encountered them first, and if they were conquered it was as if the enemy had opened the gates to enter the Creek country. Several different interpretations are given of the name Spokogi or Ispokogi. According to Jackson Lewis, it signified that Tukabahchee had an oversight of and care for the other towns much as a hen broods over her chickens. Another informant said that it meant "a great people," and a third "to hold everything strongly." It appears to have been given particularly to the beings who came to the Tukabahchee Indians from the world above (see p. 65). According to one story, the sacred copper and brass plates of the Tukabahchee were also sent down from above and given to the Shawnee who handed them over to the Ispokogi. This particular tradition perhaps furnishes a clue to the name, which may have been derived from that band of Shawnee known as Kispokoke. I shall show elsewhere that there is some reason to think the name Muskogee itself is of Shawnee origin, and there is as much reason to attribute this word to the same source. It may have been allowed to or conferred upon the Tukabahchee in ways common among Indians by the Kispokoke band of Shawnee and its origin afterwards forgotten.

In the rating of the four capital towns Abihka is always last, but the position of the other three appears to have changed from time to time. To-day Upper Creeks will generally tell you that Tukabahchee

[53] The Indian agent Mitchell gave the name of the fourth town as "Osecochee," but this can not be identified with any known Creek town. It may have been intended for Abihkutci. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 95.)

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619 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta.
631 Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoüita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Albamons, and Cheraqhi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another."[54]

619 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the
631 early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugu-
642 rated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the
648 Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably
177 disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing, I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1755, Ms.

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town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in consequence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand, the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575. [56] Ibid., p. 726.

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

423 missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same way, but not to sell the land."[57]

642 It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship
648 of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of
539 Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

•619 But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native
631 traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe
642 Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

642 Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the
646 confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

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[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 582.

[58] French Ms. of 1755.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlococtcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Likatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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Bone is not uncommon: Suffer what they may, you'll never see an angry look or hear a threatening Word among them. 526

"The Players divest themselves of all their Cloaths, except their Flaps. They ingeniously disguise themselves with various coloured Paints and assume the Semblance of Rattle-Snakes entwin'd. Spiral Streaks of *red*, *white* and *blue*, alternately adorn their other Parts.—The vanquished Party immediately upon the Conclusion of the Game, betake themselves to their Heels, in Order to avoid the Scoffs and Ridicule of their boastful Conquerors."[19]

It will be noticed that the goals described here agree somewhat with those mentioned by Adair, both differing from the modern goals in having no crossbar at the top. Bartram speaks as if there were but one "pillar" at each end to which the ball was carried by the opposing party.[20] This is the style in vogue at the present day among the Choctaw of Mississippi. In the first section of the present paper some further information regarding the ball game will be found.[20a]

Under another heading I have said a great deal about the social significance of the ball game and I have explained that the regular games were played only between towns belonging to the two opposite fires. I have also given the traditional origin—or a traditional origin—of these encounters—i. e., as a substitute for war. In common parlance it was often called "the brother of the war." The social divisions concerned in the ball game have been treated at length. Among the Texas Alabama, in which the older organization has been long broken down, various other ways of dividing up were resorted to. One of the prominent men among the Yuchi assured me that one of the oldest divisions in that tribe was between the men who had children and those who had none. 526 619

To frame the ball sticks pieces of hickory were tapered off, steamed and turned over at the ends, to the right for a right-handed player and to the left for a left-handed man, after which the ends were bound over on the handle. Two buckskin cords were then run across each opening and fastened through small holes made with an awl, thus furnishing a cage for the ball. Lard was next heated, and rubbed at the base of each loop. The loops were then inserted into a crack in a wall or floor and bent sideways a trifle so that the player could hold the ball between the two sticks. I was told that the makers of these sticks did not fast while at work but that after they were done medicine was put on them. The ball was made exactly as described by Adair, of deer hair covered with a piece of dressed deerskin tied by means of deerskin thongs. The ball sticks formerly 526

[19] Pope, Tour, pp. 49-51. For another printed account see "Narrative of a Mission to the Creek Nation," by Col. Marinus Willett, pp. 108-110, copied into Pickett's History of Alabama, pp. 89-90, and Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, pp. 486-487.

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. 504.

[20a] See pp. 60-61.

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796 173 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 642 621 •619 182 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

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at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved. 000

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable: 796 614

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'[35b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikinobànga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others."[36]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atàsà, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[37] Atàsà posts 796 442 621 619

[35b] This is really the horned owl.

[36] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134-135.

[37] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atàsà sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

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are shown in Figure 5 of the preceding paper, from an early French sketch.[38] As in the reform movement of Hiawatha among the Iroquois and similar reforms in other parts of the world, that perception of the injurious effects of war with which the confederacy started was not carried on progressively toward its legitimate conclusion, the absolute extinction of warfare, but halted part way. In the relative benefits which the new union conferred by introducing local peace were lost to sight the very much greater benefits which would have been conferred by carrying out the project to its only logical end. The local well being and warlike effectiveness of a certain group of tribes was very much advanced as compared with that of many of their neighbors, and with this they remained content.

The busk was in reality the fourth of a series of ceremonials, the first three of which are called "stomp dances" and included only a minimum of ceremony, being in a way preparatory to the great busk proper. It is likely that in ancient times these were of more importance and perhaps deserved the name of busk also. The time of these ceremonies was formerly fixed by the period of the new moon and therefore varied somewhat. The first stomp dance was usually in April, but sometimes probably in May, while the busk proper was usually in July but with some towns as late as August. In ancient times the date of the busk was supposed to be governed by the first ripening of the large or flour corn,[39] and this will account for the fact that among the Florida Seminole it is said to occur as early as June.[40]

The Koasati observed one of the three first stomp dances with more than ordinary care. It was the one held in May and was when the mulberries were ripe. It will be remembered that Adair says of the Koasati that "they annually sanctify the mulberries by a public oblation,"[41] and I was told as much by David Cummings, probably the only Creek living in 1912 who could remember about the old busk ground of the main body of Koasati, known as Koasati No. 1. He said that they busked in May when the mulberries were ripe and again when the roasting ears were ripe. Stiggins states that the Koasati celebrated the coming of the new crop of beans in addition to the coming of the new corn, and this was probably identical with the mulberry feast.[41a]

The following feast mentioned by Adair was perhaps at the time of one of these stomp dances—at least it was at the same time of the year—although there are features reminding one of the "old peoples' dance" which the Creeks held in October. Adair says of this feast:

[38] Journ. Société des Amér. de Paris, 1922.

[39] Adair says it was anciently fixed by "the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full eared," but later by the time of harvest. (Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.)

[40] See MacCauley, Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

[41] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 267.

[41a] See p. 568.

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114 to the Seminole grounds, but information was obtained regarding one
344 of these, Ochesee Seminole, which had been discontinued in 1912, when I visited the Seminole squares, but was afterwards revived.

000 In order to make the material obtained in 1929 intelligible, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the Creek political, social, and ceremonial organization.

101 The name Creek is a shortened form of Ochesee Creek Indians, a name which English traders from South Carolina came to apply to that part of the Indians of the Creek Confederation who were living upon Ocmulgee River in the closing decades of the seventeenth century and the opening years of the eighteenth. The word Ochesee signifies "people of a different speech" in the language of the Hitchiti, one of the minor constituents of the Creek Confederacy, being equivalent to the word Tciloki in the Creek or Muskogee language. It was applied to the Creeks proper or Muskogee by the Hitchiti along with many other tribes, but came in some way to be particularly associated with the Muskogee and the river upon which they were then living.

101 Anciently there seems not to have been a single term applicable
619 to all of the Muskogee, the latter name having been unknown to the Spaniards who first entered this section. It does not make its appearance until the English had settled in the Carolinas. The origin of the word is uncertain, but there are indications that it was derived from Shawnee, since a band of Shawnee lived for a time near what is now Augusta, Ga., and from a very early period occupied an intermediate position between South Carolina and Georgia on the one hand and the Creek Nation on the other. It is probable that there were originally several tribes speaking the same language but having separate names and that the necessity for a distinguishing term for all did not present itself until the number of non-Muskogee tribes in the Confederation came to be considerable. As to the names of these Muskogee tribes, we seem to have indications of the following: Abihka, Coosa, Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Hilibi, Eufaula, Kasihta and Coweta (or perhaps an original tribe of which the Kasihta and Coweta were sections). There were some other groups on the lower course of Tallapoosa River, such as the Atasi, Kealedji, and Kolomi, which cannot be definitely placed and may have been independent of these or early subdivisions of them. Of course some may represent people of wholly different connections who had become assimilated to the Muskogee and had lost their own language and customs. This is rendered probable from the fact that we have

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several actual cases of such assimilation in later times. However, so far as the tribes enumerated are concerned, this must always remain in doubt. 101 619

When the tribes of the Confederation first became known to white people, they were distributed geographically into two main sections to which the names Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks have become attached. The former were on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers and the upper course of Alabama River in the present state of Alabama, the latter on the lower and middle courses of the Chattahoochee, which now forms part of the boundary between Alabama and Georgia. It was this latter division principally which lived upon Ocmulgee River for a time and thus gave rise accidentally to the popular English name for the entire people. A minor division also existed between those Creeks living on the middle course of Coosa River and those centering about the lower Tallapoosa, the two being sometimes designated as Upper and Middle Creeks, respectively. In the distribution of the original Muskogee tribes, the Abihka and Coosa constituted the greater part of the Upper Creeks, while the Kasihta and Coweta were the dominating element among the Lower Creeks. The Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, Łiwahali, Łapłáko, Kolomi, and a number of towns descended from the Coosa, including Otciapofa, the Tulsa towns, and the Okfuskee towns, besides several minor groups, formed the bulk of the Middle Creeks. The Eufaula had the distinction of being connected with all three. Their oldest seat seems to have been in the Upper Creek country; later they established themselves among the Middle Creeks and about the period of first white contact they formed a colony well down Chattahoochee River, among the Lower Creeks. To complete the story of their migrant habits, we may add that they seem to have furnished the first true Muskogee contingent to the Florida Seminole in the Red House or Tcuko Tcati Indians north of Tampa Bay.

Tradition seems to be borne out by circumstantial evidence in pointing to the Lower Creek country as that region in which the tribes in question began their federation. According to the story this had to do on the one hand with the division of the Muskogee into the Kasihta and Coweta and on the other with the relations between them and the non-Muskogee elements, particularly the Apalachicola. The relations of the Kasihta and Coweta to each other are somewhat uncertain, for while it is at times implied that they resulted from the fission of a single body of people, the most popular traditions speak of them as having come from the west 101 619 642

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as two distinct tribes and it is possible that the one-tribe idea may be the result of later rationalizing. The story goes that, having defeated all of their enemies, the Kasihta and Coweta instituted periodical ball games as a kind of "moral equivalent for war," and afterwards, when either of them established relations of friendship with other Indians, whether Muskogee or not, these Indians entered on the same side as their friends so that this dual system soon became general.

One of these sides, that of Kasihta, came to be known as the White or Peace side, though it did not receive that specific name; while the side of Coweta was the Red or War side.

At the same early period the Muskogee entered into intimate relations with the Apalachicola Indians, who spoke a dialect related to Hitchiti. This was the outgrowth of a treaty of peace following upon hostilities, or to avert threatened hostilities. The Apalachicola were then taken into the Confederation on the same side as Kasihta. In some particulars, however, they are held to have been more representative of the White towns than Kasihta and for that reason their settlement came to be called Tâlwa Łâko, "Big Town." Indeed, the migration legend related to Oglethorpe by Tchikilli implies that Kasihta was at least partly Red, their hearts being "red on one side and white on the other." However, in all later times Kasihta assumes the leadership of the White towns among the Lower Creeks, as does Coweta the leadership of the Red towns. Four having been the sacred number—the sacred formulae being gone through four times, four arbors or beds constituting the ceremonial buildings in the square ground and four sticks the number employed in the ceremonial fires—it is not surprising that the Creeks should select two towns from the Upper Creeks, taken collectively, to add to these two leading Lower Creek towns. The White towns of the Upper Creeks were represented by Abihka, the Red towns by Tukabahchee, the second being from that group I have called Middle Creeks, the other from the northernmost bounds of the Nation. These four towns were the "back sticks" of the Confederation, and each had a special ceremonial name, viz., Kasihta Łâko ("Big Kasihta"), Coweta Mahmayi ("Tall Coweta"), Tukabahchee Ispokogi, and Abihka Nâgi. Ispokogi was the name of the culture heroes of the Tukabahchee and it may be a Shawnee term. It bears a suspicious resemblance to that of the Kispokotha band of Shawnee. I do not know the meaning of Nâgi. The Abihka were also called specifically "the door-shutters" because they protected the northern frontier of the Confederation.

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In course of time the non-Muskogee element represented by the Apalachicola Indians was increased, first by other groups related to the last mentioned—such as the Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, and Tamali—who spoke closely related languages and called themselves Atcik-hata, a term said to have some reference to the ashes of the ceremonial fire in the square grounds. These Indians formed the greater part of the first Creek invaders of Florida who presently constituted the Seminole nation. The leading town in this southward movement was Oconee, almost certainly affiliated with the Atcik-hata, and the titular leadership among the Seminole remained with them until after the Seminole War. However, the complexion of the Seminole as a whole was changed from Atcik-hata or Hitchiti, to Muskogee by the multitudes of refugees which fled to Florida after the Creek War of 1813-14. The later removal to Oklahoma seems to have reversed the situation since more than two-thirds of the Indians now in Florida speak a language of the Hitchiti group.

There is strong evidence that the Chiaha Indians originally spoke Hitchiti and that the Mikasuki of Florida branched off from them, but some early event in their history separated them from the other Atcik-hata and made them allies of the Coweta. This friendship they shared with the Osotci who seem originally to have belonged to the Timucua linguistic group of Florida. To the Upper Creeks were added the distinct but dialectically related Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, while bands of Yamasi and Apalachee were temporarily connected with both Upper and Lower Creeks. The Alabama town of Tawasa seems to have had an origin similar to that of the Osotci. At a very late date the wholly alien Yuchi population was admitted into the Confederation, most of them making their home among the Lower Creeks though there was a small body also among the Upper Creeks. And more divergent still were the Shawnee, from among whom two towns made their homes in Creek territory for several decades during the eighteenth century. One of these probably continued on into the early years of the nineteenth century.

It may be added that towns are known to have changed from one side to the other. Alabama was once a White town closely associated with the Okchai, but later they were affiliated with the Tukabahchee and came to be reckoned as Red. Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Wiwohka are also said to have shifted from one side to the other. In the case of the two last this may be partially explained by the fact that, if we may trust native tradition, they were built up of refugees from other settlements.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogálga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłáko, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tami with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

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615 claimed to be connected with the Cane. According to another old man, however, the Mink was akin to the Beaver. Jackson Lewis, one of the best of my informants, affirmed that the Cane clan was "kindred to and nearly the same as the Raccoon clan," while an old Seminole connected it with the Beaver and Potato. When we remember that the Raccoon and Potato were often classed together we see a reason for the association of this set of clans—Mink, Cane, Beaver, Raccoon, and Potato. According to another informant, the Cane clan in Kealedji was associated with the Mole, Raccoon, Potato, Fox, and Łidjâmâlgi clans, which agrees with the statement of Jackson Lewis; but I learned that in the Hitchiti town among the Seminole it was placed in one group with the Deer, Panther, and Pahosâlgi. This would be an altogether different classification from that given by the others. According to Jackson Lewis, the Hickorynut clan was kindred to the Eagle. The Tcowastâlgi were either identical with the Potato clan or, what is more probable, closely associated with it. At some period in the not remote past the Fox and Daddy-longlegs clans are said to have united into one which afterwards received the name Raccoon. This did not involve the Texas Alabama, and in any case can only have meant that the Fox and Daddy-longlegs combined with an already existing Raccoon clan.[14] The Yanasâlgi are thought, for what reason I know not, to have belonged among the Tciloki clans to be discussed presently. Nothing more has been preserved regarding the connection of this clan, or the affiliations of the Atciâlgi, Okilisâlgi, Sidjotcâpkâlgi, or Wałakâlgi, while, as we have seen, those of the Sulâlgi and Muklasâlgi are in doubt. The name Okilisâlgi is, uncertainly, said to refer to the weevil (âtci-suklaitcâ), but this seems rather far-fetched and Gatschet's suggestion that it was an attempt at "English" is attractive in view of the seeming identification of a Spanish clan.[15]

615 614 621 Before giving an account of the other clan associations—(2) and (3)—it will be necessary to explain a Creek institution which has an important bearing on this question. At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (pawa), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the

[14] See p. 124. [15] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 158; Ms. vocab.

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rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them already noted.

In the subjoined list I give the clan councils in all of the Creek and Seminole towns from which I was able to obtain information. Some towns are so nearly extinct that mistakes have undoubtedly been made, but the list embodies the best information to be had. Where two informants have been consulted and the testimony of these has differed considerably I have inserted the conflicting lists, numbering them (1) and (2).

Clan Councils by Towns

Upper Creeks

White towns

Talladega:
1. Raccoon, Aktayatcl.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird.
5. Alligator, Beaver.[16]
6. Deer.
7. Panther.

Abihka-in-the-West:
1. Bird, Alligator, Beaver.
2. Bear, Panther, Wind.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.

Kan-teati:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Deer.
3. Panther.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.
6. Alligator.
7. Bird.
8. Beaver (but perhaps placed with the Bird).

Otciapofa:
1. Panther.
2. Potato.
3. Tâmi.
4. Wind.
5. Pahosa.
6. Beaver.

Otciapofa—Continued.
7. Bear.
8. Aktayatcl.
9. Raccoon.
10. Deer.

Tulsa Little River:[17]
1. Bird, Eagle.
2. Deer, Pahosa, Panther, Kapitca(?).[18]
3. Wildcat.
4. Potato.
5. Raccoon.
6. Aktayatcl.
7. Wind.
8. Bear.
9. Beaver.
10. Otter.[19]

Lutcapoga (1):
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatcl.
4. Bird.
5. Beaver.
6. Bear.
7. Wind.
8. Deer.

Lutcapoga (2)
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Panther.
2. Aktayatcl. Kapitca, Eagle.
3. Bear, Bird, Beaver.[20]
4. Wind.

[16] The number of Beaver people in this town was very small.
[17] The Turkey was also represented here, but its relations are unknown.
[18] The identification of the Kapitca in this group seems very doubtful. One informant also separated the Pahosa from it, but with less reason, as may be seen if we compare the associations of the Deer and Pahosa in other places.
[19] The presence of an Otter clan here depends on the testimony of one informant, although a very good one, who stated that in this town, unlike some others, the Beaver and Otter people intermarried.
[20] In the Tulsa towns, unlike most others, the Beaver and Bird seem to have preserved their independence and therefore informant 2 is probably wrong. Which informant is right regarding the Bird and Bear it is impossible for me to determine.

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Okfuskee:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Bear.
5. Bird.
6. Beaver.
7. Wind.
8. Panther.
9. Aktayatci.

Abihkutci:
1. Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, Woksi, Eagle, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Bird, Beaver.
5. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
6. Deer, Pahosa, Mole.
7. Panther, Wildcat.

Nuyaka:
1. Bear.
2. Wind.
3. Bird.
4. Beaver.
5. Deer.
6. Panther.
7. Alligator.
8. Raccoon.

Pakan tallahassee (1):
1. Bird, Bear, Wolf.
2. Wind, Aktayatci.[31]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Deer.
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey(?).

Pakan tallahassee (2):
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci.

Wiogufki (1):
1. Raccoon, Potato(?).
2. Alligator, Tâmi, Snake.
3. Bird, Pahosa.
4. Kapitca, Aktayatci.
5. Wind.
6. Beaver.
7. Bear.
8. Deer.

Wiogufki (2):
1. Bear, Beaver, Bird, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Wind.
5. Panther, Wildcat.

Asilanabi:
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Deer(?).[31a]
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Panther.[31a]
4. Wind.
5. Aktayatci.

(Okchai and Łálogálga were probably the same as Asilanabi.)

Wiwohka:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Kapitca.
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Wind, Skunk.
4. Bear, Bird, Wolf.
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Snake, Beaver.
6. Deer, Pahosa.
7. Aktayatci.[32]

Tuskegee:[33]
1. Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi.
2. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci.
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Bird.
5. Wind.
6. Bear.

Kosati No. 2:
1. Wind, Bear (and all Whites).
2. Raccoon, Alligator, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, Daddy-longlegs (and all Tellokl).

Red towns

Tukaoahchee:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Aktayatci.
2. Raccoon, Eagle.[34]
3. Potato, Fox.
4. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Woksi.
5. Wind, Skunk
6. Deer.
7. Bird, Beaver, Otter.[35]
8. Bear.

[31] The association of the Wind and Aktayatci seems improbable.
[31a] But see p. 140 for a probable Deer-Panther association at Okchai.
[32] The Aktayatci perhaps belong in group 1.
[33] Speck notes in this town also the Deer, Fox, Mink, Snake, Buzzard, Skunk, and Rabbit clans.
[34] Some place the Potato in this group.
[35] There is some uncertainty as to the position of the Otter.

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Atasi (very defective):
1. Alligator, Turkey.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird, Beaver (?).
5. Aktayatci.
6. Panther.
7. Deer.
8. Raccoon, Potato.

Kealedji:
1. Mole, Raccoon, Potato,[26] Fox, Łidjámi, Kohasa.
2. Skunk, Wind.
3. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey, Woksi.
4. Aktayatci.
5. Bear, Wolf.
6. Bird, Beaver.
7. Deer.
8. Panther.

Łapláko:[27]
1. Pahosa, Deer.
2. Beaver, Bear, Bird.[28]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Aktayatci, Kapitca (?).
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey.
7. Wind.

Hlíbi:
1. Raccoon, Potato.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Bird.
6. Deer.

Upper Eufaula:[29]
1. Aktayatci, Potato, Raccoon.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf, Bird (?).
4. Panther.
5. Deer.
6. Tàmi, Turkey, Alligator.

Alabama (1):
1. Aktayatci, Deer.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Beaver.

Alabama (2):
1. Alligator, Wind, Bird, Turkey, Aktayatci.[30]
2. Bear, Salt, Panther,[31] Wildcat.[31]

Alabama in Texas:
1. Deer, Wolf.[32]
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Bear, Salt.
4. Alligator, Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, Turkey.
5. Wind, Skunk.

LOWER CREEKS

White towns

Kasihta:[33]
1. Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Fox, Raccoon, Beaver.
2. Wind, Fish (?).
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Panther.
5. Deer.[34]
6. Mole.

Hitchiti:
1. Pahosa, Mole, Deer.
2. Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Tàmi, Snake, Otter, Aktayatci.
3. Potato.
4. Panther.
5. Bear.
6. Wind

Okmulgee:[35]
1. Tàmi, Alligator.
2. Deer, Panther.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Beaver, Bird.
5. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Fox.
6. Wind.

[26] According to one informant the Potato belonged in group 2.

[27] There were also some of the Potato clan; associations unknown.

[28] An inferior informant classified the Bird and Bear separately.

[29] The Beaver clan was also represented here formerly; it sat with the Wind, Bear, Wolf, and Bird, but whether it was linked with any or all of these is uncertain.

[30] The association of Aktayatci and Wind seems improbable, but one other case of the kind has been noted (see Pakan tallahassee).

[31] There were very few representatives of these clans in Alabama.

[32] The only representatives of the Wolf clan living in 1912 were descended from the Pascagoula tribe of Indians.

[33] The Bird clan was also represented in this town, but I did not obtain its linkage, though it sat with the Deer.

[34] Sat with 1 but could intermarry with them.

[35] Logan Perryman, probably referring to this town, said that the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator formed one council, a statement which, if true, would bring 1 and 5 together. The late David Hodge, who belonged to Okmulgee, declared that the Bird, Deer, and Aktayatci clans were all related, the women of these clans calling each other "sisters." This was denied by Perryman and seems improbable in the light of what we know of these clans elsewhere, although it is possible that the first two were so connected.

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Apalachicola:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Deer, Mole, Toad.
2. Bird, Snake, Alligator, Turkey, Tàmi, Beaver, Kapitca.
3. Wind.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Raccoon, Potato.
6. Aktayatci.

Yuchi:
1. Bear, Wolf.
2. Deer, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat.
3. Alligator, Fish, Beaver.
4. Bird.

Red towns

Coweta (1):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.

Coweta (2):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver, Wind, Bear.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tàmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.

Lower Eufaula:
1. Wind, Otter, Skunk, Mole, Tcokote, Toad(?).
2. Bear, Nokfaha, Wolf, Salt, Fresh-land, Asunwa.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake, Alligator, Wokai.
4. Bird, Beaver, Tàmi.
5. Deer, Pahosa, Turkey, Panther, Wildcat.
6. Fox, Raccoon, Potato.

Chiaha:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatci.
2. Wolf, Bear, Deer(?).
3. Panther.
4. Bird.
5. Wind, Skunk, Fish.
6. Beaver.
7. Alligator, Tàmi.

Osochi:
(All that is known is that the Panther and Wildcat and the Bear and Wolf did not intermarry.)

SEMINOLE TOWNS

White towns

Ochesee:
1. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Otter.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Potato, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon(?).
5. Panther.
6. Deer.

Okfuskee:
1. Bird, Beaver.
2. Bear, Deer, Pahosa, Potato, Raccoon.
3. Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, Aktayatci.
4. Panther.
5. Wind.

Tallahasutci:
1. Beaver, Potato.
2. Tàmi, Alligator, Turkey.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake.
4. Wind (possibly with last).
5. Bear.
6. Bird.
7. Deer, Panther.

Hitchiti Seminole:
1. Wind, Skunk, Otter.
2. Bird, Aktayatci, Snake, Alligator, Tàmi.
3. Deer, Panther, Kohosa (Cane?), Pahosa.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Tead, Tcokote, Mole.
6. Beaver, Potato.

Red towns

Eufaula:
1. Alligator, Tàmi, Turkey, Kapitca, Snake, Aktayatci.
2. Deer (probably including the Pahosa).
3. Raccoon.
4. Potato.
5. Panther.
6. Wind.
7. Bear.[56]
8. Bird.[56]

[56] There were a few people of the Bird clan and one belonging to the Bear which had not been definitely placed, perhaps because in recent years no occasion had arisen which demanded definite allocation.

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Chiaha:
1. Wind, Skunk.
2. Raccoon, Fox.
3. Potato.
4. Bird.
5. Bear.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Alligator.
8. Deer.
9. Beaver.

Łiwahali:
1. Beaver, Otter, Bird, Turkey, Tàmi, Bear, Salt.
2. Wind.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Potato, Raccoon.[27]
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.

Mikasuki: (Unobtainable.)

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The facts are now before us; let us proceed to an analysis of them. In the following table I have recorded the number of times each association of any two clans takes place, and the number of times any two clans are recorded in each town unassociated. UC stands for "Upper Creeks," A for "Alabama," K for "Koasati," LC for "Lower Creeks," H for "Hitchiti," Y for "Yuchi," and S for "Seminole." To.="Total."

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[27] Another informant stated that the Potato and Raccoon clans were anciently classed with the Bird.

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One of these two
moieties was called Hathagàlgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogàlgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanàlgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafàskàlgi, which is, however, applied to the tàstànàgàlgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan ťallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagàlgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'màlgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tàgi or Hola'tàlgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagàlgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste. 616 [619]

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans. 616 773 539 526

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the 621 616 101

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same time from what town or towns each clan was reported. Numbers after the W and Tc tell how the clans were associated in phratries within the town, the 1's being in one phratry, the 2's in another, and so on.

Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties

Upper Creeks (White Towns)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Talladega	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	W	W		W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc.
Abihka-in-the-West	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(1)	Tc(4)	
Kan-tcati	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Otciapofa	W(1)	W(2)		Tc(3)		Tc(4)	W(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Tulsa Little River	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)		Tc(5)	W(5)	?(6)	Tc(7).
Lutcapoga	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(6)	?(7).
Okfuskee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	Tc(9).
Tcatoksofka	W	W	W	W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Nuyaka	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Talmutcasi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pakan tallahassee	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6?).
Wiogufki	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W?(2)	Tc(3)	W?(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Tukpafka	W			W		Tc	Tc	Tc	
Asilanabi	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)
Okchai (probably same connections).	W	W	W	W	W	Tc		Tc	Tc.
Łálogálga	?					?		?	
Wiwohka	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	(?5)	?(6)	?(7 perhaps 6).
Tuskegee	W(1)	W(2)	?(3)	W(4)	Tc?(4)		Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc?(6).
Koasati No. 2	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2).

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Snake
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W							
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati		Tc(8)						
Otciapofa		Tc(8)	W(9)	Tc(10)				
Tulsa Little River		?(8)	?(5)		Tc(5)	?(3)	Tc(9)(?)	
Lutcapoga		?(6)		?(4)	?(7)	?(7)		
Okfuskee		Tc(8)	Tc(8)	Tc(5)			Tc(5)	
Tcatoksofka						W	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(2)	Tc(7)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(7)	Tc(7)	Tc(4)	
Nuyaka								
Talmutcasi		?						
Pakan tallahassee	W(2)			W(2?)			W(2?)	
Wiogufki		Tc(5)		W?(2)	Tc(6)		W?(2)	Tc(2).
Tukpafka		Tc						
Asilanabi		Tc(4)		Tc(2)			Tc(2)	
Okchai (probably same connections).				W			W	
Łálogálga								
Wiwohka	?(2)	?(6)	?(4)	?(3)	?(6)		?(3)	?(2).
Tuskegee		Tc(6)		Tc(4)				
Koasati No. 2								

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Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Fox	Wokai	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Otter	Tco-wasta	Tapa-sola
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)								
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati								
Otciapofa								
Tulsa Little River					?(9)	Tc(10)		
Lutcapoga							?(1)	
Okfuskee								
Tcatoksofka								
Abihkutci	Tc(7)	Tc?(7)	W(1)	Tc?(5)	Tc(6)			
Nuyaka								
Tasmutcasi								
Pakan tallahassee			W(1)		Tc(4)			
Wiogufki								
Tukpafka								
Asilanabi						W(2)?		
Okchai (probably same connections).								
Łalogalga								
Wiwohka			?(1)		?(5)		?(6)	
Tuskegee					Tc(5)			
Koasati No. 2								Tc(2).

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Tukabatchee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Atasi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3?)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Koaledji	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	W(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(4).
Łapłáko	W(1)	Tc(2)	W(2?)	W(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Łiwahali	W	W	W		Tc?	Tc	Tc		Tc.
Hilibi		W(1)	W(2)	?	Tc(3)	Tc(4) [W(4) (J. L.)]		Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Eufaula (Upper)	W(1)	W(2?)	W(2?)	W(?)	W(6)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)[1]	Tc(5)	Tc(5).
Alabama	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(5)	Tc(3?) W[2]	Tc(4)	Tc(2)		Tc(4).
Alabama in Tazas	?(1)	?(2)		?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitas	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Tukabatchee		Tc(8)		Tc(4)		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(8).
Atasi		Tc(7?)		Tc(4?)			Tc(4)	
Koaledji	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(4)			Tc(4)	Tc(7).
Łapłáko		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)		Tc(3)	
Łiwahali								?
Hilibi	W(1)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)			Tc(3)	
Eufaula (Upper)	W	Tc(5)		W(5)			W(5)	
Alabama							Tc(3?)	
Alabama in Tazas	?(4)						?(3)	

[1] Formerly it is said to have been White.

[2] According to Billy Yahola.

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Wokai	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Tukabahchee	Tc(4)	W(1)		Tc(6)				
Atasi								
Kealedji	Tc(4)	W(1)	Tc(7)				Tc(7)	
Łapłáko				Tc(5)				
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)		W(1)						
Alabama				Tc(2)				
Alabama in Texas		?(1)		?(5)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Teokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Tukabahchee								
Atasi								
Kealedji		Tc(7)						
Łapłako								
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)								
Alabama				W(2)				
Alabama in Texas				?(2)				?(3).

LOWER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Kasihta	W(1)	W(2)	W?	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(3)	Tc(3).
Hitchiti	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	W(3)	?(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)
Okmulgee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(6)	Tc(5?).
Yuchi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(1)	Tc(1)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Témi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Kasihta	W(2)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)				Tc(3).
Hitchiti		Tc(6)	Tc(4)					
Okmulgee	W(2)	Tc(6)		Tc(4)				Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(2)	Tc(6?)		Tc(3)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)	
Yuchi	W(2)							

Town	Wokai	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Kasihta			Tc?(6)	Tc(5)?				W?(1).
Hitchiti			Tc(4)		Tc(3)			
Okmulgee				Tc(5)				
Apalachicola			Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)			
Yuchi		W(1)		Tc(1?)				W(4).

Town	Toad	Cane	Teokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Kasihta								
Hitchiti								
Okmulgee								
Apalachicola	Tc?(4)							
Yuchi								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

LOWER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Cowsta	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(4).
Likatcka	?	W			?	Tc	?		?.
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)	Tc(2)	?(3)	?(3)	W(4)	?(5)	?(5)	?(6)	?(4).
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	W(27)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Osochi	?	?(1)	?	?	?	?	?(2)	?	?.

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Cowsta		Tc(4)		Tc(4)				Tc(4).
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(2)	?(6)	?(5)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	
Chiaha	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(5)				Tc(7).
Osochi	?(1)	?			?			?.

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Cowsta				Tc(5)				
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(4)	?(1)	?(1)	?(5)	?(4)	?(1)		
Chiaha		W(1)			Tc?(3?)			W?(7).
Osochi				?(2)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcoknte	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Cowsta								
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)		?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	
Chiaha								
Osochi								

SEMINOLE TOWNS [1]

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Ochesee	W?(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	(W)(37)	Tc(4).
Okfuskee	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(2)	?(5)	?(2)	?(4).
Tallahassuti	Tc(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(8)		Tc(8).
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(3)	?(5)	?(5)		?(2).
Eufaula	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)		?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(7)	?(4).
Liwahali	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(3)
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc (6)		Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Mikasuki		?		?	?		?		

[1] [For key to symbols, see pp. 157-158, category 116. -- Analyst

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

SEMINOLE TOWNS—Continued

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox	Wokxi
Ochesee	W(2)	W(3)			Tc(4)				
Okfuskee		?(2)	?(2)		?(4)				
Tallahasutci		?(4)		W?(5)	?(8)		?(5)		
Hitchiti	?(2)	?(4)	?(5)	?(3)					
Eufaula		?(8)	?(5)	?(4)	?(4)		?(4)		
Łiwahali		Tc(6)	Tc(4)	W(2)	Tc(3)		W(2)		
Chiaha		Tc(9)						Tc(7)	
Mikasuki		?							

Town	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Toad	Fish	Tcokote	Salt	Cane
Ochesee				Tc(4)	W?(1)					
Okfuskee				?(4)						
Tallahasutci				Tc(8)						
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(6)		?(3)	?(1)	?(6)		?(6)		?(5)
Eufaula				?(4)						
Łiwahali				Tc(3)	W(2)				W(2)	
Chiaha	W(1)									
Mikasuki					?					

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On examining this list we find but one town in which the Wind are set down as Tcilokogâlgi. This is the Seminole town of Tallahasutci and I believe the statement to be an error. The Seminole towns were built up from several different Creek towns and do not represent an old organization. Among other changes this institution of Whites and Tcilokis fell rapidly into decay, and for three of the towns I have been unable to get any information. Moreover, all of the old men of Tallahasutci are dead and, although I am sure that my informant tried to give correct information, he probably erred. The Bear occurs twice as Tciloki, in Eufaula Hobayi and Łapłâko. In the first case not much reliance is to be placed on the information, since the town has long given up its square and my informant merely said in a general way that the Bear were the Tciloki and the Alligator the Whites. The information regarding Łapłâko was, however, from one of my oldest informants and was furnished in a positive manner without hesitation. It is true that in the sister town of Łiwahali the Bear is given as White, but my Łiwahali informant was a comparatively young man, and the Łiwahali square was given up much before that of Łapłâko. In accordance with the history of the Creek towns, as worked out in another place,[42a] Łapłâko and Łiwahali would seem to have represented a division more ancient than the Tukabahchee, Eufaula, or many other groups of towns upon the Red side, and it is quite likely that the assignment of the Bear to the Tciloki was peculiar to them. In the same towns

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[42a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-258.

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the Bird and Beaver are White. This is their usual classification, but my lists show that they were Tciloki in Alabama, Koasati, Apalachicola and two of the Abihka towns. That they were actually Tciloki in Alabama is attested by several informants within and without that town, and one of my interpreters, himself a Tukabahchee, recalled, as a subject of general amusement, that when a ball game was to be played the Bird clan in Alabama sided against the Whites. If the Bird and Beaver were Whites in Alabama they were probably Whites in Koasati also, the two towns having been close together and being related in language. It is also probable that this difference obtained among the Hitchiti. It is true that in Okmulgee the Bird appear as White and the Beaver as Tciloki and in Hitchiti proper the Beaver as White and the Bird as Tciloki, but my authorities for this were much younger than the one for Apalachicola and their squares were among the first to be given up. In two of the four Abihka towns the Bird and Beaver would seem to have been White and in two Tciloki. The information with respect to Talladega, in which the two are Whites, should have been the most correct, since that square is still maintained; since the Bird and Beaver seem to be Tciloki among the tribes incorporated into the Creeks, perhaps the disturbance in some Abihka towns may have been due to the Natchez who settled with them. The Beaver are also given as Tciloki in Otciapofa and Kasihta. In the latter place this seems to have been a late arrangement, due to the fact that there were no Birds, and the three Beaver were seated with the Potato clan and hence classed on the same side with them. Something like this may be the secret of the change at Otciapofa. Another reason is suggested by the case of Asilanabi, where the Beaver was also Tciloki although the Bird was White. My information was from the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łałogâlga and is probably correct. It appears that the anomaly was due in part at least to the association of the Beaver with water animals like the Alligator.

But sometimes the association of the Alligator and Beaver seems to have worked in the opposite direction, the Alligator being placed among the Whites. From my notes this would appear to have been the case at Talladega, the old Abihka town near Eufaula, Oklahoma, at Pakan tallahassee, Wiogufki, Okchai, Atasi, Eufaula Hobayi, and Yuchi. While some of these cases do not rest on altogether satisfactory information there can be no doubt that such a classification occurred at times. We have no means of knowing whether it was characteristic of the Creeks in olden days or is a later innovation. The Deer clan is said, on the best authority obtainable, to have been reckoned a White clan in Chiaha, and this, according to an Indian of the neighboring Coweta town, was because it was there associated with the Bird. It might also be mentioned that in Tukabahchee the

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Deer were employed as henihas during the women's dance, and the henihas, as we shall see, were connected with peace. In Otciapofa the Pahosa are said to have been not merely Whites but the leading clan among the Whites, and as the Pahosa and Deer were uniformly linked together the condition noted in Chiaha may have been duplicated in Otciapofa. The Panther clan is given as White in Otciapofa, Little River Tulsa, Wiogufki, and Kealedji, the evidence in the last case being particularly good. Although the Panther is to-day almost always regarded as Tciloki some of my oldest and best informants, including Jackson Lewis and Big Jack of Hilibi, asserted positively that it was properly a White clan. According to the latter it was a White clan which had been turned over to the Tciloki to make their numbers even with the numbers of the Whites. Referring back to the origin myths it is seen that corroborative evidence may be adduced from that source.[53] If the Panther was anciently White it is to be presumed that the Wildcat was White also, but of this I have no certain knowledge. The Potato and Raccoon were said by one of my very best informants to have been reckoned as White clans in the Seminole town of Ochesee. While I am not prepared to deny the fact it would be so unique that I believe it must have been due to some later readjustment and does not represent an original condition. An informant reported that the Eagle was a White clan in Tcatoksofka but this was probably due to a mistaken association of the Eagle and Bird clans such as I have mentioned elsewhere.

Summing up, then, we find that the Wind and Bear are almost always White, the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Potato almost always Tciloki, the Bird and Beaver Tciloki occasionally but usually White, the Alligator, Deer, and Panther White occasionally but usually Tciloki. The clans linked with each of these so constantly as to be reckoned subdivisions were considered of the same moiety.

At first sight it would seem as though the connection of the names of the White clans with peace were very remote, but "where there's a will there's a way," especially when it comes to ex post facto explanations, and here is how my good informant, Jackson Lewis, solved the enigma in connection with four of these.

"The Wind is considered a peace clan because the wind can drive away clouds, fogs, and so on, and bring on clear, pleasant weather for mankind. The name of the Bird clan is understood to apply to birds with white plumage, such as the crane, pelican, spring crane, etc. Crane feathers were borne by dancers belonging to White clans at Tukabahchee, while those of the other side carried eagle feathers. The Bear is a peace clan because the bear is regarded as exceedingly watchful and therefore useful in the interests of peace. The Wolf, as a branch of the Bear, is a peace clan because the Wolf is a close

[53] See pp. 111-113.

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observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear." 616

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.[52a] 621

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Łapłáko the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group. 616 621 582

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties. 616 621 526

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had 616 621 526 177

[52a] See pp. 111-112.

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616 the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely
•621 forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played
526 against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of
[177] among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

614 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the
582 functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344 361 621.

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."[64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."[65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177]

Among the Alabama the yard (tä'ăle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the household. [351 784]

[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-55.
[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 96.

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344 old coverings are never removed, they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[86] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [86] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[532 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
614] of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

•[621 "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always
531] been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[714] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[86] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[86] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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344 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have
346 been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

177 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks
171 have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those
344 above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

344 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa),
554 usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The
621 names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikàlgi or mikàgi intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tàstànàgàlgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibànàgàlgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihàlgi intupa) and was known

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 302.

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344 554 621 to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihâlgi always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[a] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the mikâlgi or chiefs, and the henihâlgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tâstânâgâlgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

614 622

Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Talladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[3]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-tcati	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Lutcapoga	do	Bird [4] (Beaver, second chief).
Okfuskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tootoksofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutcf	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutcasi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee	(1) Aktaystci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis)	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktaystci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktaystci	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktaystci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Łakogâga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [6]	Bear or Wind.[3]
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[3]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 287.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tcłoki clan, perhaps the Aktaystci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasihta yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

[a] See pp. 308-325

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and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łapláko, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łapláko, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck. 614 622

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[1] tookofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable. 344 554 [614] 621

[1] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. 500.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Talladega	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka-in-the-West	W	E	S	N (for visitors).
Kan-tcati	W	S (west end)	E (north end)	N (wanting).
Otciapofa	W	E	N	S (wanting).
according to Swan	W [1]	S	N	E.[1]
Tulsa Little River	W	N	S	E (for visitors).
Tulsa Canadian (?)	W	S [2]	S [2]	N.
Lutcapoga	W	N [3] (S)	S [3] (N)	E.
Okfuskee	N	W	E	S.
Tcatokcofka	W	E [3]	E [3]	N and S.
Abihkutci	N	W	E	S.
Nuyaka	N	W	E	S.
Talmutcasi	N	E	W	S.
Pakan tallahassee	N	W	S	E (wanting).
Wiogufki (1)	W	S	(wanting)	E.
(2)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Tukpafka	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Asilanabi	W	N	S	E.
Okchai	W	N	S	E.
Łálogálga	W	N	S	E.
Wiwohka (1)	W	E	N	S (wanting).
(2)	W		S	N (wanting).
Tuskegee	W	E [4]	N [4]	S.
Kosati No. 1	S	E(?)	?	?.
Kosati No. 2	W	N	S [5]	N (wanting).
Tukabahchee	SW	NW	SE	NE.
Atasi (1)	N	W	E	S.
(2)	N	S	E	W.
Kealedji	W	N	E(?)	S(?).
Łapłáko	W	N	S	E.
Łiwahali	E	S	?	?.
Hillibi	W	S(?)	E(?)	N.
Upper Eufaula	N	S	E	W (wanting).
Alabama	E	W	S(?) [6]	N(?).[6]
Kasihta [7]	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Hitchiti	W	N	E	S.
Okmulgee	W	N	S	E.
Apalachicola	W	N	E	S.
Yuchi	W	N and S [8]		

[1] Actually Swan transposes these two but, as I have already said (p. 182), I think we may fairly assume a mistake in the notes or in the transcription made from them.

[2] The warriors and the henihas occupied different parts of the same bed. There was no East bed in Tulsa Canadian.

[3] According to two informants.

[4] Speak, on the authority of Lochi Chund, places the warriors in both the North and East beds, and it is true that the imala or warriors of the second class sat in the North bed.

[5] In modern times the henihas actually sat with the chiefs in the West bed.

[6] These two beds are now entirely wanting.

[7] All authorities, including Hawkins, agree.

[8] There was no East bed.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Coweta (1)	W	E	N	S.
(2)	W	S	N	E.
Łikatcka	W	S (east end)	S (west end)	E.[9]
Eufaula Hobayi	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha (1)	S	N	W	E.
(2)[10]	W	S	N	E.
Osochi [10]	W	N	S	E.
Ocheese	W	N	S	E.
Okfuskee Seminole	W	N	S	E.
Tallahasutci	W	N	S	E.
Hitchiti Seminole	W	N	S	E(?).
Eufaula Seminole	W	N (?)	S (?)	E (wanting).
Łiwahali Seminole	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha Seminole	W	S (?)	N (?)	E.
Mikasuki	W	N	S (?)	E.

[9] There was no name for the North bed. [10] According to two informants.

The chiefs' bed we find almost always to the west, and, excepting in one case, always to the west among the Lower Creeks and the Seminole. The town square which Adair describes, whether it was Creek or Chickasaw, also had the chiefs' bed to the west, and he tells us specifically that it lay to the west in the old town of Coosa which has long since vanished. The exceptions are in the cases of the Okfuskee towns,[10] Pakan tallahassee, Atasi, and Upper Eufaula, in which it was north; Łiwahali and Alabama in which it was east; and "Kossati No. 1" and the early Chiaha square in which it was south. I do not feel thorough confidence in the data from Atasi, Łiwahali, and Kossati No. 1, but the cases for the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, Upper Eufaula, and Alabama are proved by the existing squares. Chiaha and Kossati No. 1 may perhaps be explained by Tukabahchee in which the bed lies southwest and is said sometimes to lie west and again to lie south. Possibly the peculiar reverse arrangement among the Alabama is due to the fact that the Alabama were at one time adopted by the Okchai who told them that they might "sit on the other side of their fire." At that time, therefore, their chiefs may have occupied the east cabin, and they may have retained the same position after separating from the Okchai. In the case of the Okfuskee I can only say that, as their towns lay well to the north and east, they may have desired to face somewhat inward toward the rest of the nation. But this is purely conjecture. Turning to the warriors' bed we find that in about 23 cases it was to the north, in 12 to 16 south, 6 to 11 east, and 5 or 6 west. In Hawkins's description of

[10] Tuskaofka, which seems to constitute an exception, has long been abandoned and information regarding it is somewhat doubtful.

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a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihas is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihas' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihas themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihas, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihas' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

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The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihas, warriors, or youths.

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Talledega	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Abihka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Abihka-to-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kan-tosti	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tuba Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutapoga	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Tustokofka	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutci	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka	E(h)	N(c)				
Talmustosi	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wiogufki	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka	S(h)					W(c)
Asilanabi	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Ziloggiga	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S(h))
Tuskegee	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c)(E(w))	N(h), W(c)(—)	
Koasati No. 1	S(c)	S(c)(?)	?	?	?	?
Koasati No. 2	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabahchee	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h)(S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&(E(h))	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kealedji	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Eapitika	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Liwahali						
Hilibi	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)		W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)		E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w)(N(w)	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W(c))
Yuchi [1]						
Ocmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Eufaula	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha	(W(c))	W(h)(S(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N?(h))
Osochi	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Oakasse	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahassee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)(?)		N(w)
Eufaula	S(h)					N(w)
Liwahali	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

[1] The moiety is not by clans.

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Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci	Snake	Potato	Tami
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-tosti	S(w)	E(h)				
Otciapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tulsa Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Lutcapoga	(N(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S (h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Oktushee	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tcatokofka	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wiagufki	S(w)W(c)	E (y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W (c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asfanabi	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Łilogilga		W(c)				
Wiwohka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h))	E(w)(—)	W(c)	E(w)	N(h)
Tushaqee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))	(E(w))	N(h)(E(w))		N(h)	
Kasati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Kasati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukabatchee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kealedji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Łapiako	S(h)	S(h)	W(c) (S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Łiwahali	E(c)					
Hilibi		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobayi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))		(N(h))	
Alabama			E(c)			
Kasihta	N(w)	S(h)(and N (w))	N(w)(and S (h))		S(h)	N(w)(S (h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w) (W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Łikatcka	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Osochi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochasee	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Oktuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahassutci	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Łiwahali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Turkey	Pahosa	Kapitca	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Talladega						
Abihka						
Abihka-in-the-West						
Kan-tosti						
Otciapofa		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Lutcapoga						
Okfuskee	S(y)					
Tostokaofka	N, S					
Abihkutci				S(y)		
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(c)		
Wiogufki	S(w) W(c)					
Tukpafka						
Asilanabi	S(h)					
Okchai						
Łalogálga						
Wiwohka		W(c)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Kosati No. 1						
Kosati No. 2						
Tukabahchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kealedji	S(h)				E(h)	
Łapáhko	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Łiwahali						
Hilthi	W(c)					
Upper Eufaula	E(h)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kasihta				N(w)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(c)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(h)(W (c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta						
Łikatcho						
Chiaha						
Osochi			(N(w))	N(w)(S(h))	N(w)(S(h))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Cohasse			S(h)		W(c)	
Okfuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahassee	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(c)			
Łiwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chiaha						
Mikasuki						

[1] The testing is not by clans.

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Town	Skunk	Fox	Eagle	Wolf	Miscellaneous
Talladega					
Abihka					
Abihka-in-the-West					
Kan-tosti					
Otciapofa					
Tulsa Little River			S(h)		
Lotcapoga			S(w)		N(h) (Teowastâ)
Okfuskee					
Testokofka			W(c)		
Abihkutci	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka					
Talmutcasi					
Pakan tallahassee					
Wiogufki					
Tukpafka					
Asilanabi					
Okchai					
Łalogâlga					
Wiwohka	N(h)				
Tuskegee					
Kasati No. 1					
Kasati No. 2					
Tukabahchee	W(c)(?)				
Atasi					
Kaledji		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Łidłâmî)
Łapiłko					
Łiwahali					
Hilibi					
Upper Eufaula					
Eufaula Hobayi		(N(h))			
Alabama		N(w)			(W(c)(S(h)) (Fish)
Kasihta					
Hitchiti					
Okmulgee		S(h)			
Apalachicola					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi [1]					
Coweta					
Łikatcka					
Chiaha	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Osutci		W(c)(—)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Ochesse					S(h) (Otter)
Okfuskee					
Tallahassutci					
Hitchiti					S(h) (Toad and Tookole)
Eufaula					
Łiwahali					
Chiaha					
Mikasuki					W(c) (Otter)

[1] The seating is not by clans.

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The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

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number of different informants; in others we are dependent upon the testimony of only one or two of the oldest people and not much reliance can be placed upon it. I give the Lower Creek square first, then the Upper Creek squares, and finally the Seminole squares, the squares in White towns having precedence in each case. Names of White clans have been underlined when the native responsible for the plan in question furnished information on the subject.

The first plan (fig. 6) gives the square of Talladega.

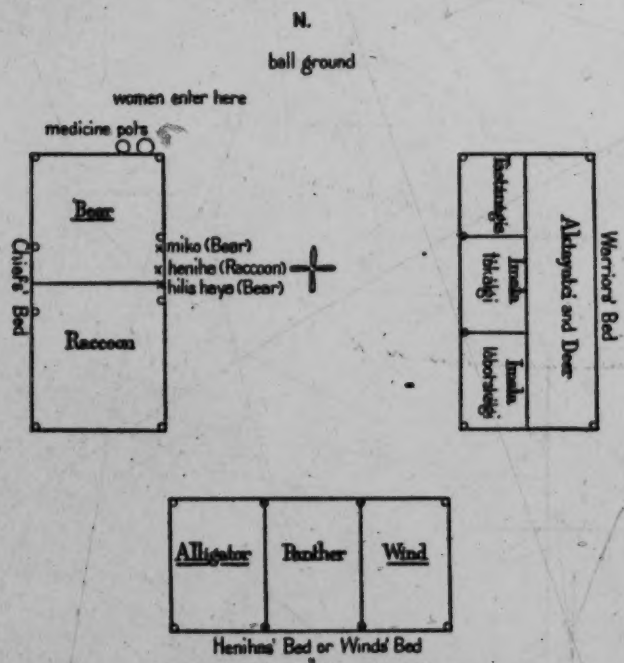

FIG. 6.—Plan of the Talladega Square Ground

This represents the proper theoretical arrangement. Actually the Bear and Raccoon people were mixed somewhat indiscriminately in the west bed. Although the Raccoon people are now the henihâlgi it is understood that those of the Wind clan should fill that office, not only here but in every other town. The hilis-haya should be a Bear, as represented above, but in practice any qualified man might be selected, regardless of clan.

One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja, the other a mixture consisting of may-apple roots, wormseed, totka djuk-hisi ("fire-bed moss"), wio'fa fâ'ki saigi'ngi ("dirt snatched up"), tcato hâtkutci ("little white [granite] rocks"), and totka hi'liswa ("fire medicine").

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These were for the ordinary stomp dances. At the busk a pot of pasa was added. There were about three i'sti àtca'gàgi in each bed. There was no head man among the tàstànàgis; all were called in council by the miko when it was necessary to remodel the ground or undertake any other matter of the sort. The accompanying plan of the entire Talladega ground (fig. 7) was made by the writer in 1912.

Figure 8 shows the old Abihka ground near Eufaula, Okla. The chieftainship in this town alternated between the Raccoon and Bear clans, the second chief being of the Bear when the head chief was from the Raccoon and vice versa. When the head chief died, the second chief took his place. This square ground was given up when my informant was a boy. He stated that here, or possibly at one of the other Abihka grounds, there was a tcokofa toward the east.

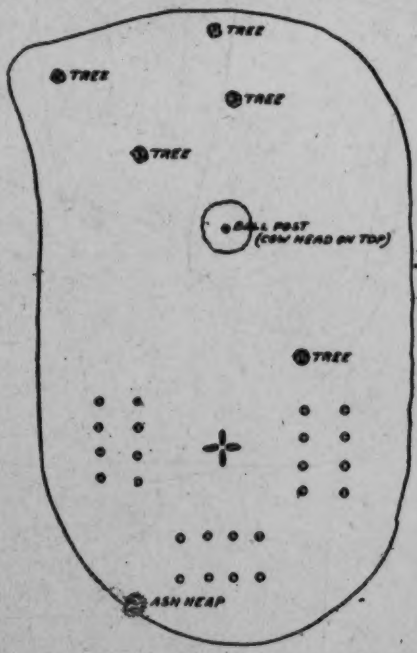

FIG. 7.—Talladega Ceremonial Ground (including Square) in 1912

Figure 9 gives Abihka-in-the-West. There were two pots of medicine, one containing 10 different ingredients. The cold medicine was left just where it was first prepared; the other was moved over to the north side of the fire. There were three or four i'sti àtca'gàgi in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the Winds' bed. The i'sti àtca'gàgi decided where and when a ball game was to be played. The tàstànàgis and imałas, at least the big imałas, had their own chiefs distinct from the i'sti àtca'gàgi. There were no tcukolaidji, male managers of the women's dance.

Figure 10 is Kan-tcati.

The only information we have regarding the square ground of the ancient Coosa town is given by Adair, who says in a footnote: "I remember, in Koosah, the uppermost western town of the Muskohge, which was a place of refuge, their supposed holiest consisted of a neat house, in the centre of the western square, and the door of it was in the south gable-end close to the white cabbin, each

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on a direct line, north and south." [8] The passage to which this is appended contains the description of a square ground so generalized that it is impossible to say to what town or towns it applied specifically. Possibly it gives the old order of the Chickasaw square, but it is probable, in any case, that the Coosa square agreed with it, since that was one of those with which Adair was most familiar. It lay upon the trail between Augusta, Ga., and the Chickasaw country. His remarks are as follows: "Those of them [the American aborigines] who yet retain a supposed most holy place, contrary to the usage of

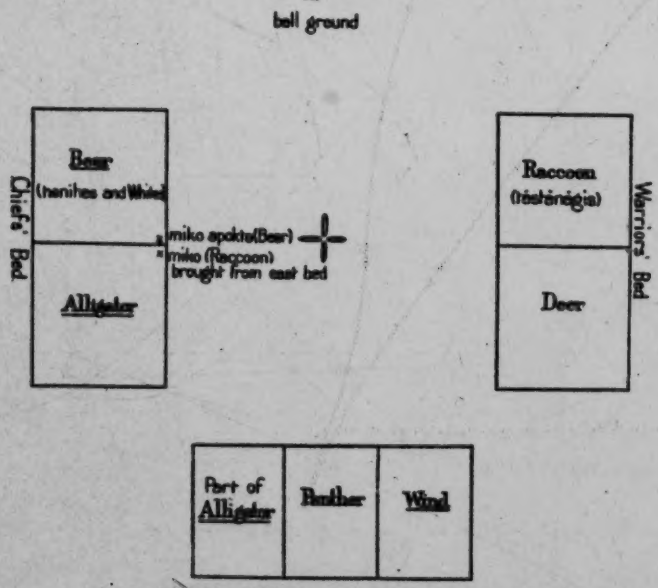

FIG. 8.—Plan of the Abihka Square Ground (near Eufaula, Okla.)

the old heathen world, have it standing at the west end of the holy quadrangular ground: and they always appoint those of the meanest rank, to sit on the seats of the eastern square, so that their backs are to the east, and faces to the west. The red square looks north; and the second men's cabbin, as the traders term the other square, of course looks south." It is to be noted that Adair uses the word "square" for each cabin or bed. Accepting this as the arrangement at Coosa, the square would be about as in Figure 11.

It is possible that Adair means by "looks north" and "looks south," "lies north" and "lies south," in which case the relative positions of the henihas' and warriors' beds would have to be trans-

[8] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 112.

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posed. Be that as it may, the description shows that the Coosa square was very similar to those of the Coweta and Kasihta, the other principal towns of pure Muskogee stock, and it seems to be confirmed by what we know of the daughter town Otciapofa. The inclosed place where the sacred vessels and other objects were kept may not have extended to the very front of the west bed as I have represented, but such a position is plainly indicated by the wording in Adair.

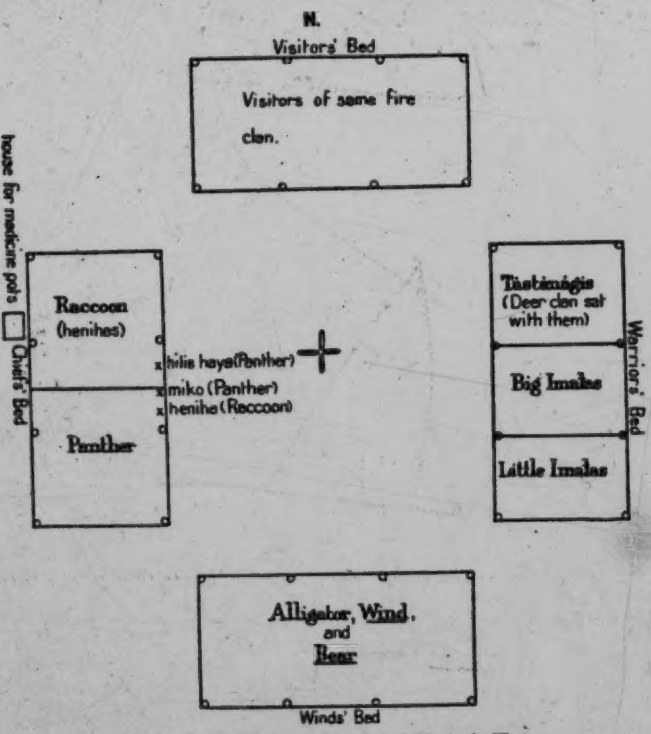

FIG. 9.—Plan of the Square Ground of Abihka-in-the-West

In Figure 12 is what is probably the Otciapofa ground, reproduced from Swan. Figure 13 shows the later plan of Otciapofa as described to me personally. Four isti âtcagâgis sat in each of these three beds; there was no south bed as far back as my informant could remember. The plan of the Otciapofa busk ground (fig. 14) was made by the writer in 1912.

In Figure 15 is shown the Tulsa Little River square.

There were very few of the Panther clan in this town, and but one or two belonging to the Kapitca. The old tcokofa is said to

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have lain to the west, probably in the same situation as that of Lutcapoga.

Figure 16 shows the square as it existed in 1911.

Figure 17 is from a rough native description of Tulsa Canadian.

Figures 18 and 19 show the arrangement of Lutcapoga according to two different authorities. The data for the first were given me by Legus Perryman, except that the east bed and the tcokofa are added on the authority of his brother. The latter also stated that

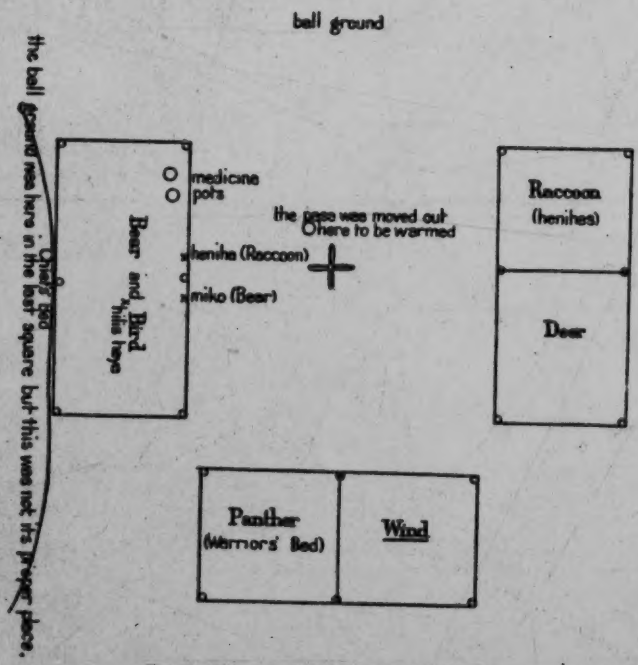

FIG. 18.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kan-tcati

the Aktayatci were the tástánágis here, and that the hilis-haya sat in the front seat in the Bear's bed.

This town was founded because the Tulsa people had become so numerous that their square was overcrowded. The tástánági was speaker for the miko, and the words "he says so and so" occurred over and over in his discourses. The itálwa miko was assistant to the miko. The táski heniha was a leader in the women's dance, a "white dance" called itcha obánga.[8a] There was another women's dance at the end of the ceremony which was a war dance danced by the Potato

[8a] See p. 400 in following paper. Originally it seems to have been a war dance.

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people (Ahalâgi). The Aktayatci had charge of and distributed the medicine, although the hilis-haya himself could belong to any clan.

The old tcokofa was provided on the east side with a special seat for the women. It had a smoke hole.

The chief of Lutcapoga about 1852 was a man named Hadji yâhola, who was succeeded by Tciyāha. This man died about 1857 and was followed by Tâlsi fiksiko, who died in the winter of 1862.

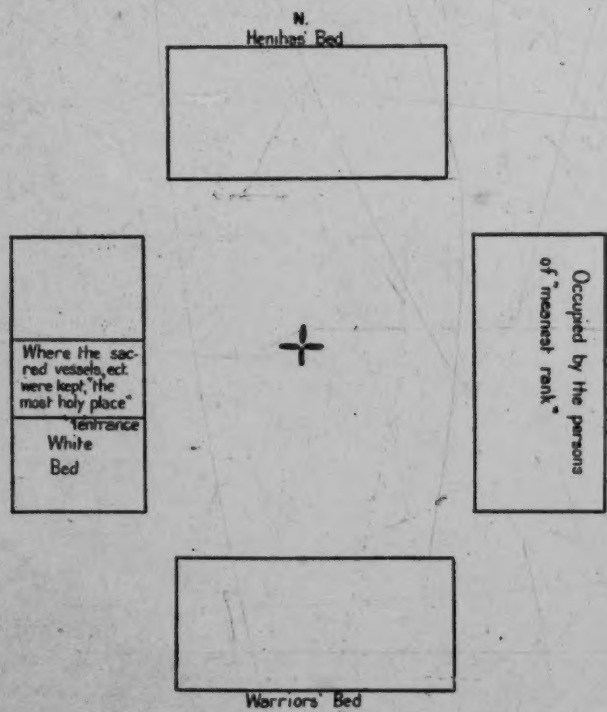

FIG. 11.—Conjectural arrangement of the Cocsa Square Ground

Next came in succession Miko fiksiko and Itchāswa (Beaver). The last was living in 1912.

Figure 20 is Nuyaka. My informant stated that there were only two individuals belonging to the Panther clan in this town, and that no especial place was provided for the Deer clan. Figure 21 is a plan of the entire busk ground as it appeared in 1912.

Figure 22 is from a native description of Okfuskee.

There were very few in this town belonging to the Potato and Raccoon clans and they probably sat in the south bed. Besides the two isti âtcagâgi in the east bed there was one in each of the others.

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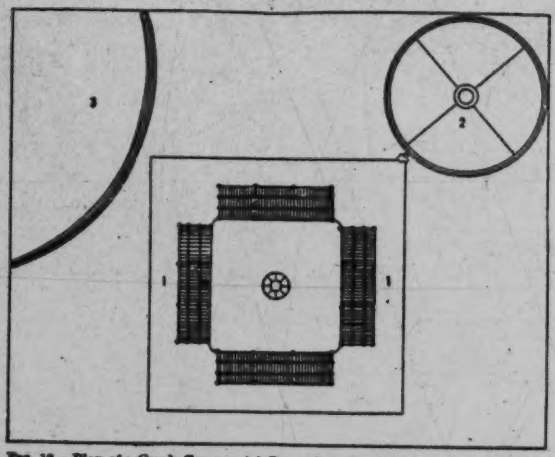

FIG. 12.—Plan of a Creek Ceremonial Ground as given by Swan. The top of this illustration is west instead of north. 1, Square; 2, Teokofa; 3, Chunkey yard

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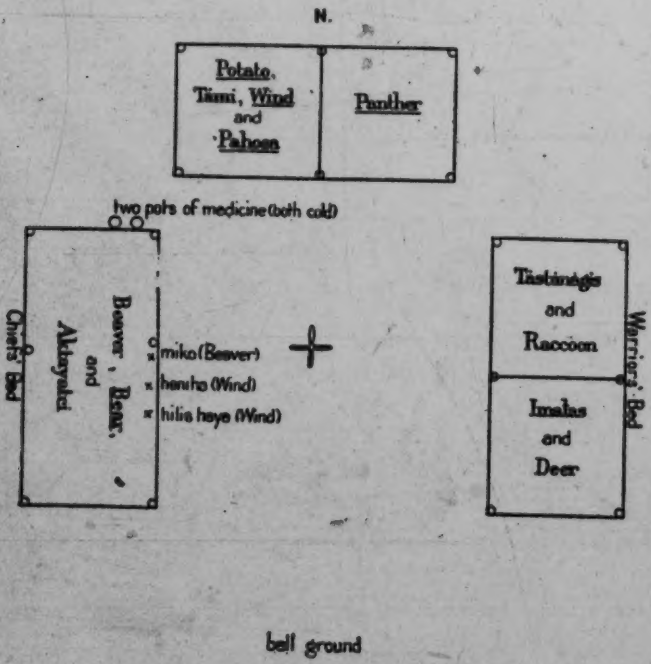

FIG. 13.—Plan of the Otciapofa Square Ground

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In the adiloga medicine they used maypop root (obaha), totka hiliswa, wilana (wormseed), and totka djukhisi (fire bed moss). The miko hoyanidja did not go in with these.

Figure 23 is Abihkutci and Figure 24 contains all of the information I could obtain regarding Talmutcasi.

The younger brother of the woman from whom this information came gave a different description of the square, but it was so close to that of Tukabahchee that I believe it can not be relied upon, and that it was a deduction from the belief that all of the other squares were modeled on that of Tukabahchee.

The next (fig. 25) shows Tcatoksofka. The rank of clans in the west bed is said to have been as follows: Bear, Beaver, Bird. Visiting chiefs were seated in the same beds as the chiefs of the town, visiting warriors in the same beds as the warriors, and so on. The occupants of the Chiefs' bed took their medicine first, then those in the east bed, and finally those in the north and south beds. The two common medicines, miko hoyanidja and pasa, were used.

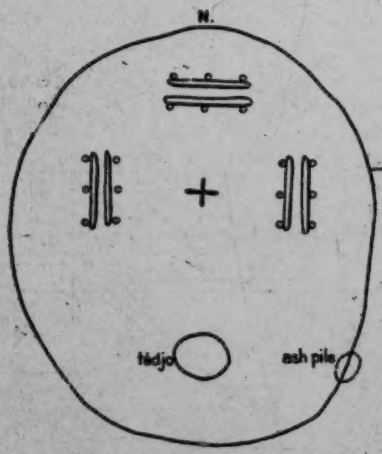

FIG. 14 —Otciapofa Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figures 26 and 27 give the plan of Pakan tallahassee as recorded from two different informants. The numbers back of the beds indicate the order in which their occupants came out to take the medicine. According to one informant the third and fourth chiefs belonged to the Bear clan instead of the Panther clan as here given; another stated that the Panther people were not confined to a particular part of the Chiefs' bed but could sit anywhere. The bearers of the medicine consisted of two of the Bird clan, one of the Deer, and one of the Bear. The four leaders of the women were taken, one each, from the Wind, Deer, Bear, and Bird clans. They took their medicine at the northeast corner and fasted one day and one night.

My authority for the second plan stated that the people of the Bird clan were called isti àtcagàgi, and that imalas are not used any more.

The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 28) is from data obtained in 1912.

Plate 2 is shown the Pakan tallahassee busk ground looking east (*b*) and the north or Chiefs' bed (*c*) as they appeared in the summer of 1912.

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Figures 29 and 30 show the organization of Wiogufki according to two different informants. In later times the Alligator people became first henihas and then mikos. There is now but one tástánągi, who is seated as indicated in the first plan. When the former hilis-haya was about to die he taught the proper formulae to a boy of the Deer clan who happened to be the best fitted for this office. There were no isti átcagągi in recent times, the tástánągi being used as a "choice man." In this town a new seat was made for the hilis-haya every year.

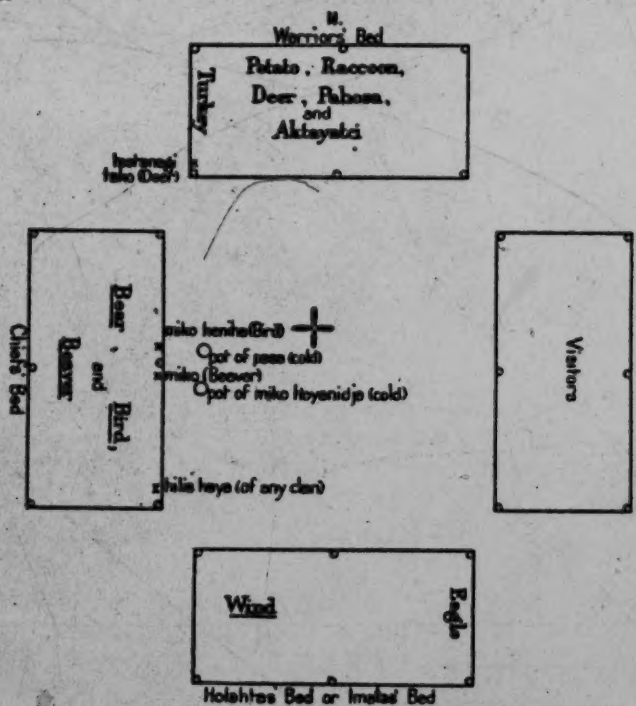

FIG. 31.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Little River

The subjoined plan of the Wiogufki square ground (fig. 31) is from data gathered in 1912.

The next sketch (fig. 32) contains all that the old men could remember of Tukpafka. This square ground was given up many years ago. My two informants agreed very well regarding most of the details of the plan, except that one of them thought the medicine pots were placed at the north end of the west bed and the other believed they were at the south end.

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Besides the clans enumerated above there were some Raccoon and Potato and in ancient times some Beaver. There were never any Alligator, Bear, or Bird. Two men sang for the women when they danced, one man carrying a white gourd rattle, the other a blue one.

Figure 33 is a rough diagram based on a study of the site of the last Tukpafka square ground. We now come to the Fish Pond Towns. Figure 34 shows Asilanabi.

Besides the clans given there were a few individuals belonging to the Aktayatci clan, but these sat anywhere. The Raccoon clan were leaders of the Tcilokis and were followed in order of rank by

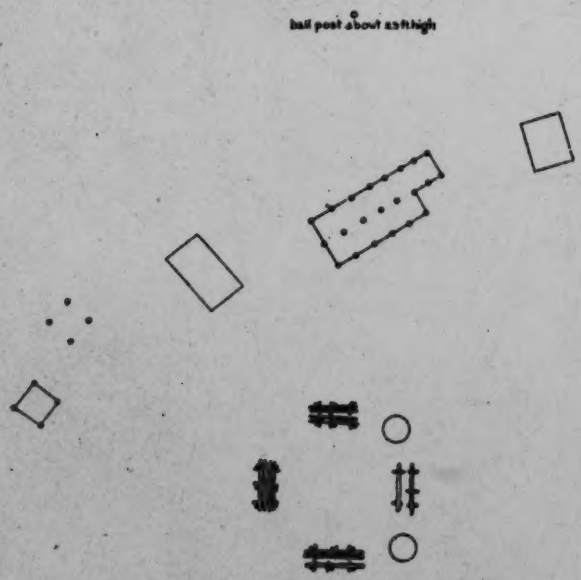

FIG. 16.—Tulsa Little River Ceremonial Ground in 1911

the Panther, Deer, Beaver, Aktayatci, and Alligator in succession. The old tcokofa was placed as in the plan, to the northwest of the square, but after they returned at the conclusion of the Civil War, an old man who had preserved ashes from the tcokofa throughout that contest said that it would not be good to use the old place again, so he deposited the ashes just east of the east bed. It does not appear, however, that a new tcokofa was erected over them. It is said that in reality there ought to be three beds, each having eight posts, instead of the four with six posts. The one left out was probably that on the east. The accompanying plan of this square (fig. 35) is from data gathered in 1912 by the author.

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Figure 36 is Okchai. According to my informant, the Wind clan were known as isti àtcagàgi. He stated that the tàstànàgis could overrule the miko sometimes on the ground that a thing was unconstitutional.

The plan shown in Figure 37 represents the square ground as it existed in 1911–12.

Figure 38 is Łàłogàlga or Fish Pond proper. According to another informant—in whom I do not, however, place unlimited confidence—the east bed was used for visitors, and the north bed occupied throughout by the Deer clan. He placed the Aktayatci and Tàmi in the northern compartment of the west bed, the Pahosa and Potato in the middle section, and "old people" in the southern. The medicine pots were at the north end of the same bed, and the pot of medicine for the women and children was at the south end of this bed; the women also entered to dance at the latter place. In the south bed were the rest of the clans, the henihas being in the easternmost section. In Figure 39 is a plan of the Łàłogàlga square as it existed in 1912.

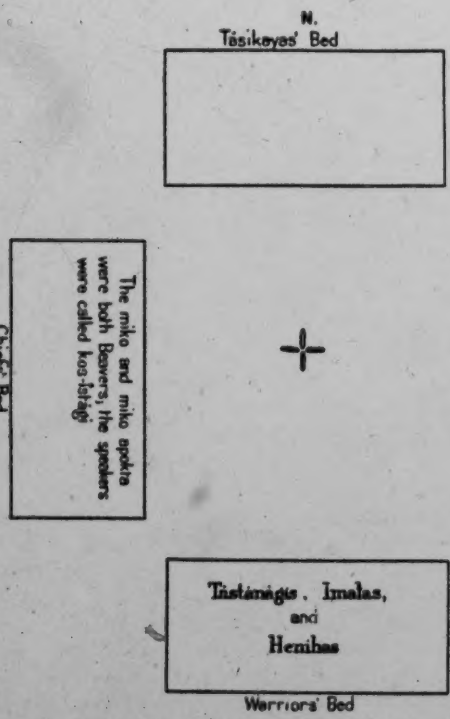

FIG. 37.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Canadian

Figures 40 and 41 show Wiwohka. The essential differences between these two plans of the square may be explained if we suppose that the second informant, or my interpreter, misunderstood the location of the north bed and placed it on the south side. The correctness of the first plan is confirmed by a third account which in other respects is inferior to either of those given. The only other discrepancy is in the position of the Wind clan which the first informant placed in the north bed and the second in the west bed. This was perhaps due to an assumption on the part of the second informant

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that the henihas would be seated in the same bed as the miko's heniha. My third informant also committed an evident blunder in placing the Chief's bed to the east instead of the west. All three agreed in giving the Panther clan as that of the chiefs and the Wind clan that of the henihas.

In Figure 42 is a plan of Tuskegee by one of its former chiefs. One informant thought that the Potato were the henihas, but I

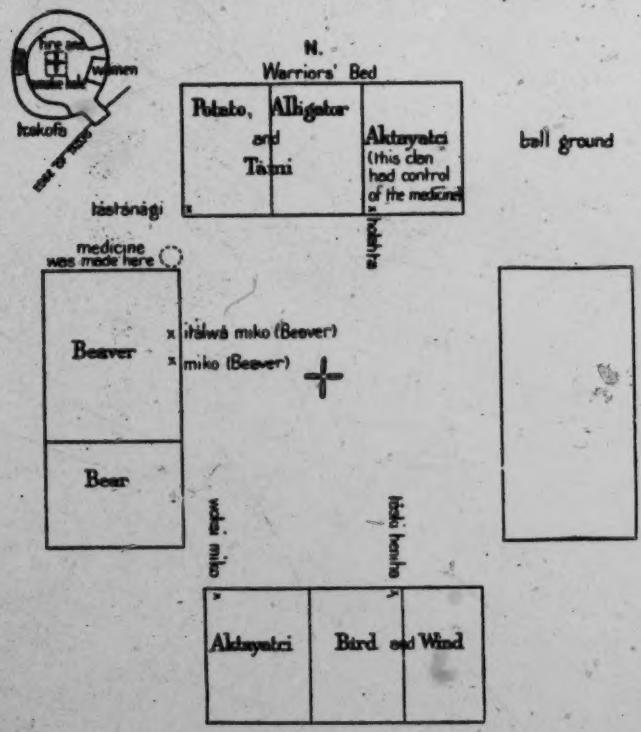

FIG. 42.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (I)

believe this to have been a mistake. It is probable that the Wind clan originally constituted the henihas but subsequently came to furnish the chiefs.

Figure 43 is the square ground of the same town as remembered by another informant. The plan given by Doctor Speck on the authority of Laslie Cloud confirms both of the preceding in the main in regard to the uses to which the various beds were put, and it confirms that of the first informant, Silas Jefferson, in regard to the position occupied by the medicine pots.[4]

[4] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

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There were two groups of Koasati Indians in Oklahoma, each with its own square ground. The square of the first, called Koasati No. 1, was given up so long ago that not much can be recalled regarding it. David Cummings, who attended the busks at this ground when he was a boy, although he was not a Koasati himself, stated that there were four beds, and that the open space between them was entirely covered with an arbor. The Chief's bed, as he remembered, was on the south, and the miko himself of either the

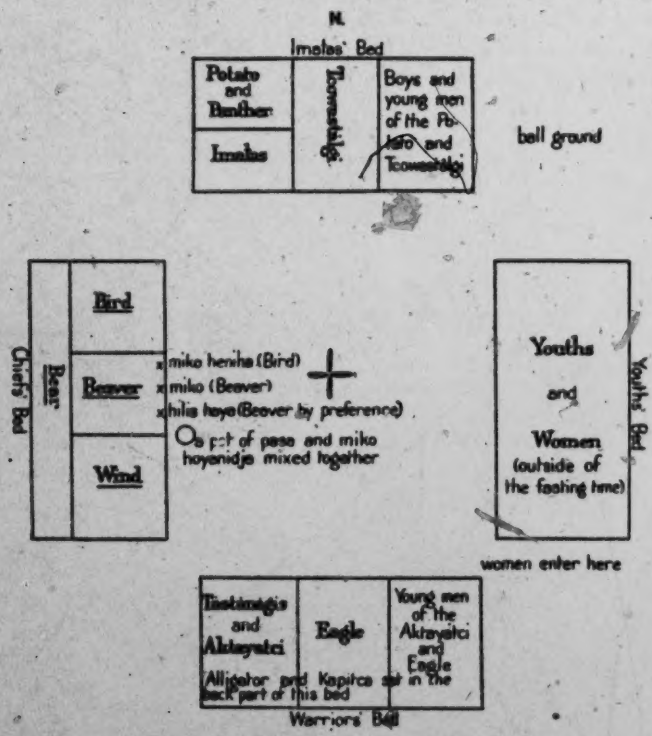

FIG. 19.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (II)

Bear or the Panther clan. The Wind clan sat at the east end of the Chief's bed and were probably the henihas, though of this he was not certain. The ball ground was on the east and the women entered at the southeast corner. The Warriors' bed was probably on the east.

The later square, Koasati No. 2, is shown in Figure 44.

Figures 45–47 are plans of the Tukabahchee square ground from as many different informants. The first said that if it were possible the hilis-haya was selected from the Raccoon clan; if that position is

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filled from any other clan, the man so chosen is seated at the west end of the north bed. The tcunuk hadjo and the holahta in the Youths' section are the only officers who do not have henihas. One of the tástánágis was known as Kosa Tástánági. He belonged to the Wind clan, and his mate was a Raccoon called Tukabahchee Tástánági. The Youths prepared the feather wands for the feather dance just back of the central portion of the Chiefs' bed.

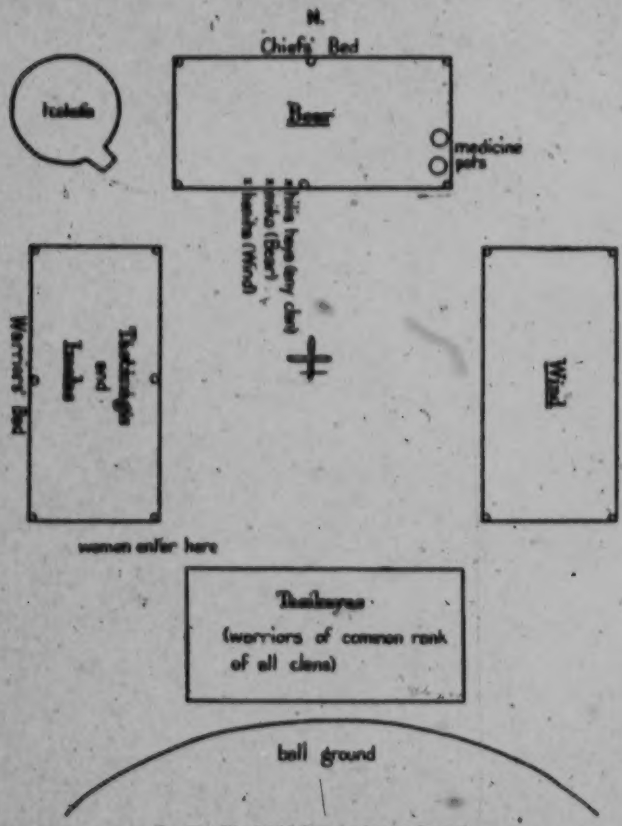

FIG. 20.—Plan of the Nuyaka Square Ground

According to the second informant the clans might change their positions in a bed but not the bed itself, and according to the third all of the clans in the north, east, and south beds were Tcilokis.

Figure 48 is a plan of the busk ground made in 1912.

Figure 49 gives the arrangement of the old busk ground near Melette, Okla., as nearly as it could be made out in 1912–1914. Plate

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3, *b*, shows the south or southeast bed of Tukabahchee and Plate 3, *c*, the square looking through the western entrance, between the beds of the Chiefs and Warriors. Plate 5, *a*, shows the mound where the buffalo and war dances were performed.

Figures 50 and 51 are based on the recollections of two of the oldest and best informed Atasi Indians. The father of the man who furnished me with the information on which the first is based was chief of Atasi; his war name was Fus hâtci miko.

Still another informant said that the Chiefs' bed was in the west and the Warriors' bed in the north, and that the medicine pots were

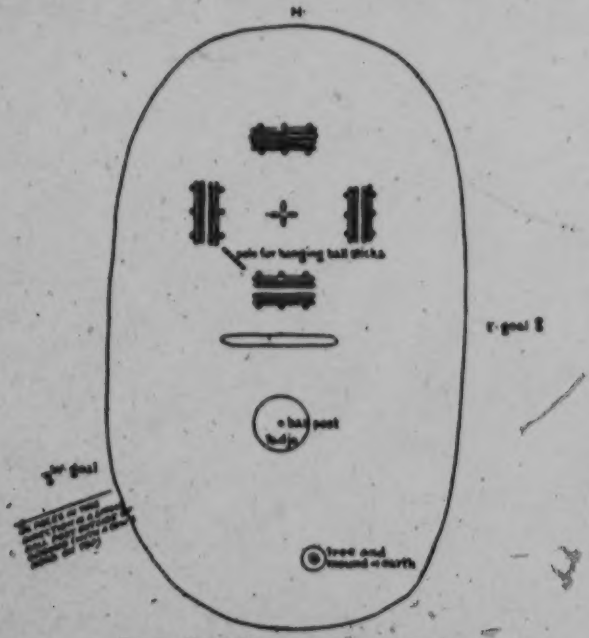

FIG. 51.—Hitchiti Ceremonial Ground in 1912

at the north end of the former. The details given thus agree exactly with the arrangement of Tukabahchee with which I believe the informant had confused it, since Atasi is supposed to have been a branch of that town. He said that the medicines were like those used at Tukabahchee, and that the last chief was of the Bird clan, the one before him of the Bear clan. According to another informant the last chief was a Raccoon, the one before probably a Bear; and he added that the last chief's heniha was a Bear, the one before a Deer.

Figures 52 and 53 embody two descriptions of the square of Kealedji. The isti âtcagâgi sulga sat at the south end of the Chief's bed.

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Accompanying is a rough sketch (fig. 54) of the first square ground used by the people of this town after they moved across the Mississippi River as it appeared in 1912 after having been abandoned a great many years.

The Łapłáko square is shown in Figures 55 and 56. There were a few isti átcagágí in the west bed.

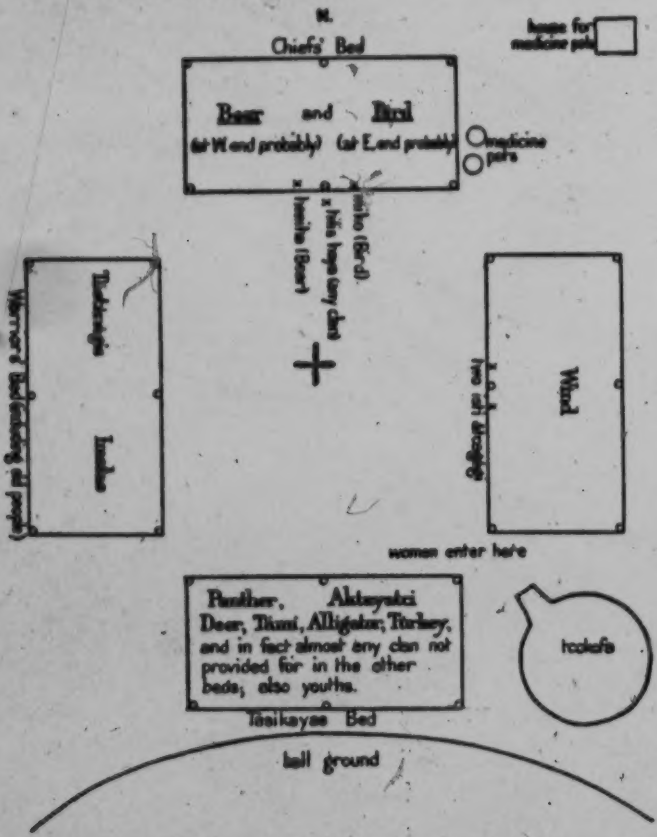

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Okfuskee Square Ground

According to my second informant eight men belonging to the Wind and Raccoon clans were appointed to procure the medicines and bring the water.

The discrepancies between these two plans may be accounted for largely by the fact that my second informant was a Tukabahchee who seems to have confused the Łapłáko square with that of his own town to some extent. However, the arrangement of the Tukabah-

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chee square was considered "standard" by many people, and it is probable that that of Łapłáko was modified in later times to agree with it. The second informant also stated that the Chiefs' bed was on the south, again in agreement with the Tukabahchee plan, although in fact the latter is rather southwest, the entrances between the beds being directed toward the cardinal points. Accompanying (fig. 57) is a rough plan of the ground where the people of this town met before a ball game.

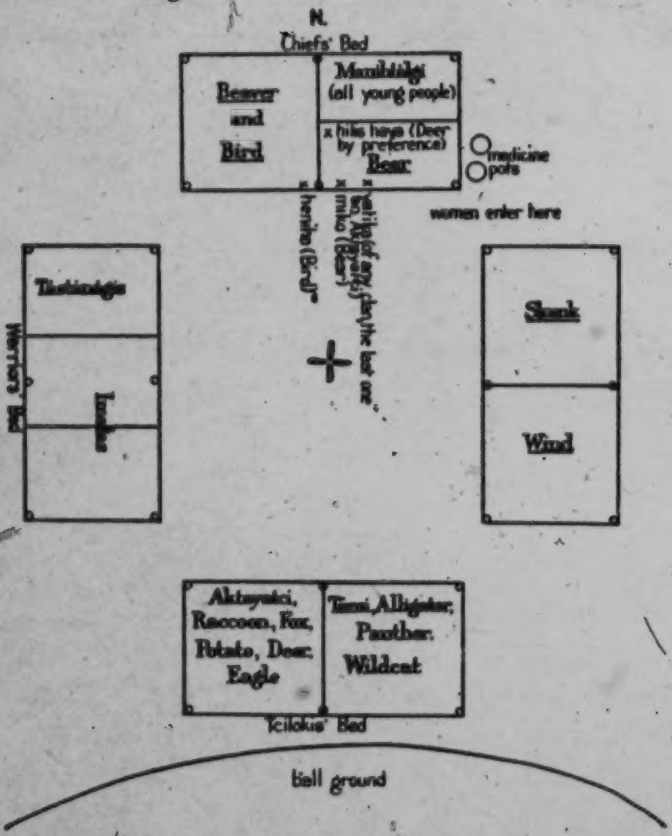

FIG. 58.—Plan of the Abihkutsi Square Ground

Figure 58 shows the last organization of the Łiwahali square just before it petered out. The hilis-haya was always of the Deer clan and sat with his own people. This ground, as here represented, was in the last stage of decline, and not much can be inferred from it. The old man who furnished me with the best data regarding Łapłáko,

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a comparatively late offshoot from Łiwahali, stated that the latter ground was originally identical with that of Łapłáko except that the miko was a Panther and the heniha a Deer.

This town used several squares in succession before the Civil War, and two afterwards. My informant stated that the tástánágis were appointed from any clans occupying the south bed. If the miko had to leave the square for any reason the miko apokta took charge.

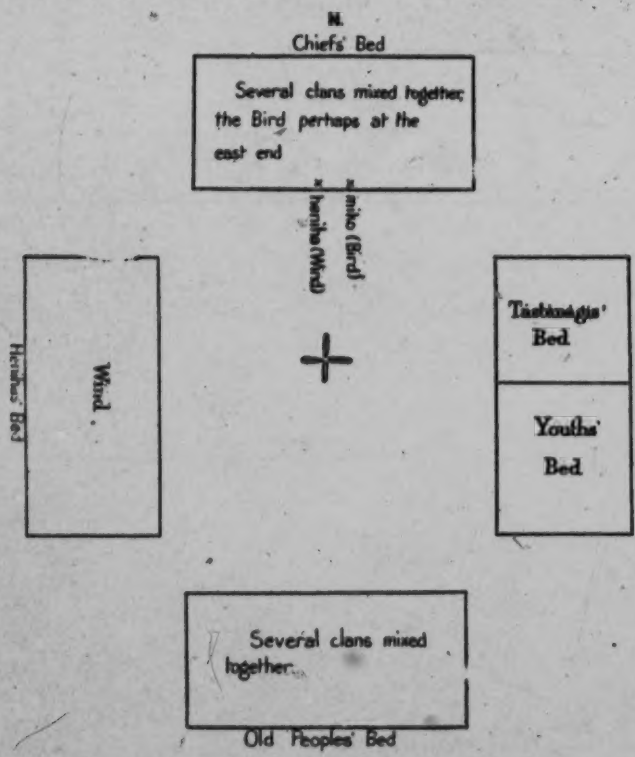

FIG. 24.—Plan of the Talmuteesi Square Ground

The ball ground was not close to the square but at some distance from it. He stated that the clans ranked thus: Deer, Aktayatci, Panther, Bird, Bear, Wind, Alligator. There was only one individual of the Wind clan and there were but few of the Bird, Bear, and Alligator.

The Hilibi square is given in Figure 59. Anciently there were eight posts to the bed instead of six. When I first visited the Hilibi square the north bed had not been built; it was put up last. The old men who sing for the women during their dance sit at the west

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end of the Raccoon's section of the south bed. In taking medicine the west bed goes first, then the south, and then the east, but some men in the back part of all the beds go last of all. The accompanying plan (fig. 60) is from data collected by the writer in the winter of 1912 before the north bed was erected.

There were some eight camps about this ground. It was too new to have developed a tâdjo of any size, but that of the ground occu-

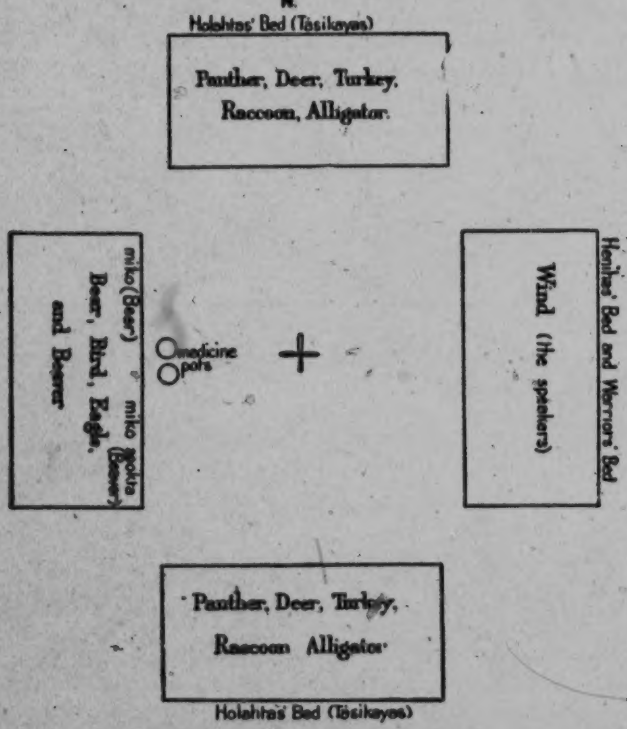

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Tcatokudka Square Ground

pied immediately before this was about 220 paces in circuit. If a tcokofa were to be erected it would be toward the east. Plate 4, b, shows the Chiefs' bed in 1912.

Figure 61 represents the Eufaula (or Upper Eufaula) square as it is supposed to have appeared anciently, my authority being Jackson Lewis.

Figure 62 shows the actual arrangement in modern times as explained by the hilis-haya.

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344 There were said to be only seven Tàmi and three Turkey people in this town. The imalas should be of the Raccoon clan but there never were any in Eufaula, according to the second informant. He probably meant that there had been none there within his recollection. The Hathagàlgi included the Wind, Bear, Bird, Turkey, and Tàmi. There is one of the isti àtcagàgi belonging to the Bear clan in the north bed, one belonging to the Deer clan in the east bed, and one belonging to the Aktayatci in the south bed. These then give new

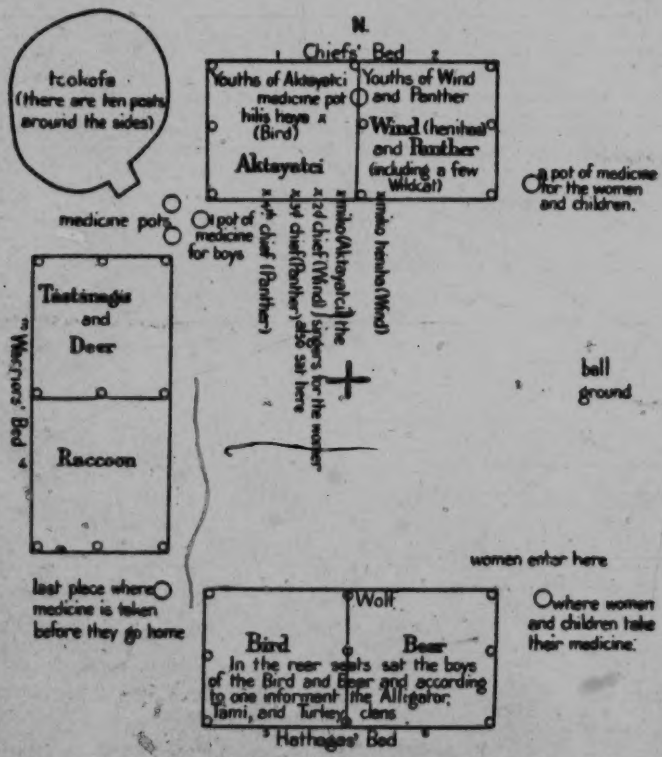

FIG. 20.—Plan of the Fakan tallahassee Square Ground (I)

names to boys. A different authority from any of the above stated that the Eufaula chief was anciently taken from the Eagle clan. This might well have been, since the Eagle was reckoned a branch of the Raccoon which, as appears from these plans, sat in the bed of the chiefs. The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 63) represents it as it existed in 1912.

Plate 3, *a*, gives a general view of the ground, looking from the southwest, and Plate 4, *c*, is a nearer view of the small house in which the implements used in the annual ceremony were stored.

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Figures 64–66 illustrate three descriptions of the Alabama square ground. There were no isti àtcagàgi, the tàstànàgis taking their places. The medicine pots were kept outside of the grounds; ten different medicines were put into one of them.

The accompanying outline of the Alabama busk ground (fig. 67) was made from data collected in 1912.

In Plate 5, *b*, the Alabama square is shown looking from the southeast.

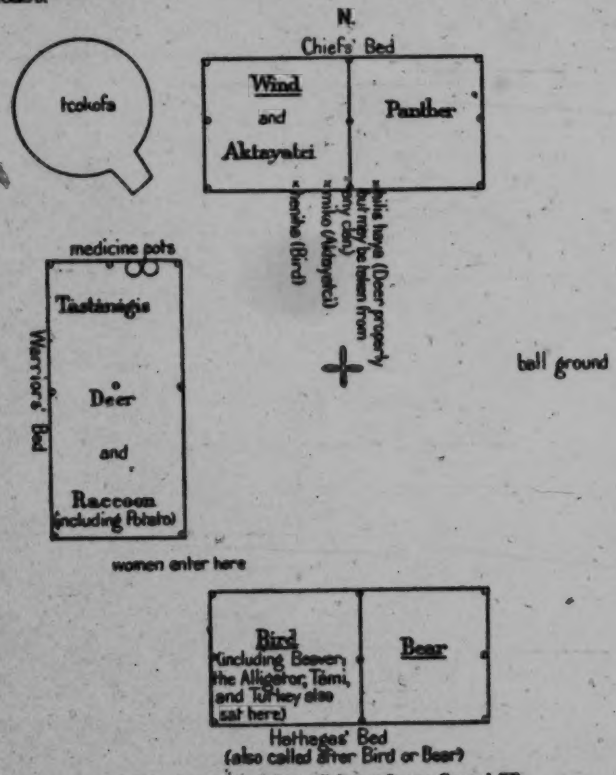

FIG. 67.—Plan of the Pakan Tallahassee Square Ground (II)

Figures 68–71 show the Kasihta square on the authority of Hawkins, Gatschet, and two of my own informants. Gatschet's informant was probably the Kasihta chief, Ispahihtca. In the origin legend which Ispahihtca related to Doctor Gatschet he calls the west bed Mikàlgi intcuka, Chiefs' House, the east bed Hoktàgi intcuka, Women's House, and the north bed Tàstànàgàlgi intcuka, Warriors' House. Those who sat in the south bed he calls Hàtki iputcasi, "the owners of the white."[46]

[46] See p. 90.

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The seat of the hilis-haya was not fixed; he sat with his clan. The two bearers of the medicine belonged to the Alligator clan. The official called hałisi tàstànàgi made arrangements for the ball games.

The plan of Okmulgee (fig. 72) is from information furnished by Judge James R. Gregory. He added that there were two rows of seats in each bed. Legus Perryman remembered some facts regarding this town which agree for the most part with those here given. He thought, however, that there were only three beds, and that the ball ground was to the northwest. The speechmaker (yatika ?), a man of the Aktayatci clan called Wokxi miko, sat at the northwest corner of the south bed.

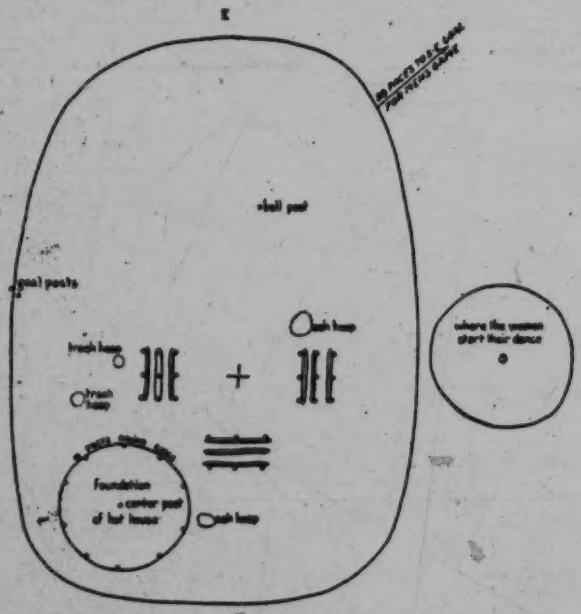

FIG. 72.—Pakan talihassee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figure 73 gives the oldest remembered organization of Apalachicola. My informant, one of the oldest women of this town, added that the Alligator and Beaver shifted about somewhat from one bed to another, while individuals made imałas or tàstànàgis moved into the Warriors' bed if they were not already there. She asserted that this was the "original foundation" (or plan) of Hitchiti, Sawokli, and the Lower Creek Hàtci tcàbà, as well as of Apalachicola.

In Figure 74 appears the last organization of this town.

Figure 75 is Hitchiti. In an emergency the Deer heniha could be made miko and the Bird miko heniha. This was the last Hitchiti

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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square, and the plan was furnished to the Indians by my oftmentioned informant Jackson Lewis. The Deer and Bird clans were actually mixed together considerably, although the theoretical arrangement was as above. There were no women's dances on this particular ground. One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja; the other wîlâná (wormseed) and "oktcun utcka," the last perhaps a Hitchiti term. The pots were not removed from the place indicated, though one might have been heated there. The tâstânâgis and imalas were used instead of isti âtcagâgi.

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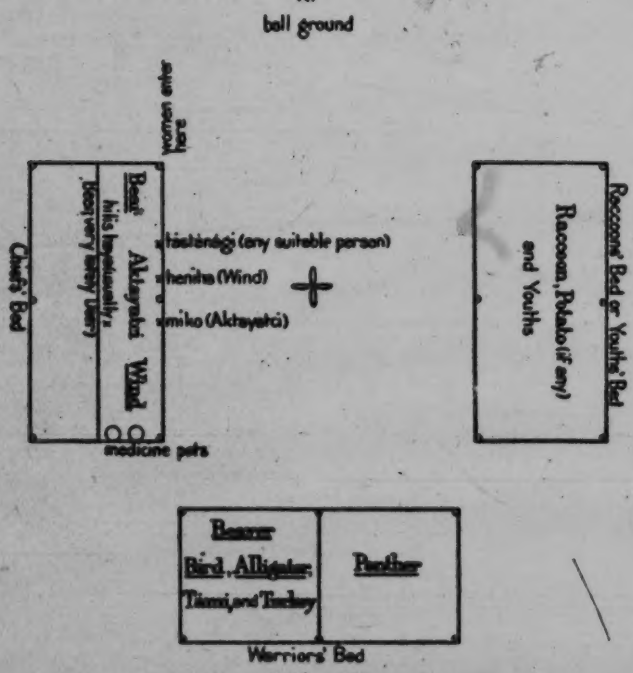

FIG. 76.—Plan of the Wînsâki Square Ground (I)

Figure 76 gives the Yuchi ground as described by Dr. Frank G. Speck.

The information which I myself obtained agreed in almost every particular with that of Doctor Speck. Seats passed from father to son and in consequence the clans were mixed up in these beds indiscriminately. My informant added that the bearers of the medicine sat at the south end of the west bed, and that on the ball post were two cow skulls at different heights, the lower as a target for the women. He said that if there was no person in the west bed fitted to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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000 to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

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Figures 77 and 78 give plans of Coweta, the second in this case probably representing the older organization. The main outlines of the first were confirmed by another old man. He added that two of the medicine bearers were selected from the Hathagas and two from the Tcilokis; they were usually two Bears and two Panthers. That the Panther was an important clan in this town is vouched for by another informant, who declared it was the "leading clan." To it, it may be remarked, the late Creek chief, G. W. Grayson, belonged.

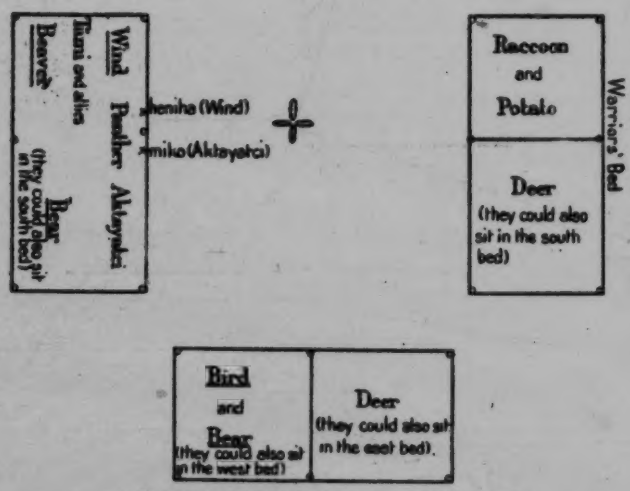

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (II).

According to the Indian through whom I obtained the second plan the duty of the Holahta was to see that the bearers prepared and distributed the medicines.

The leader of the henihas was known as the Heniha łáko. The three officials in the north bed attended to the medicines and other matters connected with the square. When visitors came they went over to the beds occupied by their respective clans and left the north bed vacant for the strangers. One of the two pots of medicine was warmed, the other cold. The former contained both pasa and miko hoyanīdja, the other only pasa.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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In one place Milfort gives a description of a square which he represents as that in which the great assemblies of the nation were held, and this would probably be Coweta or Tukabahchee, but from the context it would appear rather to have been the former. What he has to say concerns the grand council of the nation more than the town council of Coweta and it will be inserted when we come to speak of that.[5] It is of interest to know, however, that the cabins on the west, north, and south were painted red, indicating a Red town like Coweta and Tukabahchee. That on the east was painted white, which seems rather surprising if my first informant is right in stating that it was occupied by the tàstânàgis. Milfort, however, gives this as the cabin of the old men, and it is possible that it was set aside for the isti àtcagàgi, particularly since we know that some of the functions of these officials were later taken over by the tàstânàgis. Milfort appears to locate the tcokofa just where my informant indicated that it should be.

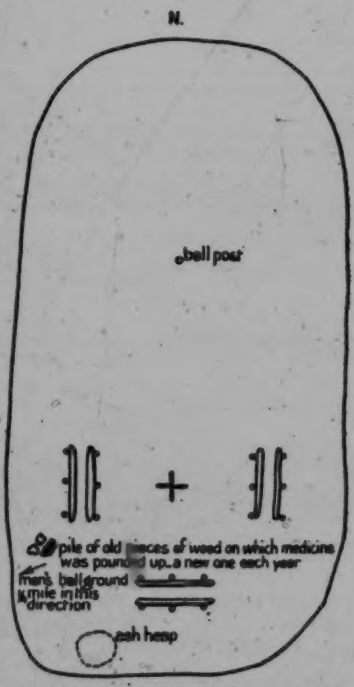

FIG. 31.—Wiagufki Ceremonial Ground in 1912

The square ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow is given in Figure 79. The hilis-haya was chosen from the Wind clan and his tenure was for life. The medicine was carried around by three persons, one of whom was chosen from each of the beds, omitting that on the east. There were officials named Holahta and Tàski heniha like those in Coweta. In practice games of ball the Bear and Deer took opposite sides and the others joined one or the other of these clans as they chose. Probably this was a very late arrangement.

Figures 80 and 81 show the Square of Eufaula Hobayi (Lower Eufaula). This town branched out from the town of that name above given. It is said that the Wind clan and those who sat in the north bed were considered the same as tàstânàgis.

The older plan of Chiaha is given in Figure 82. According to another informant "old Chiaha was just like Coweta." It had a tcokofa before the removal west but not afterwards. The Deer clan was classed as Hathaga because it was considered almost the same as the Bird.

[5] See pp. 311-312.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Figure 83 is from a description by Ellis Childers, who explained that the town organization as he gave it was the last and was made when a man of the Bird clan named Pibi'ska was miko, although later the miko was taken from the Wind clan as here shown. The reorganization was effected under the direction of Ayima'ha, an Osochi born in Alabama. At that time at least a part of the Osochi busked with the Chiahs, though the towns had separate officials. There was some controversy over the right of the Bird clan to a

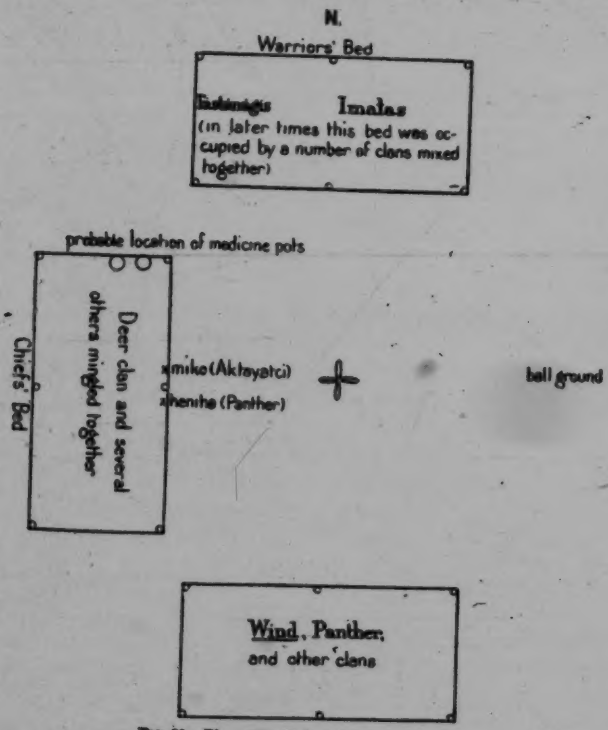

FIG. 22.—Plan of the Tukpafka Square Ground

position in the west bed, but Ayima'ha ruled that it should sit there, and he also placed the Skunk and Fish there. All of the clans in the north bed are said to be henihas except perhaps the Deer. Anciently this town had the same three officials as those who sat in the north bed of Coweta, but on the reorganization they were dropped. The holahta is said to have made arrangements for ball games, and he and the tàski heniha together took up a challenge to play (apai'h-kita).

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In its main outlines this arrangement was confirmed by another informant. However, he stated that the miko and his heniha were both of the Bear clan, that the young boys were in the north bed, that the various clans were mixed together in the south and west beds, that the women entered at the southwest corner instead of the southeast, and that there was a shelter over the fire. The first of these statements may be explained only by supposing that this man meant the yatika or miko apokta instead of the heniha or that the organization was broken down.

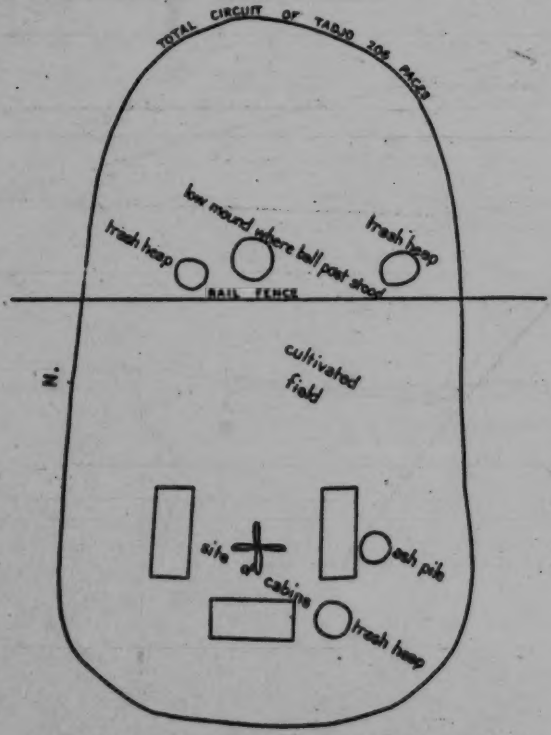

FIG. 85.—The old Tukpafka Ceremonial Ground as it appeared in 1912

Figure 84 gives what was probably the older organization of Osochi. There were also some representatives of the Beaver clan in this town but my informant did not know where they sat, and he was unable to tell which clans were reckoned as Hathagas and which as Tcilokis.

The plan given in Figure 85 shows the arrangement of the square ground before it was moved from the Verdigris. The clans were scattered through the various beds, the latter not being divided

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi; Alabama
Seminole NN16

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into sections, but my informant affirmed that the Wind and Deer "always went together," which would be in line with the classification of the Deer as a Hathaga clan at Chisha.

We now come to the Seminole squares.

Ochesee Seminole, a square which has now been given up, is shown in Figure 86. There was formerly a tcokofa, but my informant had

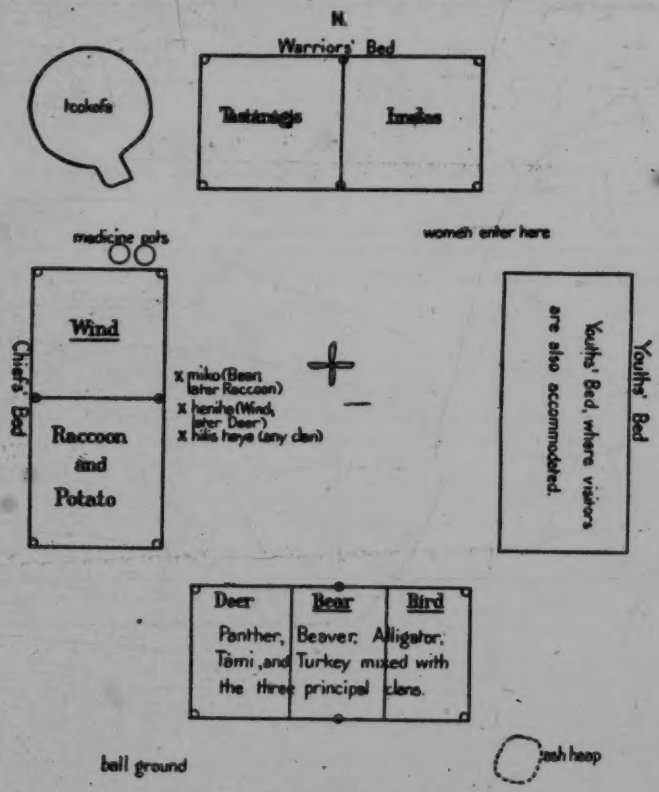

FIG. 34.—Plan of the Square Ground of Asilanabi

forgotten its location. Most of the warriors were in the north bed, and the hilis-haya sat with his own clan. The ashes were not removed from the center of the ground as was customary in the Creek squares.

Figure 87 is Okfuskee Seminole. The ball ground was located wherever it was most convenient, and the women danced into the square from any corner.

Figure 88 is a plan of the square made in 1912.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Seminole NN16

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The next plan (fig. 89) is of Tallahasutci. On the death of the miko the miko apokta took his place and a new miko apokta was appointed from the clan of the former miko.

The data for the accompanying sketch of this square (fig. 90) was obtained in the winter of 1911–12.

Figure 91 represents the square of Hitchiti Seminole, now abandoned. My informants stated that Toad and Tcokote were two names for one and the same clan. They added that the name of

C. [344 621].

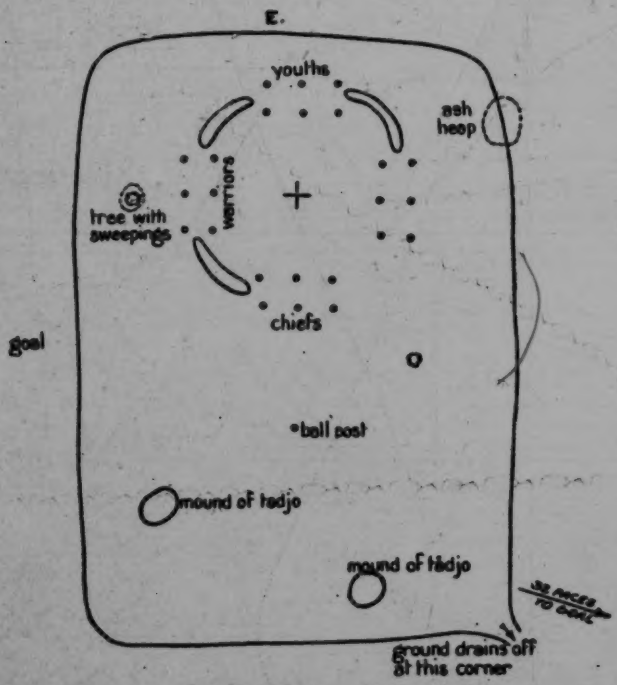

FIG. 91.—The Asilanabi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

the last miko of this town was Nokobâgi, and the name of his heniha Holahtâgi.

Figure 92 is Eufaula Seminole. The clans are not kept separate in the different beds. There were a few people of the Bird clan and one man belonging to the Bear who sat wherever they chose. There was also one of the Pahosa who sat with the Deer clan. There were no Beaver. It is said that the Wind clan is the only one which retains the taboo against endogamous marriages, but in the ball games each clan still hangs together. The distinction between the Hathagas and Tcilokis is no longer remembered.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Seminole NN16

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The accompanying sketch of the square ground (fig. 93) was made in 1912.

Figures 94 and 95 give Łiwahali Seminole. This square ground is said to be kept up merely for the medicine. The leaders were from Łiwahali, but the bulk of the people are said to have been drawn from the Upper Creek towns of Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki which migrated into Florida practically entire.

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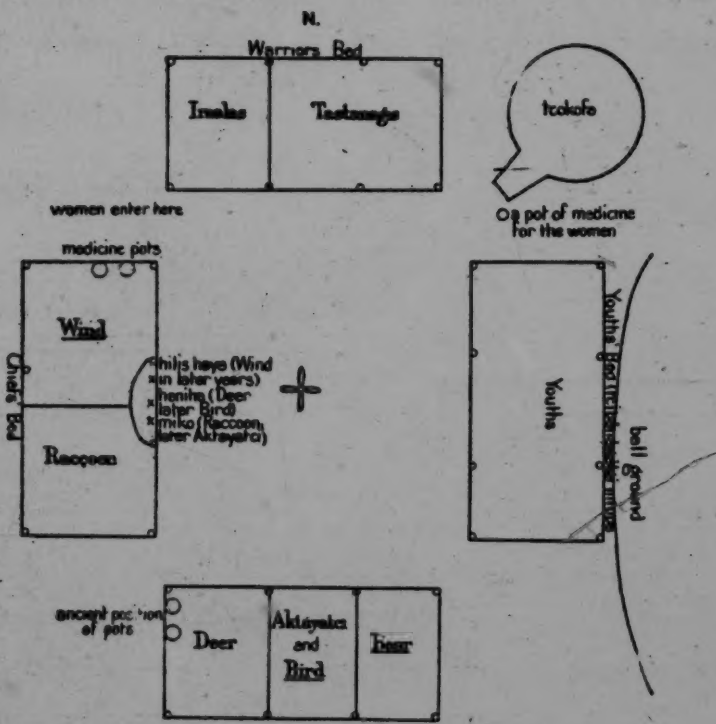

FIG. 93.—Plan of the Okchai Square Ground

Accompanying is a sketch of the Łiwahali ground (fig. 96), the data for which was obtained in 1912.

Plate 5, *c*, is a view of this ground taken from the west side and looking northeast.

Figure 97 shows Chiaha Seminole. The officials given in the plan had served in their several capacities for a very long time. The present (1912) hilis-haya sits with the rest of his clan, the Potato, in the north bed. At the corners of the square logs were laid down for the accommodation of the women.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Seminole NN16

Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

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Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the east, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

C. [344 621].

Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.[6] Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.[7] He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,[8] and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

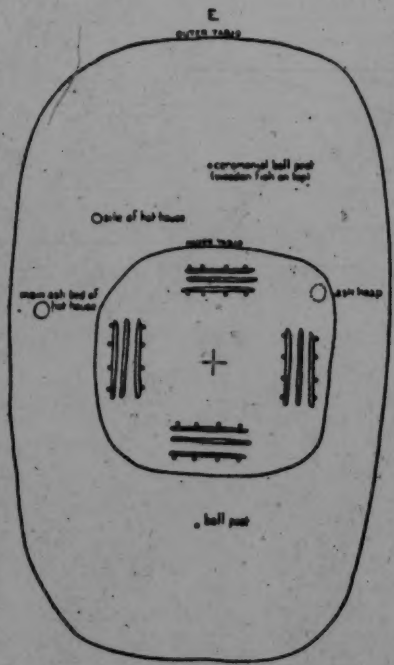

FIG. 27.—Okshai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

[6] See p. 182. [7] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18. [8] Ibid., p. 184.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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344 raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their
532 red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the
614 deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering
[555] or the annual expiation of sins. Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy

[344 621]

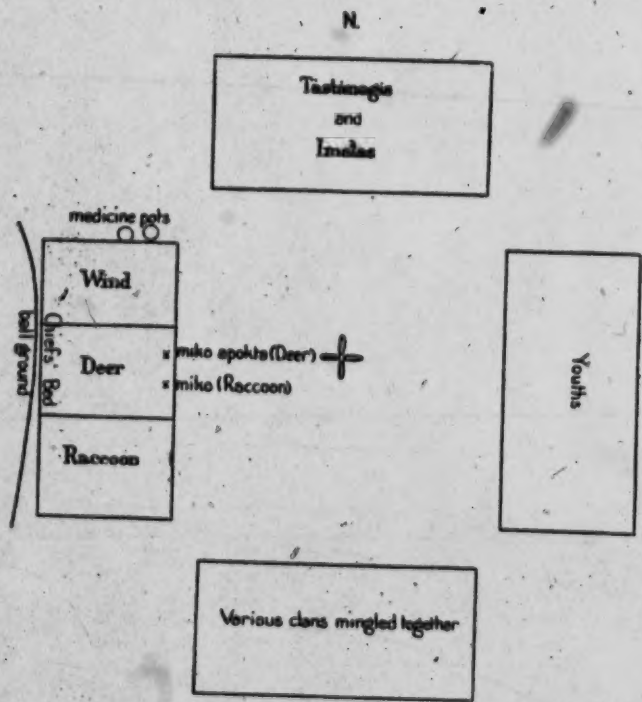

FIG. 38.—Plan of the Łáłogáłga Square Ground

ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, etc. . . .

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 90-91.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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We will now summarize the seatings of each clan:

Clan	Chiefs' bed	Henihas' bed	Warriors' bed	Youths' bed
Wind	22	20	4	1
Bear	30	11	8	1
Bird	22	12	6	1
Beaver	17	10	5	1
Alligator	11	18	5	5
Deer	10	11	15	3
Panther	10	12	16	3
Raccoon	13	8	11	1
Aktayatci	8	18	8	2
Snake	1	6	1	
Potato	9	9	8	4
Tami	2	10	3	4
Turkey	1	4	3	3
Pahosa	1	2	2	2
Kapitca	2	4	4	
Wildcat	3	2	3	1
Wolf	3	2	3	1
Mole	1	2		
Skunk	2	2		
Fox	2	3	2	1
Eagle	1	2		1
Woksi		1		
Teowasta			1	
Fish	2	1		
Toad		1	1	
Otter	1	1		
Teokote		1		
Reed (Cane)			1	
Lidjami			1	

The distribution of the smaller clans in the above table agrees very well with that of the larger ones with which they are linked. The principal discrepancies are due to the fact that when the chief was selected from a certain clan that clan moved over in a body into the Chief's bed, and therefore in some cases, in the Raccoon group for instance, the leading clan appears to have been seated in the Chief's bed many more times proportionately than most of the other clans of the phratry.

Turning to the nine first clans, which are representative of the leading Creek phratries, we find that the White clans are found oftenest in the Chief's bed, and next in frequency in the bed of the Henihas, while comparatively seldom are they seated in the beds of the Warriors or Youths. It is to be observed that both the Chiefs' bed and that of the Henihas are frequently spoken of as "White beds," but the former is occupied by White clans more often than the

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latter. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great reduction in numbers which the towns have suffered and the practical abandonment of the Youths' bed, making it necessary to find seats for all of the clans in the three remaining beds. The Warriors' bed, too, does not appear to have been occupied anciently by clans as such, except perhaps the rear rows. In front were the tástánágálgi and imalálgi, who originally owed their positions to exploits in war and were drawn from various clans. In later times these dignities became to a certain extent hereditary, associated with certain clans, and the bed was occupied by clans in the same way as the other beds. It may be said, speaking generally, that the clan of the chief sat in the Chiefs' bed, and when a chief was selected from a new clan that clan moved over into that bed. There are a few cases to the contrary but this is what usually took place. The natural position of a clan is therefore best determined by studying its position when the chief belonged to some other clan. Bearing this in mind an inspection of the arrangement of the square grounds shows plainly that the proper position of the White clans is usually held to be in the beds of the Chiefs and the Henihas. And it is worthy of remark that most of those towns in which these clans appear in the Warriors' bed were of the Hitchiti group, indicating that a somewhat different arrangement obtained there. The Beaver clan is usually identified with, and seated with, the Bird everywhere except in Otciapofa and the Tulsa towns where it was generally the clan of the chief. The Alligator and Aktayatci occur more often in the Henihas' bed than anywhere else. The former is sometimes White, which perhaps accounts in part for its presence here and in the Chiefs' bed; the Aktayatci, however, is always Tciloki and is so much associated with war that the clan is considered—probably as a later development—identical with the tástánágálgi, in Łikatcka and Łutcapoga. This accounts for some

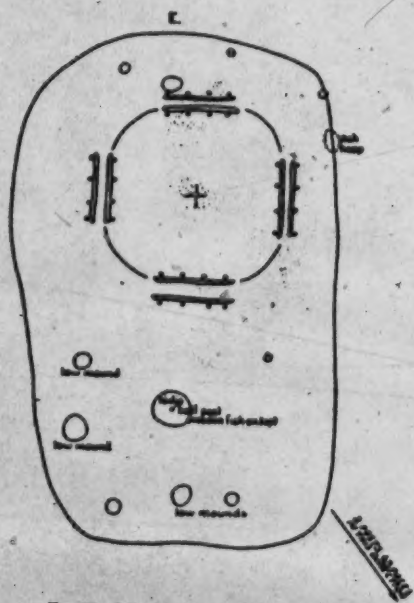

FIG. 39.—Łikatcka Ceremonial Ground in 1913

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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of the times when it appears in the Warriors' bed. It appears in the Chiefs' bed several times because the chiefs of the Eufaula towns, Hilibi, Wiogufki, and perhaps Pakan tallahassee, were taken from it.

The Alligator also appears many times in the Chiefs' bed. It is to be noted that when the Aktayatci were chiefs the Alligator were frequently henihas, and in consequence were sometimes taken into the Chiefs' bed. The Alligator were also henihas in Kasihta and were there taken into the Chiefs' bed for the same reason. In some other towns they were partly in the Chiefs' bed and partly in that of

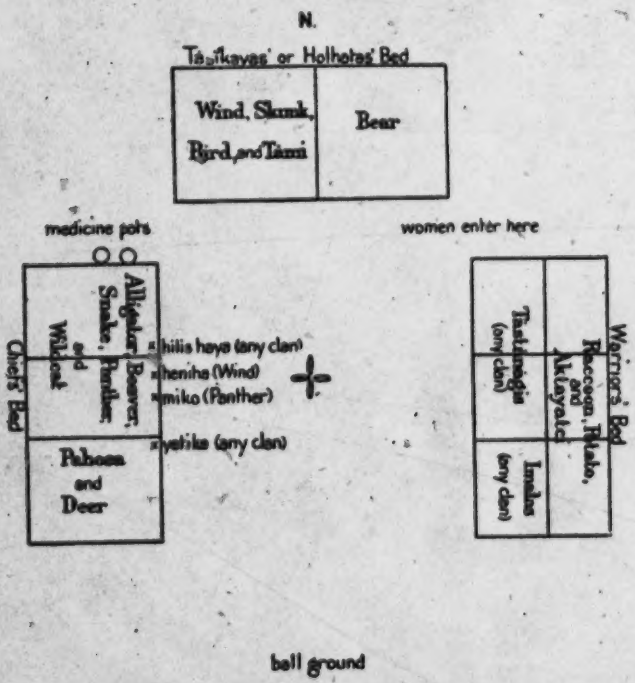

FIG. 40.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (I)

the Henihas. The Raccoon clan is the only Tciloki clan found more often in the Chiefs' bed than in any other. This position it occupies in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, the Okchai towns, Upper Eufaula, two Seminole towns, Koasati, two Abihka towns, and, according to two informants, in Chiaha and Oeochi. Its position in the last two was probably due to the fact that it is identified with the Potato and Fox, to which the town chiefs there belonged. The others are all Upper Creek towns, constituting two geographical groups, the Abihka and the towns on Tallapoosa River. These Raccoon people are

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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found more often in the Warriors' bed than in that of the Henihas or Youths, and that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clan is Red. In one or two cases it is said that the Raccoon clan were the tástánagis. They were in the Warriors' bed particularly in the Abihka and Tulsa towns. The only clans found oftener in the Warriors' bed than in any other are the Deer and Panther, rather singular companions one would think, but perhaps explacable on psychological grounds already given,[10] although it is more likely that the association has a

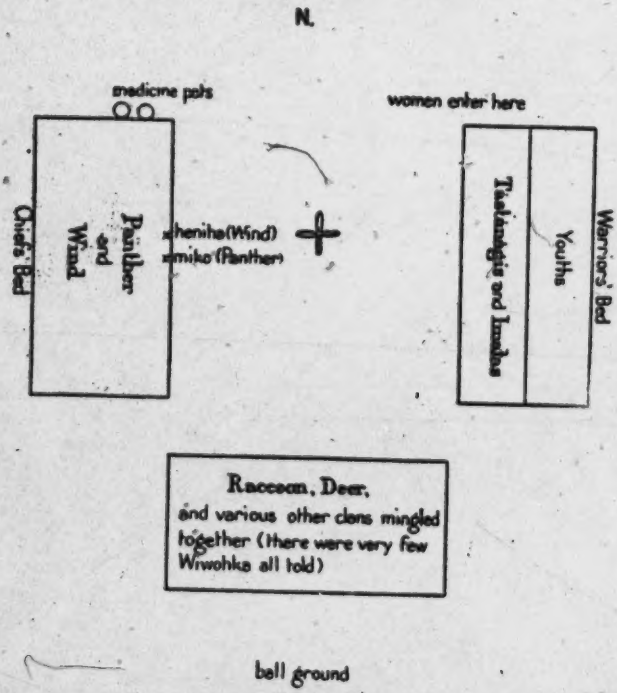

FIG. 41.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II)

historic basis now long forgotten. As in other cases the Panther and Deer sometimes furnish chiefs or henihas and are consequently found in the Chiefs' bed. They occur in the Henihas' bed more often. In the Okfuskee towns they are squeezed into the Youths' bed, owing to the large size of the White clans. In the Abihka towns, where the Warriors' bed is to the east, the Deer are uniformly placed there, while the Panther appear in the Henihas' bed. In Pakan tallahassee the Deer are again in the Warriors' bed and are specifically called tástánágálgi, while the Panther is taken into the

[10] See p. 149.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Chiefs' bed. In the Okchai towns, Tukpafka, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Koasati, Kealedji, and Hilibi these clans are found, however, either in the Chiefs' bed or in the bed of the Henihas. Often they are separated and sometimes one is placed in the Youths' bed. The separation occurs more often, however, when the Deer is placed in the Chiefs' bed, the Panther being in the Henihas' bed. The Deer are said to have been taken into the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee

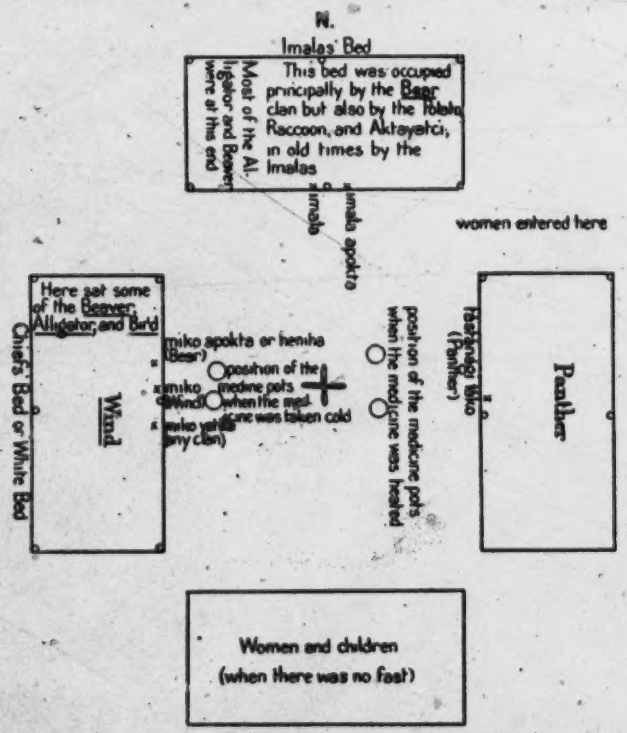

FIG 62.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (I)

because they formed "a choice clan." In Seminole towns the Panther and Deer are almost always placed in the bed of the Warriors.

The important points regarding the nine leading clans brought out by this table are that the White clans—Wind, Bear, Bird, and Beaver—were seated most often in the Chiefs' bed and next to that most frequently in the bed of the Henihas; the Raccoon clan was seated oftenest in the Chiefs' bed and next to that in the Warriors bed; the Alligator and Aktayatci clans were seated most often in the Henihas' bed; and the Panther and Deer clans most often in the Warriors' bed.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Tuskegee

The Town

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Although the word tálwa is employed rather loosely for both a town and a tribe, its proper signification seems to have been rather tribal, a town or city in our sense of the term, a center of population, being indicated by the word talofa. A tálwa appears to have consisted of a body of people who had their own square ground and

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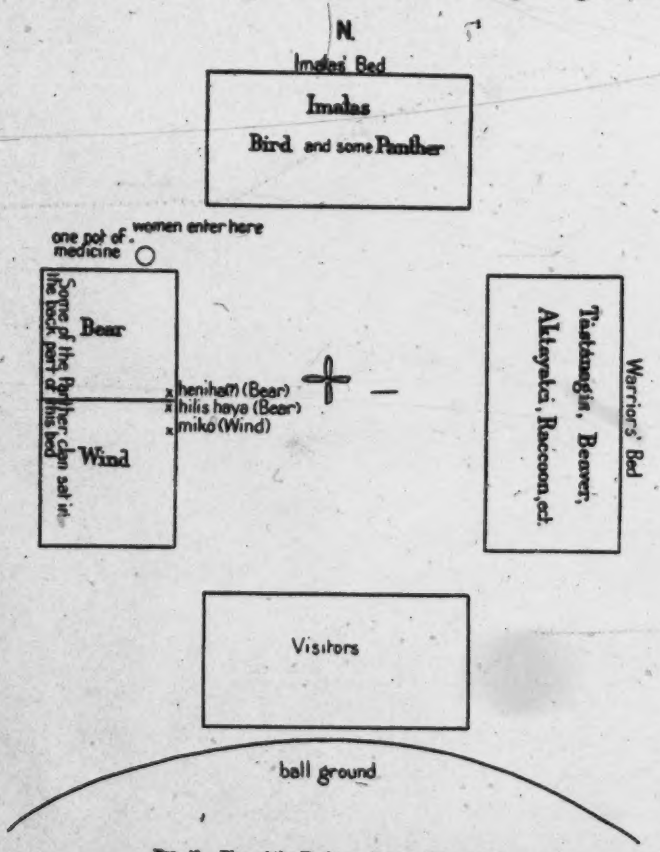

Fig. 43.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)

actually formed a little state. In later times many such tálwa were formed by segmentation and they were closely related, but the farther back we go the more distinct do the differences between the various tálwa appear to be. These tálwa might, of course, consist of a number of distinct villages, but, except that they were usually composed of knots of clan relatives, no permanence and no particular coherence attached to these latter.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each tálwa, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the miko's seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the

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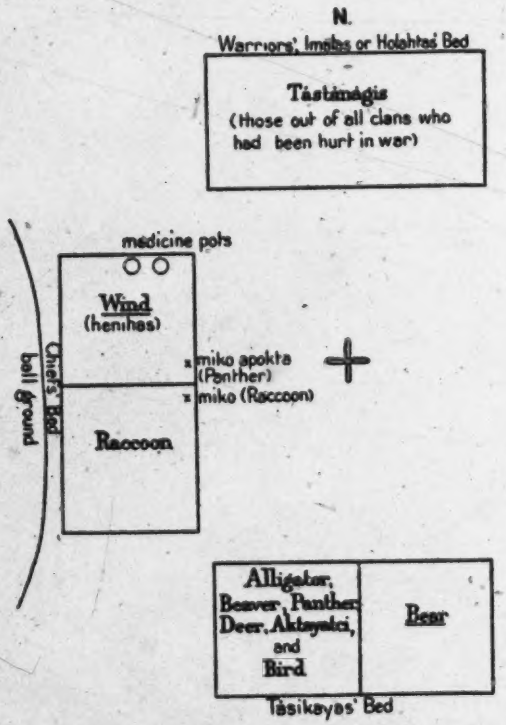

FIG. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2

four front posts of the miko's bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Koasati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the miko's bed in the Koasati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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This is both interesting and important, and it is in line with what we know regarding the tribes living along both the lower and the upper courses of the Mississippi River. At the same time I have so far been unable to obtain confirmation of this from other Creeks. Of course, Bartram tells us that in his day the posts of the Chiefs' bed at Atasi were carved to resemble snakes, but this can not be accepted as confirmatory evidence because Judge Gregory was perfectly familiar with the writings of Bartram and other early authors. The Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas claimed some particular right

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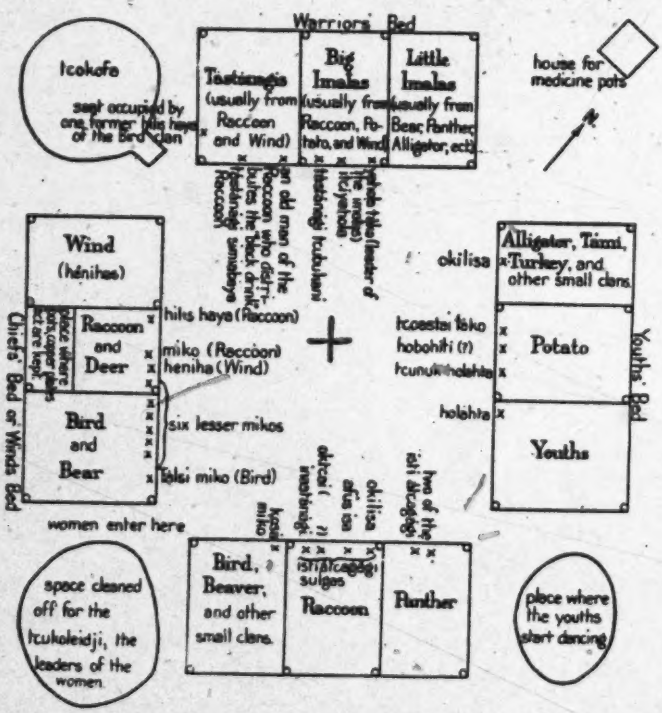

FIG. 43.—Plan of the Tukabatchee Square Ground (I)

to the garfish, but I have not secured sufficient evidence regarding this to be sure of the nature of their claim. On a previous page I have had occasion to note that the Indians of the Fish Pond towns place wooden fish at the tops of their ball posts, but according to their own explanation this mark is merely suggested to them by the town name. The Eufaula Indians have a wooden eagle in the same place, but they say that this is because the eagle is emblematic of the United States. The other towns all use skulls of horses or cows, which are said to be without significance of any kind.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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In line with the wooden eagle of Coweta mentioned by Judge Gregory is the wooden statue of a human being which Adair informs us existed in his day in "the head war town of the upper Muskohge country." Tukabahchee is the head war town of the Upper Creeks to-day, but in Adair's time it may have been Łiwahali or Atasi. Adair's words are as follows:

"There is a carved human statue of wood, to which, however, they pay no religious homage. It belongs to the head war town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed

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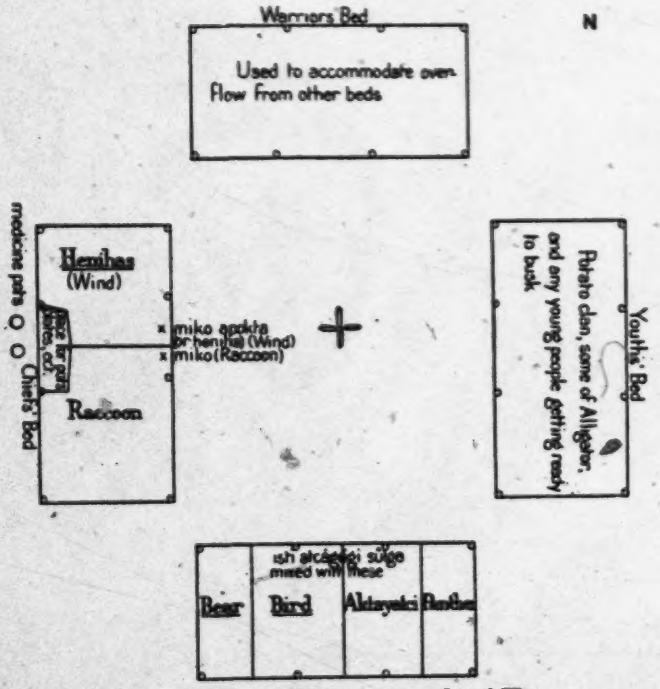

FIG. 46.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (II)

to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero, who deserved well of his country; for, when their *cusseena*, or bitter, black drink is about to be drank in the synhedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his coadjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

621 532 view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist." [11]

[302] According to some informants the people of each tálwa formerly had distinctive face paintings, and there were men in every town particularly skilled in applying these. The design for Tuskegee was as shown in the cut (fig. 102).

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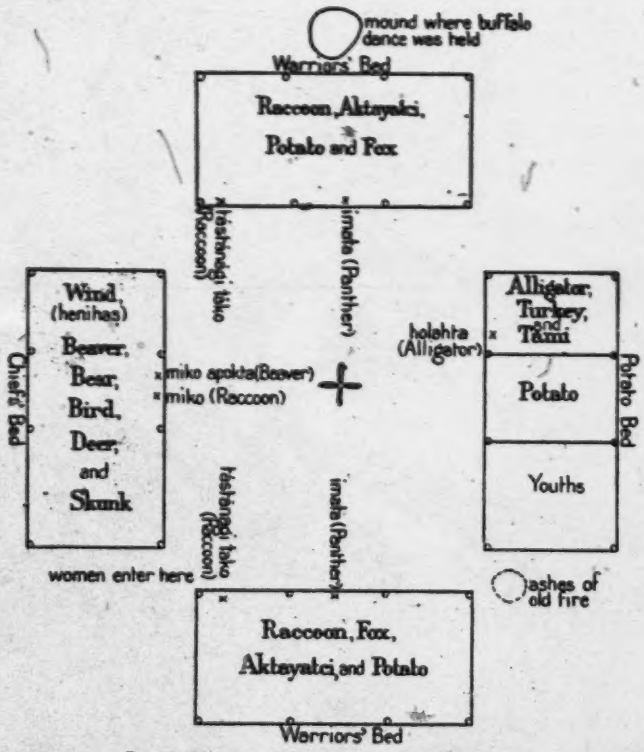

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (III)

621 A word may be quoted from Stiggins regarding the feeling of unity which subsisted within each town.

"The towns people were frequently assembled at their town house or square in order to keep them united, for the harmony subsisting among the people of a town is noted and seems to be cemented by an affection as strong towards each other as the sons of Jacob of old in their association. As the usages and customs of every town are similar and the men all know the unity and sympathy of a town

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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people, the men of one town will approach another town with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated, and as such is their practice in this their more enlightened time, their approaches toward each other's towns and towards strangers must have been with extreme timidity and caution in their natural and more savage state." [12]

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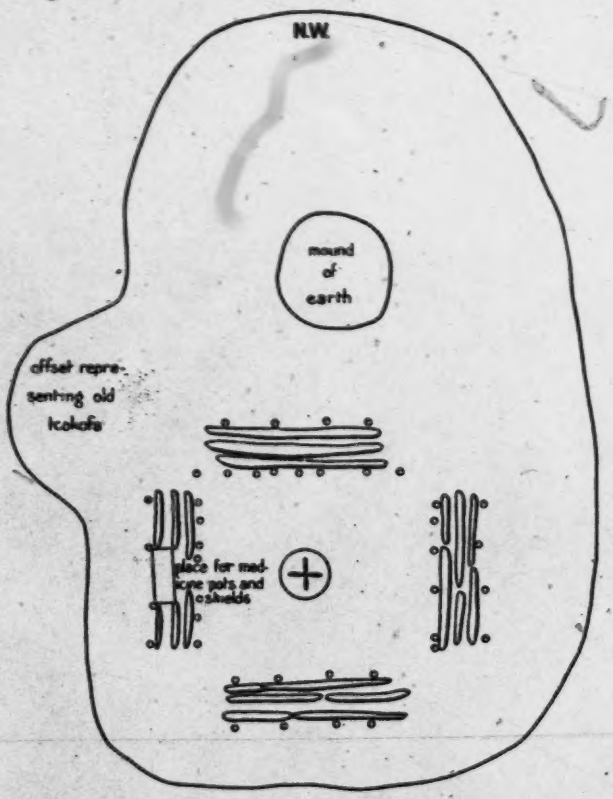

FIG. 46.—Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

In my historical account of the Creek Indians and their neighbors I have taken up in detail the various tribes which constituted the confederacy and the position occupied by each.[12a] It will not be necessary to go over this ground again, except to insert a classification of the tálwa which of itself will serve to recapitulate the points there brought out.

[12] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 19.

[12a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

NATURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CREEK TOWNS

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Muskogee tribes: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa (including (a) the Tulsa group and (b) the Okfuskee group), Abihka, Holiwahali (or Liwahali), Hilibi, Eufaula, Wakokai, several Muskogee tribes whose connection with the rest is uncertain, including Atasi, Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Fushatchee, Wiwohka, Kealedji, and tribes such as the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee, which seem not to have been constituted parts of the original body.

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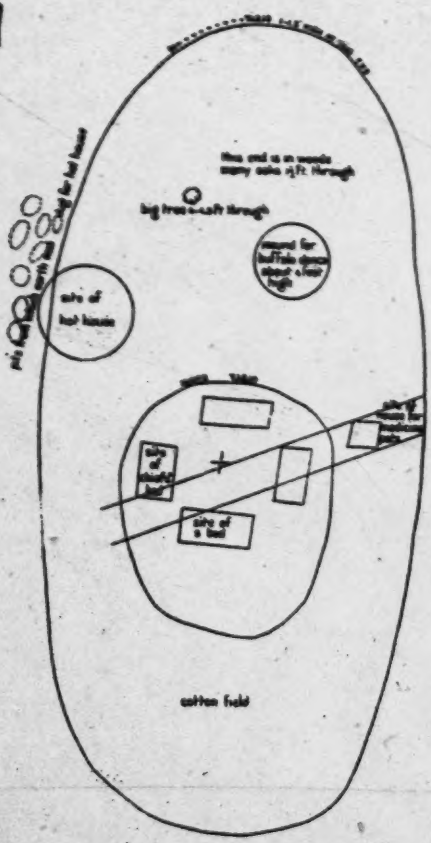

FIG. 49.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Moletta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912-14

Atcik hata (Hitchiti speaking tribes): Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Tamali, Chiaha.

Alabama.
Muklasa.
Koasati.
Tuskegee.
Yuchi.
Natchez.
Shawnee.

Tribes of uncertain connection: Osochi.

To these might almost be added the Chickasaw, since one band of Chickasaw lived with the Creeks for several years and they were all held to be of one fire with the Kasihta. According to the traditions given above the Kasihta and Coweta resulted from the segmentation of one original body, and it is probable that these and the next five towns in the above list were the original Muskogee speaking peoples in the confederacy. It seems likely that the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee were Muskogee in language but were late in uniting with the others. The Koasati were closely related by language with the Alabama, as was probably the case

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

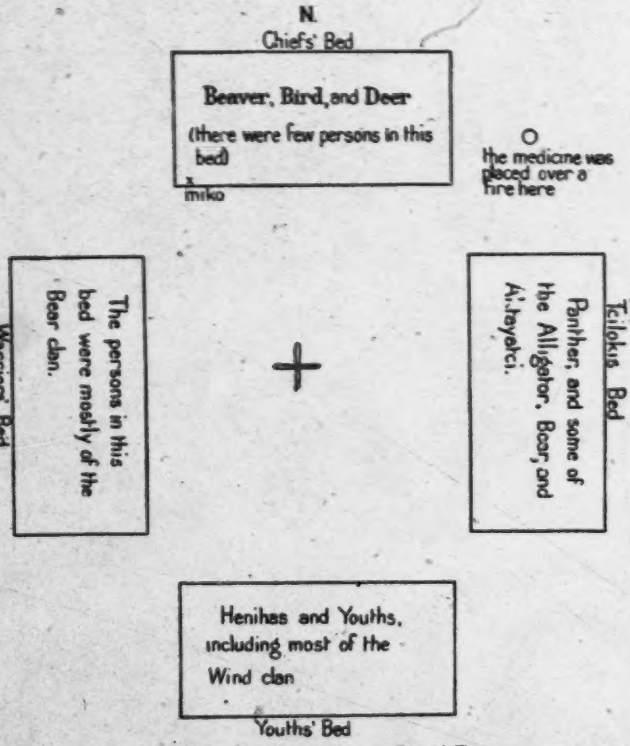

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[14] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable

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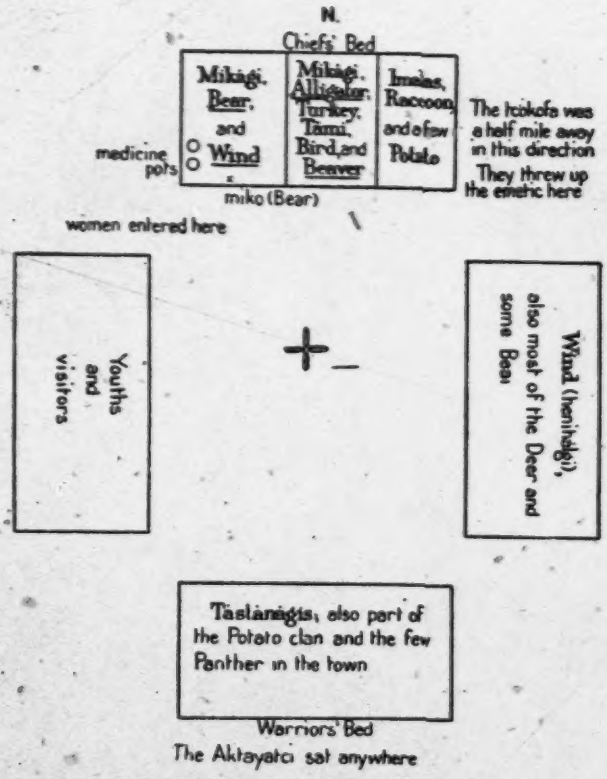

FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

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Jackson Lewis used the name Talwa mikagi for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 329.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also, in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfus-

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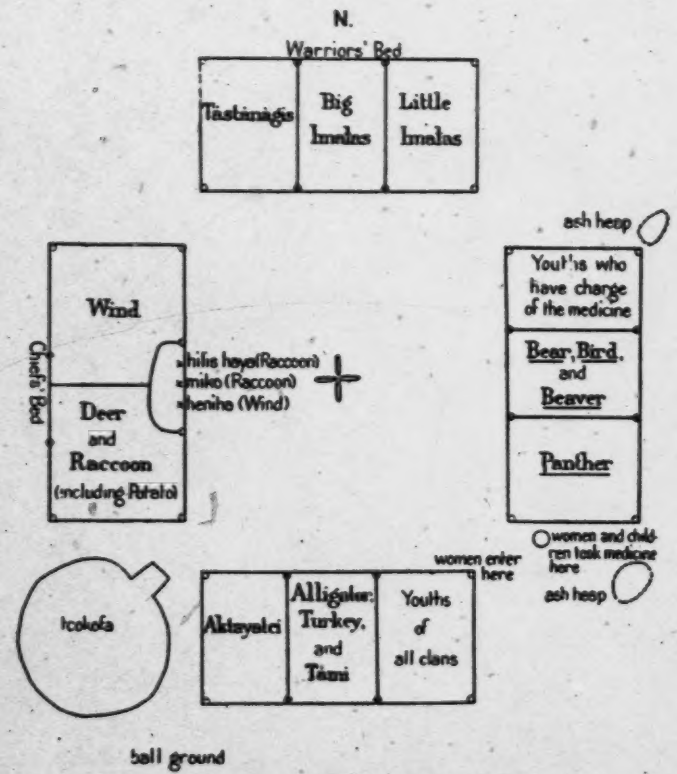

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (I)

kee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered into against each other and their antithetical peace and war functions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

609 was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite
619 those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually
calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such
621 invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent.
Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain
town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his
own proper town was on the opposite side.

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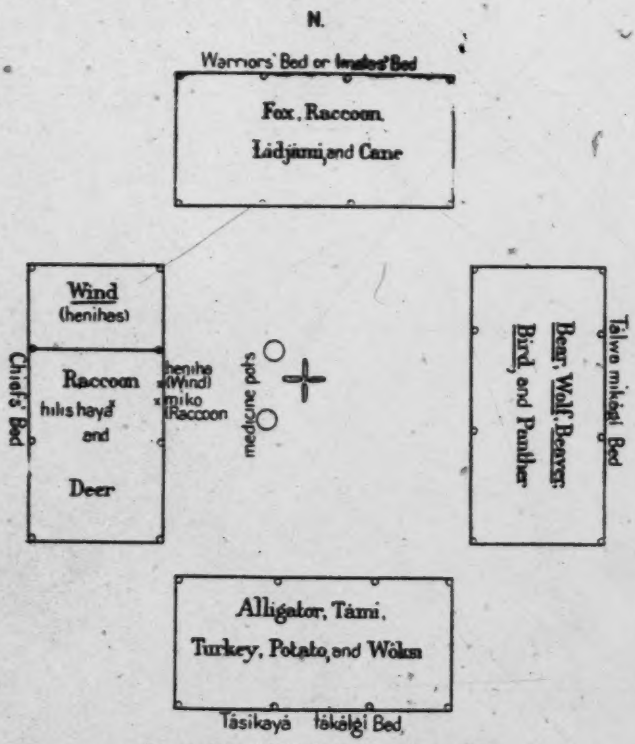

FIG. 52.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

609 Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were
619 known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bar-
621 tram,[17] and Adair[18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that
778 human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until
an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who
had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 387.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

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Muskogee

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event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[186] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

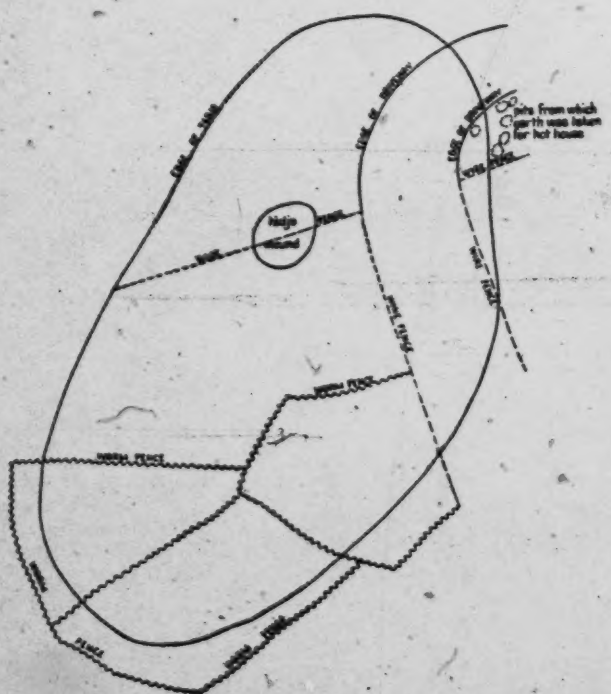

FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly."[187]

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[186] Bartram, Travels, pp. 367-368.

[187] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 150.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

619 The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white
•621 beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to
[526] determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

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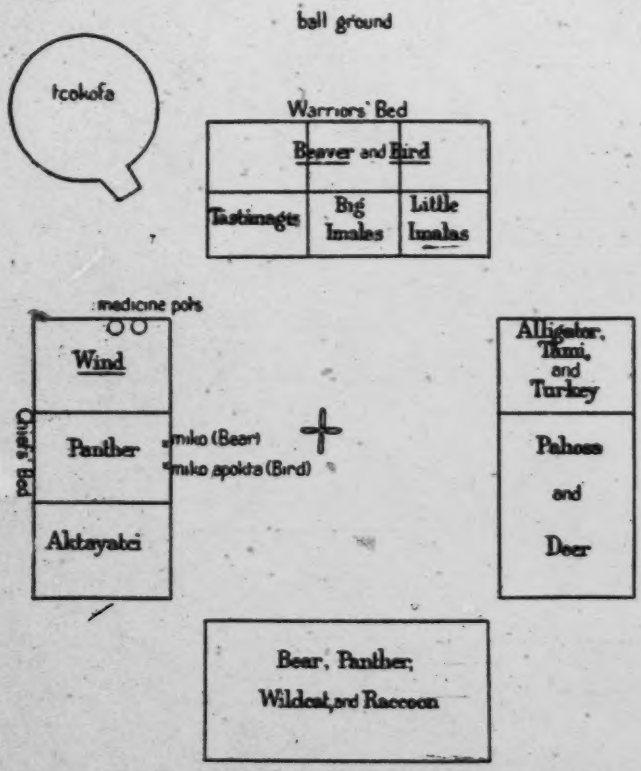

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (I)

619 Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with
101 the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.	Tulsa Canadian.	Wiogufki.
Apalachicola.	Lutcapoga.	Tukpafka.
Hitchiti.	Okfuskee.	Wiwohka.
Sawokli.	Tcatoksofka.	Pakan tallahassee.
Okmulgee.	Abihkutci.	Okchai.
Kawaigi.	Nuyaka.	Łálogálga.
Okitiyagana.	Abihka.	Asilanabi.
Yuchi.[20]	Abihka-in-the-West.	Koasati (1 and 2).
Coosa.	Talladega.	Tuskegee.
Otciapofa.	Kan-tcati.	
Tulsa Little River.	Wakokai.	

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Muskogee

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RED

Coweta.	Eufaula Hobayi.	Łapłáko.
Łikatcka.	Tukabahchee.	Hilibi.
Chiaha.[80]	Kealedji.	Kitcopataki.
Osochi.	Hatchee tcalka.	Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Hotalgihuyana.	Atasi.	Talmutcasi.
Eufaula.	Holiwahali.	Alabama.

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ball ground

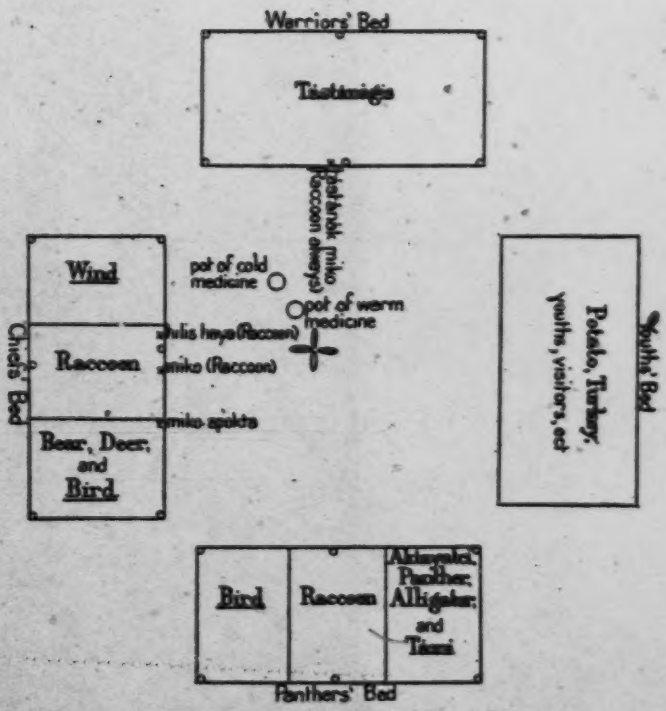

FIG. 34.—Plan of the Łapłáko Square Ground (II)

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This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Kossati was a Red town, a conclusion which

[80] The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Talit who mentions a ball game May 8, 1738, in which the former defeated the latter (Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 332).

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Seminole NN16

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According to Silas Jefferson the Chiaha were the chief opponents of the Tuskegee after they had removed to Oklahoma, but the latter played frequently with the Wiwohka, and sometimes with the Hilibi, and, in the old country, against the Alabama. The Hitchiti and Apalachicola were usually matched against the Atasi.

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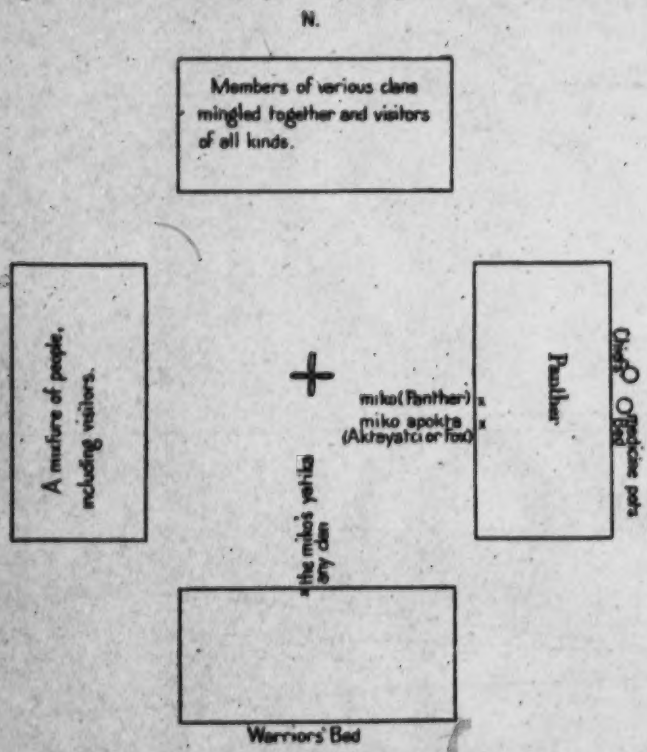

FIG. 31.—Plan of the Liwahali Square Ground

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The corresponding division among the Seminole in Oklahoma is said to have been as follows:

White	Red
Okfuskee	Eufaula.
Tallahassutci	Liwahali (including the Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki).
Oakmulgee	Chiaha.
Hitchiti	Mikasuki.

This agrees perfectly with the alignment among the Creeks if, as I now suspect, the Mikasuki were a branch of the Chiaha Indians instead of the Hitchiti proper.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opilláko, and Łálogálga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

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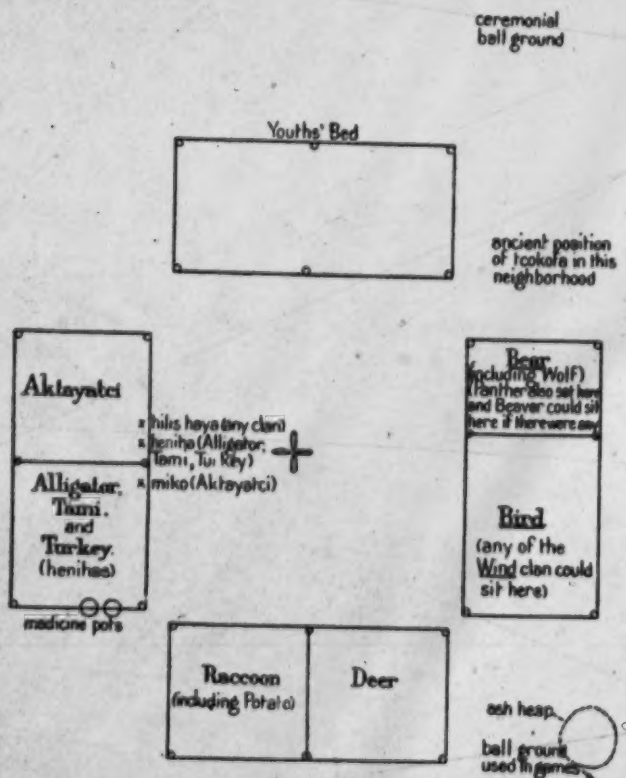

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Holiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN1: Creek NN11
Muskogee

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Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names

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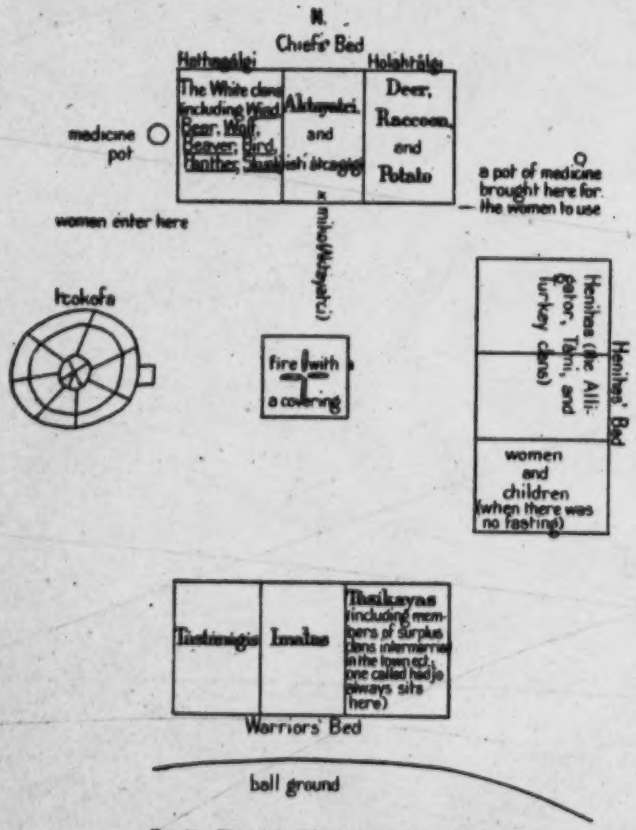

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)

of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe; that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

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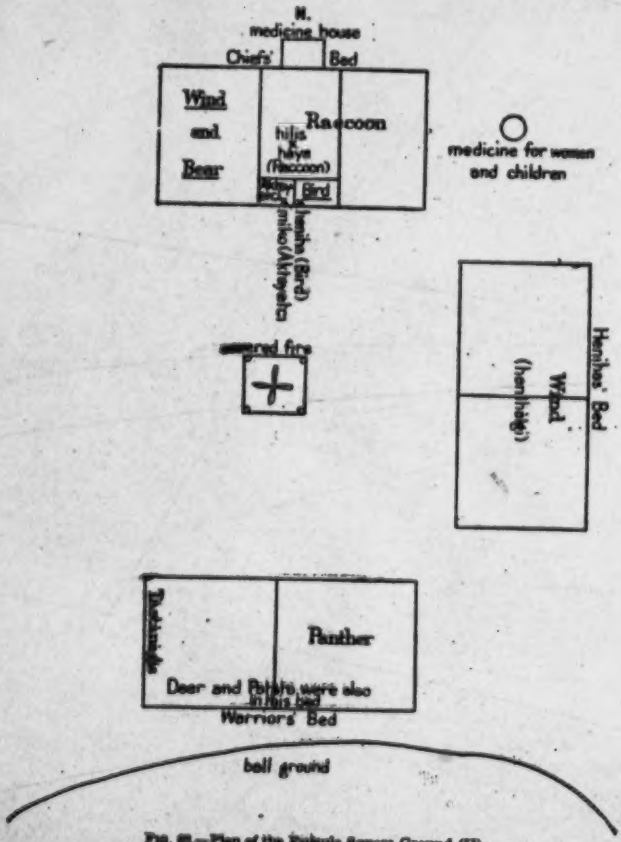

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (II)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Milfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama

Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probaby Łiwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Łiwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that

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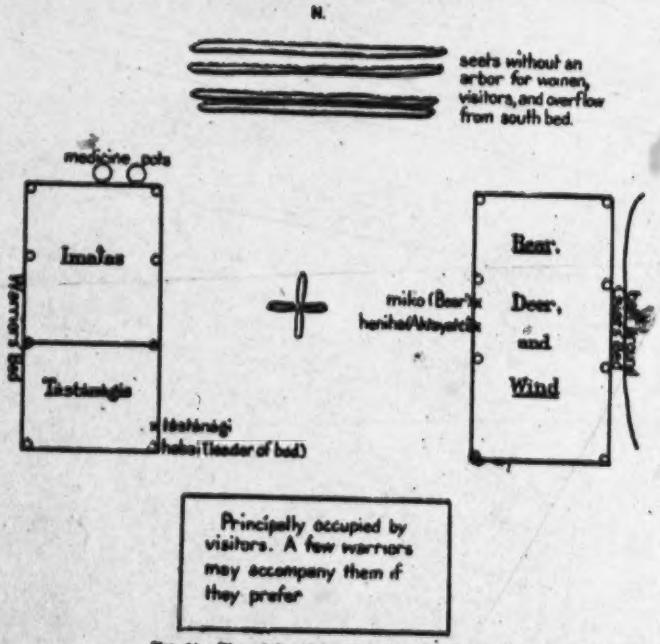

FIG. 64.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I)

the first was already a friend of Coweta, Łiwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.[34] From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hilibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Łikatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee tcaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

[34] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 264-265.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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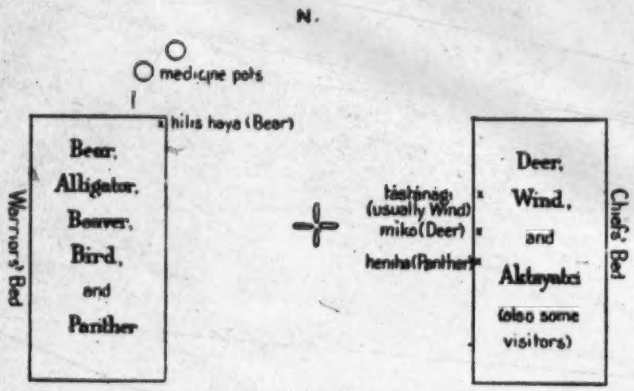

FIG. 65.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (II)

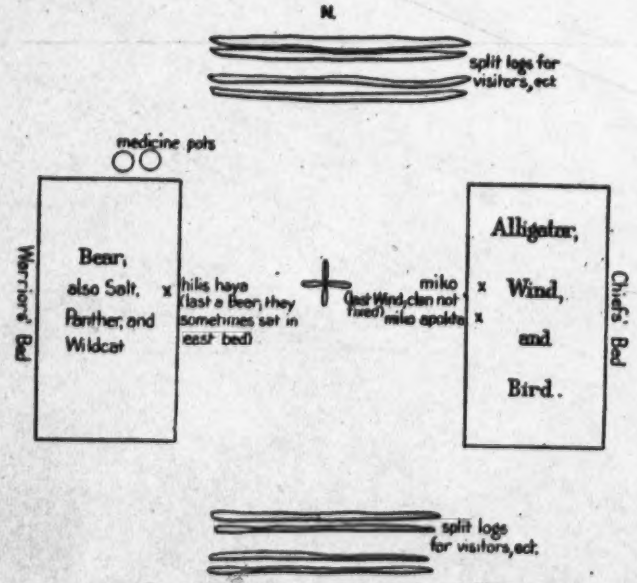

FIG. 66.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (III)

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Alabama
Muskogee

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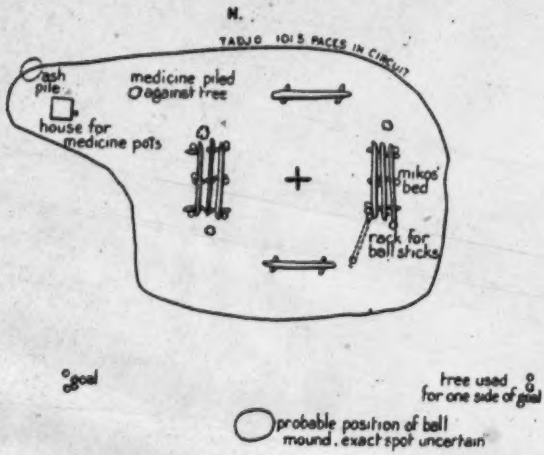

FIG. 67.—The Alabama Ceremonial Ground in 1912

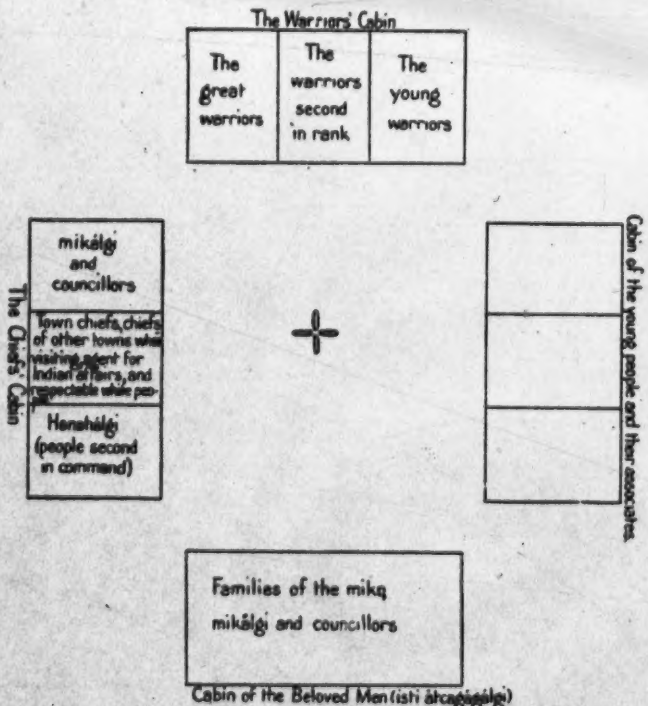

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Eushta Square Ground (from Hawkins)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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groups. And with the exception of Tukabáhchee and its associates, which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy

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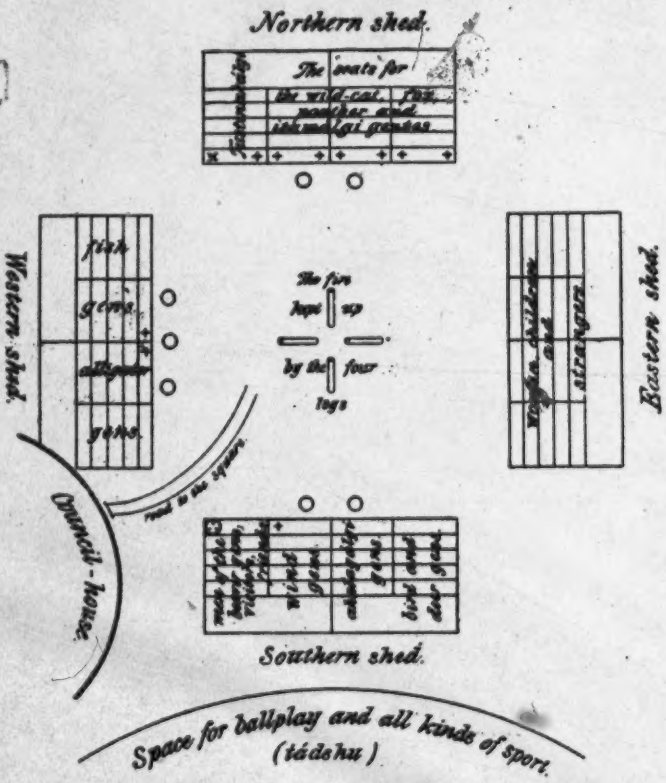

FIG. 69.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,[25] was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with

[25] See p. 256.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and

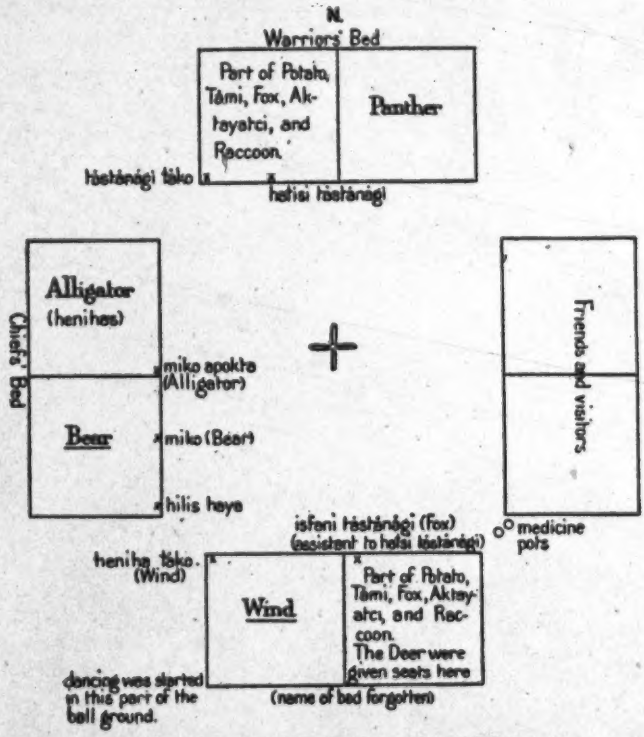

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Tcokote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitca and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Łidjami with the Tukabahchee and related towns and

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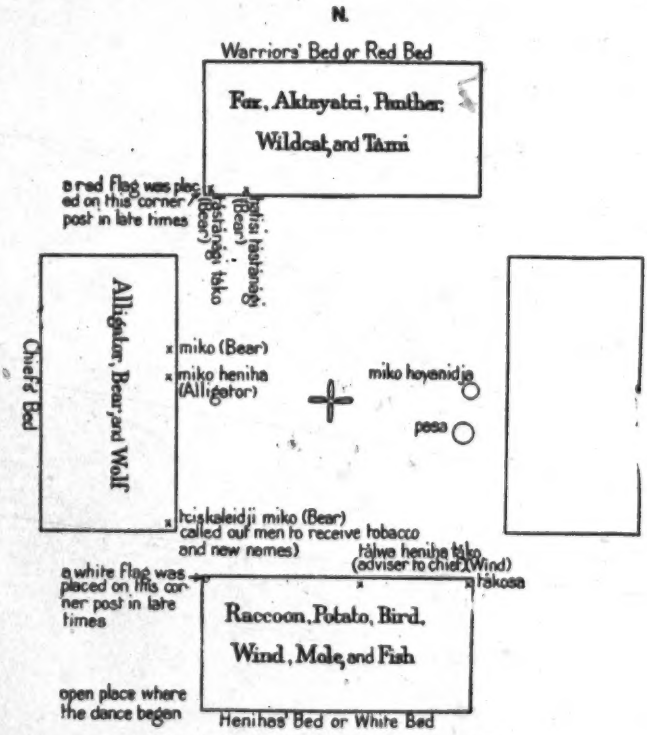

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

the Raccoon with the Tukabahchee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatci is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
269 NN3

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factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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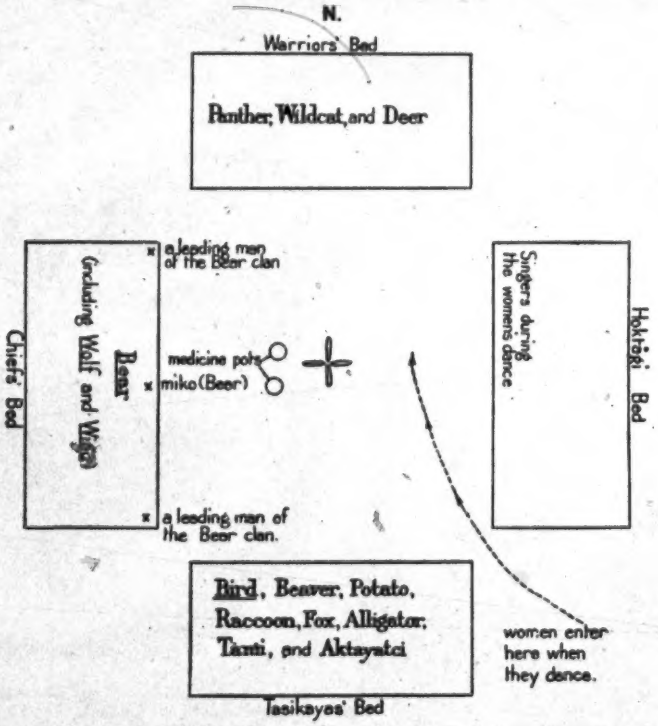

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

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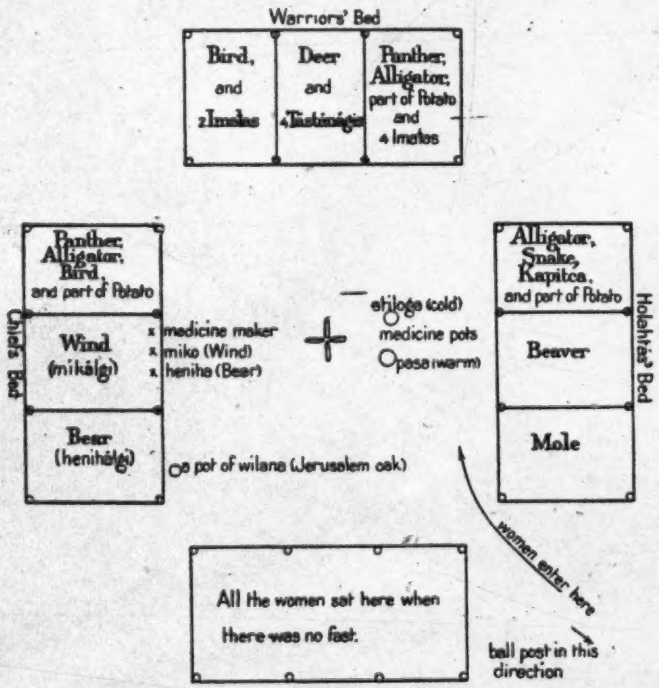

FIG. 73.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa ináko) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
271 NN3

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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important

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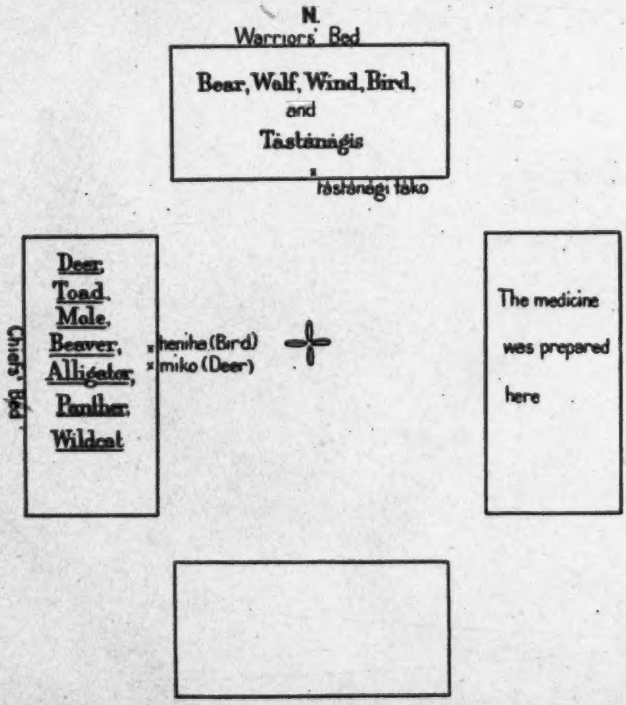

FIG. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa làko) (II)

part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti
Southeastern Indians
NN3

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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

C. [344 •621]

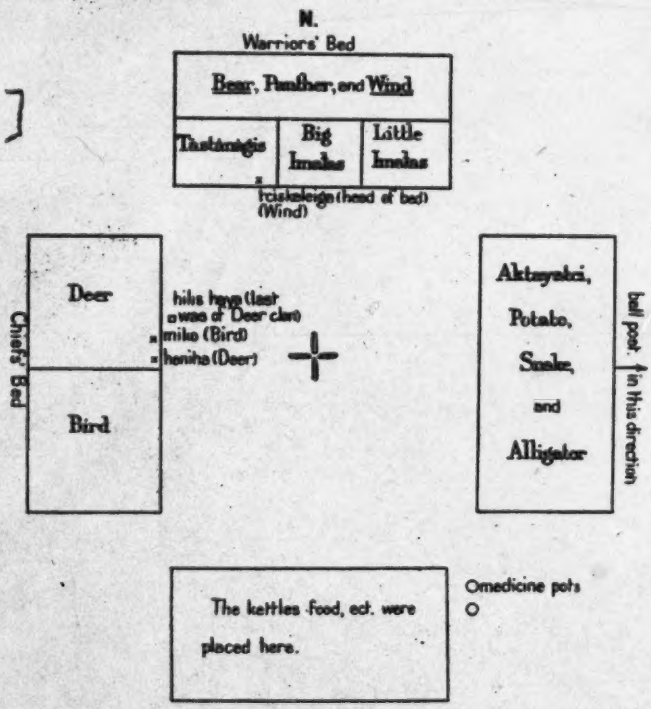

FIG. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Southeastern Indians NN3

C. 171 614 S. 614

on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

C. [344 •621]

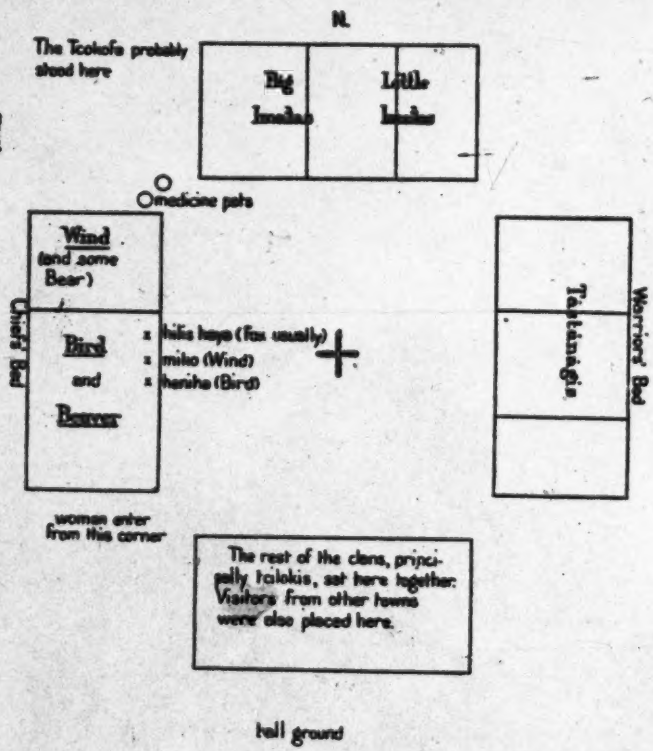

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee
Southeastern Indians NN3

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Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogálgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent

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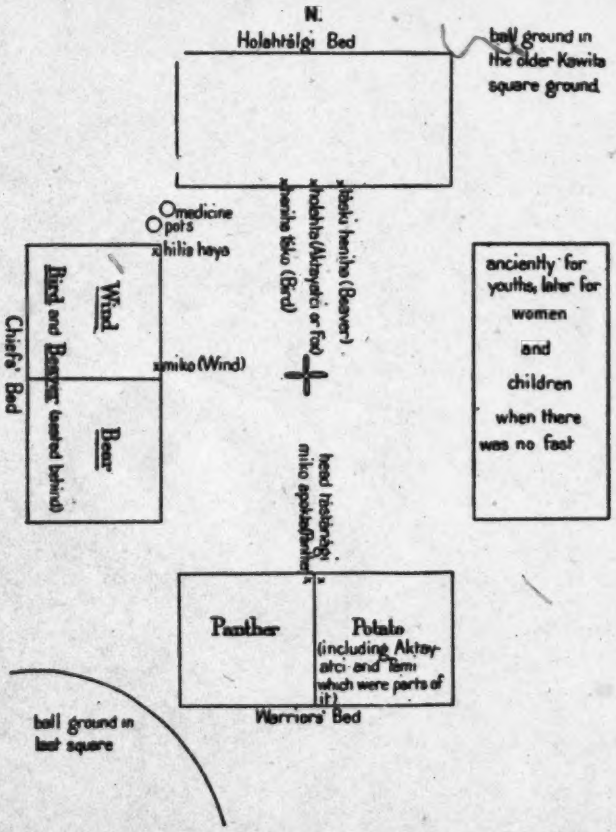

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II)

and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNII Creek NNII
Muskogee

GOVERNMENT

619 The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the
621 most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been
642 already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confedera-

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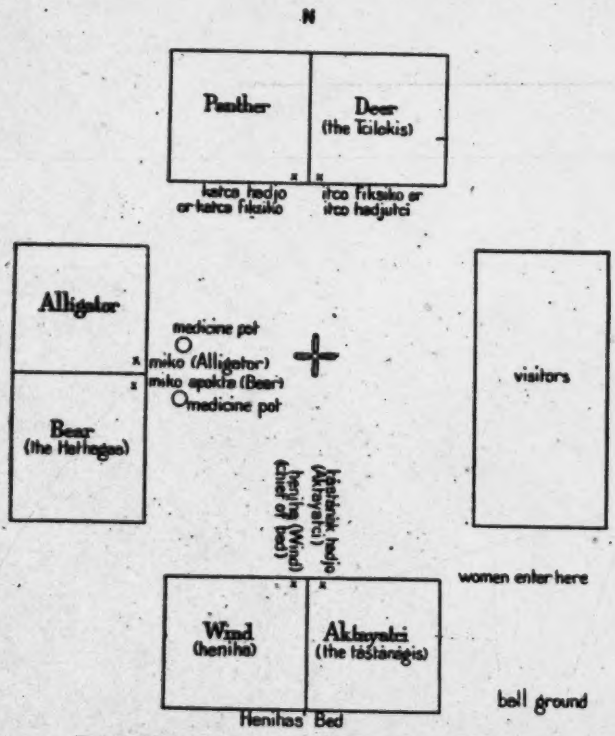

FIG. 79.—Plan of the Square Ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow

tion, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

towns alone being under mikos.[28] If he means by warriors men bearing the title tástánagi we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

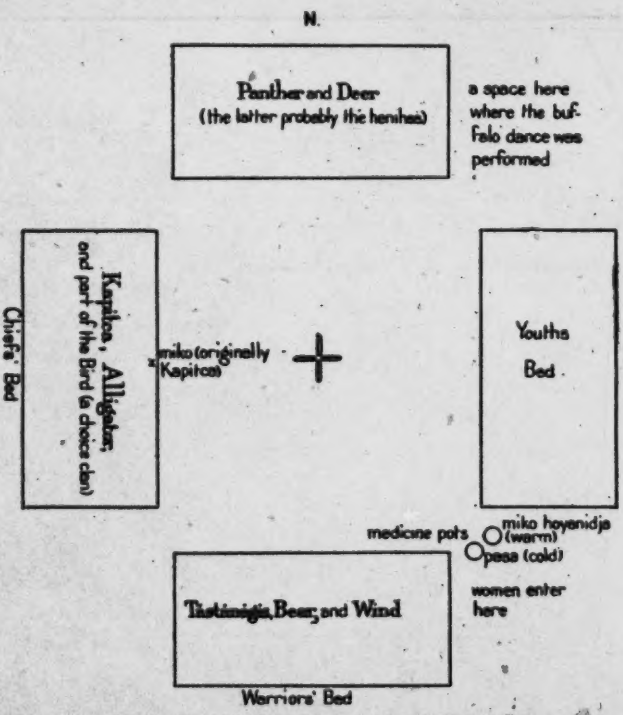

FIG. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

[28] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

[i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

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622 talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[27] Bartram remarks:

"He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, [574] receives presents, etc. He alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's

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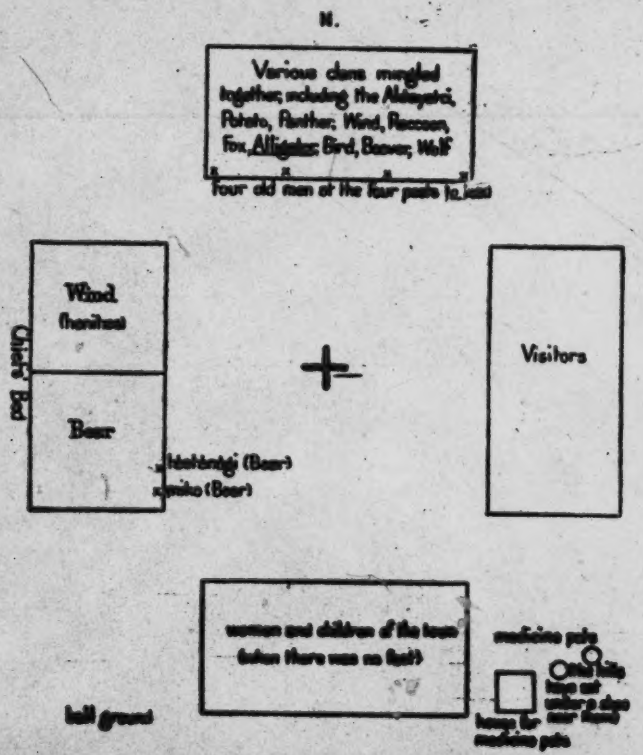

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tukabatchi (?)

feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night."[28]

[27] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. III, p. 69.
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 34

4/4 [i.e. the miko. -- Analyst]

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622

Speck says regarding the Tuskegee miko:

"The function of this dignitary, as the civil head of the town, was to receive all embassies from other tribes, to direct the decisions of the town council according to his judgment, and finally to stand as the representative of the town in foreign negotiations. . . . The town chief had also to appoint the time for the annual harvest ceremony. He had personal charge of the town square and the lodges about it, and it was his duty to distribute the broken sticks to the heads of families by which they were to number the days to elapse

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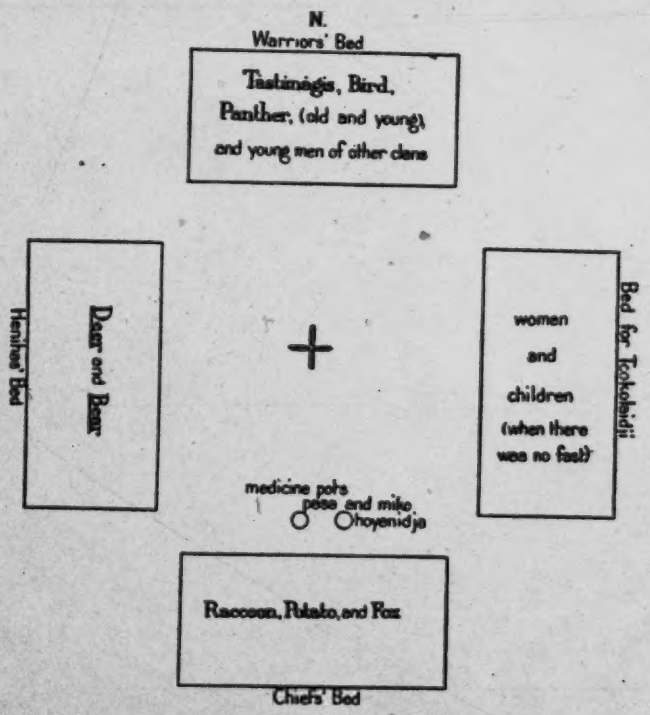

FIG. 22.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (I)

before the ceremony. The Taskigi have been known to depose their town chief on the ground of inefficiency and to elect another from his clan instead." [29]

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action with-

[29] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 112.

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622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko łáko, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he

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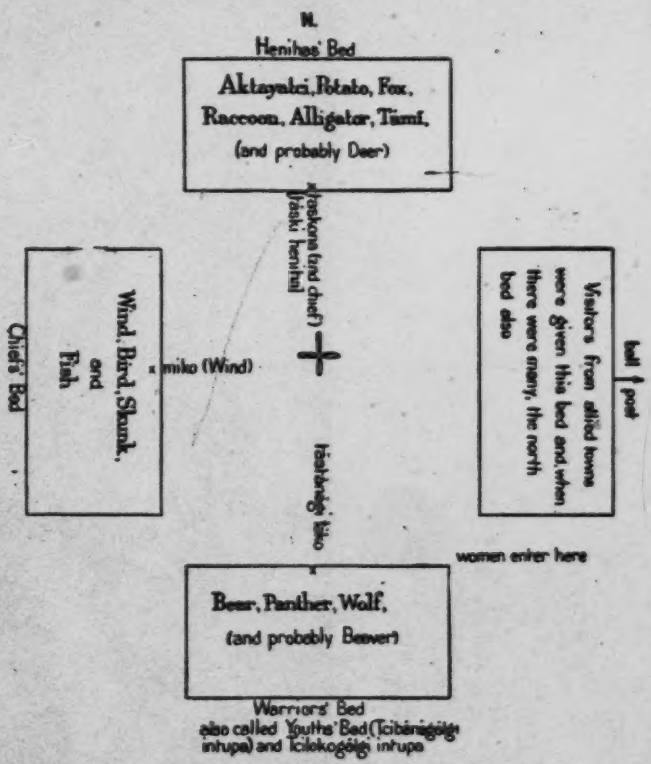

FIG. 83.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

614 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already
622 been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

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person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance."[20] As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on

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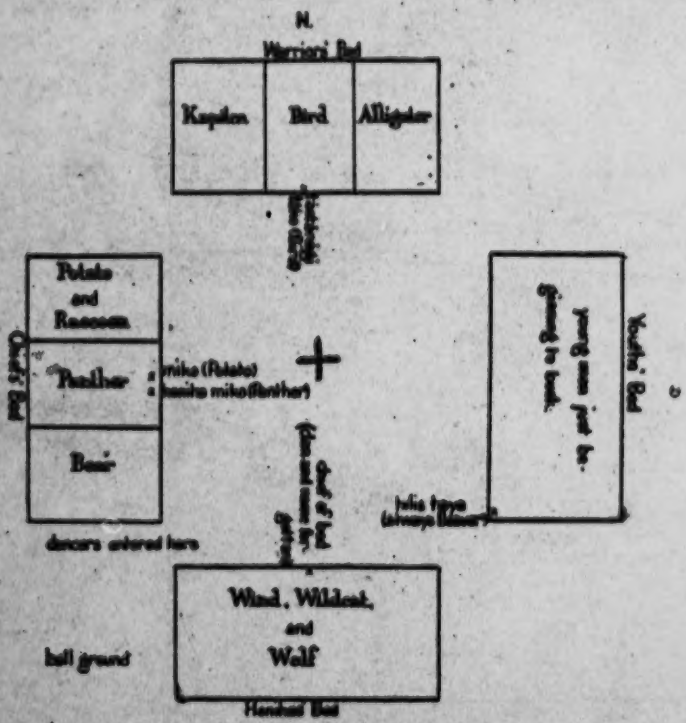

FIG. 24.—Plan of the Creek Square Ground (2)

the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtca told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.[21] According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtca himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

[20] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

[21] Gatschet, Ms. notes; see p. 28.

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622 According to Jackson Lewis, who was best acquainted with Upper Eufaula, the selection was made by the other members of the same clan, but this seems to have been unusual. According to a Hilibi Indian well versed in everything connected with the organization of a town, the miko was selected by three men, one taken from the clan of the former chief, one from the clan of his father, and a third who appears not to have belonged to any particular clan. My informant added that they uniformly selected the humblest person belonging

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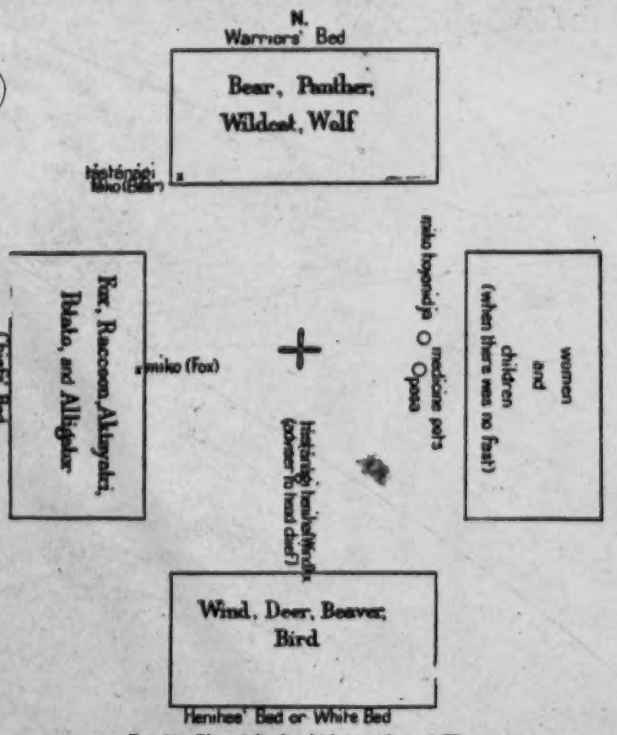

FIG. 88.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)

to the royal clan and those who picked him out always had to labor with him to induce him to accept. Some of this reluctance was no doubt a matter of etiquette, but the public and ceremonial demands of the position were so great and so much of the well-being or misfortune of the tribe was attributed to the incumbent that he may well have shrunk from the responsibility. The miko was, however, at liberty to resign. Some of those who selected the miko might belong to Red clans but he was always inducted into office by a member of one of the White clans. He was seated upon an unsmoked buckskin and

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

423 The yard immediately about each house or group of houses of
•621 course went with it; the square ground, chunky yard, and hot house were the property of the community. Gardens, as Bartram has stated, could be cleared by anyone anywhere within the limits of the town land.[10] And Eakins expresses their attitude toward the private ownership of land by the quotation, "It is for me, for thee, and for all." He adds, however, that improvements were sometimes sold.[11] This applied to the Creeks in their western home about the middle of the nineteenth century.

361 Regarding the town lands Stiggins says:

"The inhabited parts of the nation are laid out into town districts
423 designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga*." [12] The
[224] inhabitants of each town claimed an exclusive right to hunt in the territory immediately about it, and according to Stiggins men of one town approached another "with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated." [13] At times an agreement was entered into by the members of a town to refrain from hunting
[784] in a certain territory for a definite period. A kind of taboo similar to the device common among the Polynesians was laid upon it and it was called "ikána tcaka," "the sacred or consecrated land." At the expiration of the time fixed upon the people entered this tract and hunted there together. Bears were the chief animals which they expected to find.

241 The management of the large town fields is instructive. Bartram says of them:

"Every town or community assigns a piece of land as near as may be to the town, for the sake of convenience. This is called the *town plantation*, where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or the largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set up, or any other natural or artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one enclosure or general boundary." [14]

These fields were planted and cultivated by the town working together, all attending to the several plots in turn. They harvested at the same time, but then each family harvested from its own plot. A part of the produce of each lot was placed in a public granary under the charge of the chief.

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[10] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.
[11] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.
[12] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.
[13] Ibid., p. 19.
[14] Bartram, op. cit., p. 38.

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423 642 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

[727] Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on 423 original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19] It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as 621 it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

177 648 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

674 732 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 240; cf. also p. 209.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

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the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them." [73] 687

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching.[73a] 689

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGillivray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order. 681

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable." [73]

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.[74] 685

Escaped murderers and adulterers, and those who had committed lesser offenses and had withdrawn from their people to avoid the ridicule and contempt of their fellow townsmen, formed a class from which, says Bartram, generally came the ruffians who committed depredations and murders on the frontiers.[75] The foundation of new towns may sometimes be traced to them, as indeed is frankly admitted by members of those towns themselves. It is said that the town of Wiwohka had such an origin, and it is also claimed for others like Hilibi on less satisfactory grounds. In later times many such people swelled the population of the Florida Seminole. 167 [626] [579] 621

Adair is the only writer to say anything about oaths used in adjuring a witness to give true evidence, and in this connection he does not mention the Creeks, only the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The Chickasaw and Choctaw oath he gives as *Chikloosha ke-e-u Chua*,[76] which he interprets "Do not you lie? Do you not, of a certain 695

[73] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[73a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 126; see p. 388.

[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 281-282.

[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 313.

[76] *Loshke* is a Chickasaw word meaning "to lie"; *chikloshke* signifies "you do not lie"; *ke-e-u* (or *keyu*) is the negative. The form used here is a strengthened one.

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241 followed by a dance in the evening. While the corn was in the ground the young people, under the supervision of some of their elders, were stationed in the fields, where small shelters were often built for them, and drove away any animals and birds coming to disturb it. The boys were armed with bows and arrows, and had acquired such skill with these that Bartram says they loaded themselves with squirrels, birds, and other small game in the course of the day.[77] According to the same writer the men took turns patrolling the field at night, "to protect their provisions from the depredations of night rovers, as bears, raccoons, and deer, the two former being immoderately fond of young corn, when the grain is filled with a rich milk, as sweet and nourishing as cream; and the deer are as fond of the Potatoe vines."[77]

When the harvest was ripe all proceeded to the field in the same manner, but this time each family garnered from his own plot. The women made sacks out of cowskins, and the corn was carried home in these after it had been shucked. Then it was laid away in rows in the different granaries, the better corn farther back as that which would last longest, the worse nearer the entrance. A portion of the harvest, however, each family contributed to a large corncrib, which Bartram says was called "the king's crib."[78] This constituted a [621] reserve supply upon which to fall back when the private granaries gave out. Or it was used to succor other towns, to feed travelers, to supply to war parties, and so on. It was, in fact, a kind of public commissary.

I was told that the ground of the hilis-haya or physic maker was planted by some of the old women in return for his services. This must refer to his garden plot. At Tukabahchee and Kealedji it was close to the northwestern edge of the grounds.

Hunting

224 Hunting and the ball play were close rivals for the second place after war in the esteem of the ancient Creeks. The former was of course a necessity and has its strictly economic side which does not here concern us. A few words may, however, be said regarding it from the social and religious points of view.

Elsewhere I have spoken of the ancient rights to hunting grounds and of the times of the year when hunting expeditions were undertaken.[78a]

The Creeks usually took medicines and washed their guns in them before they went after game. The Alabama, and probably the Creeks in general, steamed themselves thoroughly in the sweat house and then plunged into a cold stream before they set out. If several

[77] Bartram, Travels, p. 192. [78] Ibid., p. 510. [78a] See pp. 336-337, 404-405.

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796 173 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 642 •621 619 182 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

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at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved. 000

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable: 796 614

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'[35b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikinobânga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others."[36]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atâsâ, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[37] Atâsâ posts 796 642 621 619

[35b] This is really the horned owl.

[36] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134–135.

[37] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atâsâ sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

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796 are shown in Figure 5 of the preceding paper, from an early French sketch.[38] As in the reform movement of Hiawatha among the 642 Iroquois and similar reforms in other parts of the world, that perception of the injurious effects of war with which the confederacy started 621 was not carried on progressively toward its legitimate conclusion, 619 the absolute extinction of warfare, but halted part way. In the relative benefits which the new union conferred by introducing local peace were lost to sight the very much greater benefits which would have been conferred by carrying out the project to its only logical end. The local well being and warlike effectiveness of a certain group of tribes was very much advanced as compared with that of many of their neighbors, and with this they remained content.

796 The busk was in reality the fourth of a series of ceremonials, the first three of which are called "stomp dances" and included only a minimum of ceremony, being in a way preparatory to the great busk proper. It is likely that in ancient times these were of more importance and perhaps deserved the name of busk also. The time of these ceremonies was formerly fixed by the period of the new moon and therefore varied somewhat. The first stomp dance was usually in April, but sometimes probably in May, while the busk proper was usually in July but with some towns as late as August. In ancient times the date of the busk was supposed to be governed by the first ripening of the large or flour corn,[39] and this will account for the fact that among the Florida Seminole it is said to occur as early as June.[40]

The Koasati observed one of the three first stomp dances with more than ordinary care. It was the one held in May and was when the mulberries were ripe. It will be remembered that Adair says of the Koasati that "they annually sanctify the mulberries by a public oblation,"[41] and I was told as much by David Cummings, probably the only Creek living in 1912 who could remember about the old busk ground of the main body of Koasati, known as Koasati No. 1. He said that they busked in May when the mulberries were ripe and again when the roasting ears were ripe. Stiggins states that the Koasati celebrated the coming of the new crop of beans in addition to the coming of the new corn, and this was probably identical with the mulberry feast.[41a]

The following feast mentioned by Adair was perhaps at the time of one of these stomp dances—at least it was at the same time of the year—although there are features reminding one of the "old peoples' dance" which the Creeks held in October. Adair says of this feast:

[38] Journ. Société des Amér. de Paris, 1922.

[39] Adair says it was anciently fixed by "the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full eared," but later by the time of harvest. (Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.)

[40] See MacCauley, Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

[41] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 267.

[41a] See p. 568.

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619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Apalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łałogalga and Asilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłako, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tami with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad, and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

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614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagálgi, "White People," and Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tciloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tciloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tciloki. The Alligator is most often Tciloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tciloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tciloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohīł Yáhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

621 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups
624 in each town which had official functions. Some of these were

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determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała làbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or hołibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called istatcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

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ceremonial complications of any sort. It seems to have been usual to hold three of these dances in the spring and early summer, a month apart, the series paving the way for, and leading up to, the second ceremonial, the "busk," which was the great annual ritual. This last is usually considered as lasting four days, though in that four are included the days of assembling and departure. The principal event on the second day is the women's dance. On the third day the men fast, take medicine four times, and near its close march down to the creek and bathe. After they return, they are dismissed to their camps and break their fast. Later they are summoned to the square again where they dance four times, and then the dance becomes "common," visitors from friendly towns being admitted to it. A fire is kept up all night in the center of the square and dancing continues about it until it is nearly day. In former times many, perhaps all, of the towns extended their busks over eight days, but from what can be learned of these longer ceremonials they seem to have been in the main a simple doubling of the shorter ceremony, except for a few features like the kindling of the new fire which took place but once annually. 796

Let us now turn to the new material regarding the square grounds and the ceremonies conducted there. Under each heading I give the notes obtained from native informants belonging to the square or town in question.

ABIHKA

Figure 1 gives the general arrangement of the square of Abihka, or Talladega, and Plate 1, Figure 1, gives a view of the ground itself near Henryetta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912. The exposure was made from the southwest. 344 621 796

The medicines were taken first by those in the Bears' bed, then in succession by those in the beds of the Raccoon on the west side, the Raccoon on the east side, the Deer, and those in the south bed. The asimbonaia in the northern section of the east cabin acted more particularly as the chief's messenger; the one in the western compartment of the south cabin called first the women and then the children to come to take their medicine from the vessel at the north end of the east cabin. The ta'palas were changed every four years. The women gathered preparatory to their dance at a tree on the edge of the tâdjo (the ridge of sweepings that makes the edge of the ceremonial ground) and entered the section about the fire at its northwestern corner. Five pots of medicine were prepared at the north end of the west cabin (fig. 1, 11). Afterward one pot

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was placed a little farther north and west for the boys (12) and another was carried around to the north end of the east cabin for the women and children (13). The ingredients of this medicine

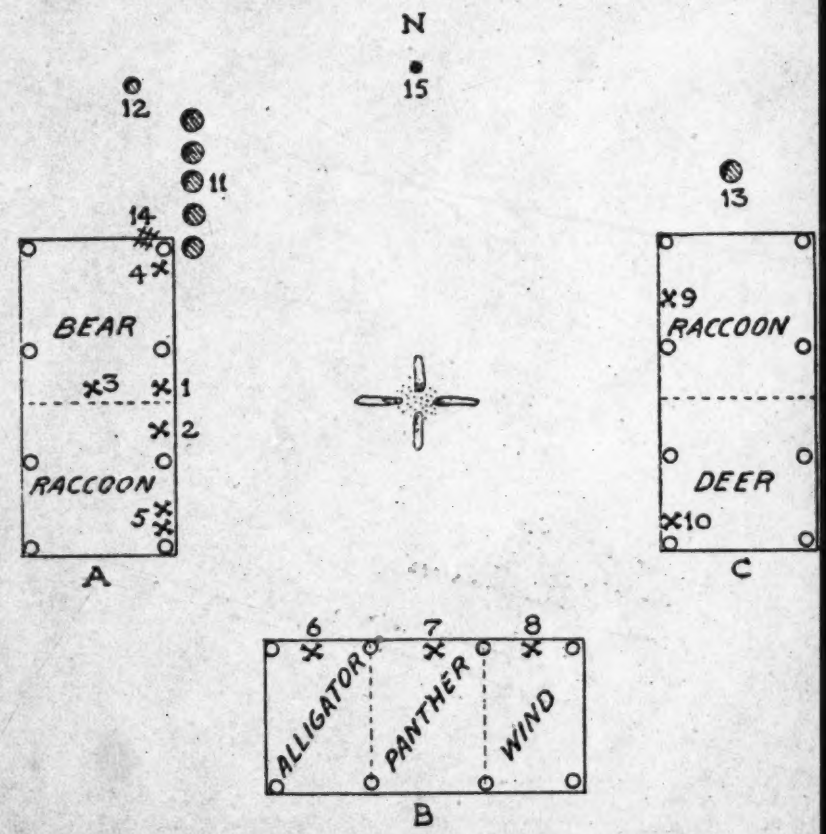

FIG. 1.—General arrangement of the square of Abihka.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa); 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Raccoon); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon); 4, hilis tcálaba; 5, yáháikas (any clan).
B. Henihas' Bed (henihálgi intupa): 6, asimbonaia (Alligator); 7, ta'pala (Panther); 8, ta'pala (Wind).
C. Warriors' Bed (tástánágálgi intupa): 9, asimbonaia (Raccoon); 10, tutka dīdja (Deer).

11, medicine pots (1st position); 12, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 13, medicine pot for women (2d position); 14, place where medicines were piled immediately after they were brought in; 15, ball post (pokábi).
It is to be noted that, in all of these diagrams, the ball post was actually much farther from the center of the square than is indicated.

were miko hoyanīdja ("red root"), pasa ("buttonsnake-root"), wīlana ("wormseed"), and hobága ("maypop"); tcato hátki ("white stones") were added. After the ceremony was about over and the fasters were ready to go down to bathe in the creek, what was left

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of the medicine was poured on the fire. It is said that one gallon of spring water was brought for all five pots. This must mean a gallon for each. Following are the busk names of the present officers:

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miko	Tcûktcât Henīha
henīha	Itchas Hadjo
hilis tcâlaba	Konip Yâhola
ta'pala	Katca Tâstânâgi
"	Kona Yâhola
tutka dīdja	Tâstânâkutci
asimbonaia	Wotko Fiksiko
"	Kapitca Hadjo

The Hathagâlgi of this town are Wind and Bear; the Tcilokogâlgi are Panther, Raccoon, Deer, Beaver, Alligator, and Bird.

My information regarding this ground was obtained mainly from Jim Star who described the Talladega ground to me in 1912, the plan of which is in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 205. The different aspect of the east cabin is mainly due to the fact that the earlier account gives a more ancient arrangement, when the warriors were graded into tâstânâgis, and big and little imałas. The position assigned to the hilis haya in the earlier plan is probably erroneous. The other differences are due mainly to the more extensive information obtained on my last trip. My new information disagrees with the older, however, in assigning the Bird, Beaver, and Alligator clans to the Tciloki side as was said to be the case at Abihka-in-the-West instead of to the White side as was given me for Talladega and the old Abihka town near Eufaula. It is probable that the new information is correct since the last mentioned square was given up when the man from whom I obtained data regarding it was a boy. However, it must be remembered that these allocations are not invariable and probably changed at times even within the same town.

OTCIAPOFA, OR HICKORY GROUND

Figure 2 shows the square ground of Otciapofa, popularly known as Hickory Ground.

The hilis tcâlaba was changed every four years and was not taken invariably from the same clan.

At the southernmost front post of the east cabin were fastened two poles with black feathers tied to the ends and at every other front post were three similar poles but with white feathers. These were carried by the men in the "feather dance."

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In the women's dance there is but one leader who carries a notched stick called atâsa, the old name of the war club, from the middle of which depends an eagle feather.

Besides the invariable miko hoyanīdja or "red root," the busk medicine contained tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), wīlana ("wormseed"), tutka-tcok-hissi (a place on the ground where wood has been burned and moss has sprung up), and hobâga ("maypop").

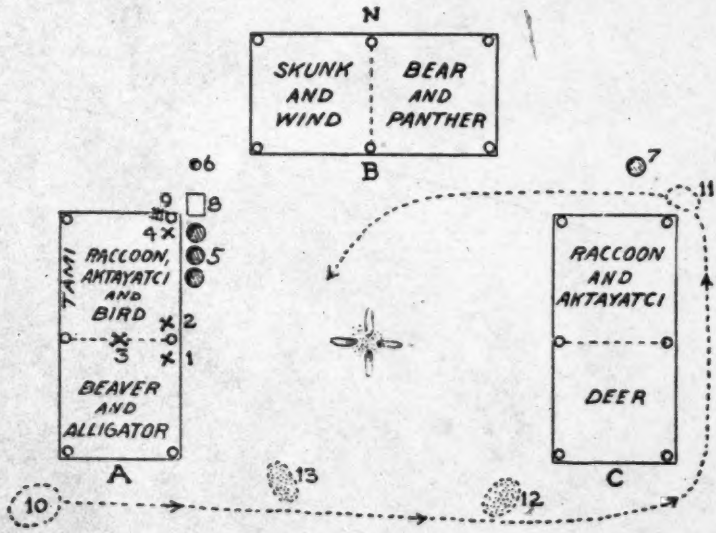

FIG. 2.—The square ground of Otciapofa, or Hickory Ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Beaver); 2, miko apokta (Beaver); 3, hilis haya (any clan; at present Wind); 4, hilis tcâlaba (changed every 4 years; now Beaver).
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.

5, medicine pots (1st position); 6, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 7, medicine pot for woman (2d position); 8, log on which medicines were laid and macerated with a small wooden pounder; 9, place where medicines were kept; 10, point where women gathered preparatory to their dance; 11, point where women made a final stop before entering to dance; 12, where the ashes from the central fire were deposited every year; 13, sweepings from the square ground (tâdjo); 14, ball post.

As usual, the doctor perfected this medicine by blowing into it through a hollow reed. Two men took medicine at the same time, using gourd dippers. After all were through a dipperful was poured on the fire.

For a drum they use a stout jar and there are two coconut-shell rattles.

There is a line of tâdjo (sweepings) around the four cabins but it does not include the ball post. In playing the single pole game a

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hit on the skull at the top counts five and a hit on the pole above a certain mark counts two when it is struck twice in succession.

The Hathagas consisted of the Beaver, Alligator, Bird, Bear, Skunk, Wind, and Rabbit; the Tcilokis of the Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and Aktayatci. The Rabbit, Wind, and Skunk formed one phratry.

The information regarding this ground which I obtained in 1912 was particularly incomplete. It is therefore gratifying to find that there are no serious discrepancies between the plan based on that (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 211) and the present information. Some clans are given in one and omitted from the other, but where the same ones appear in both they have practically the same positions except for the Bear, which, according to the earlier description, sat in the west cabin and according to the later at the east end of the north cabin; and the Tâmi, which the former places at the west end of the north cabin and the latter at the back of the northern section of the west cabin. The location of the miko, miko apokta or henīha, and hilis haya is probably more exact in the later plan which also adds many more details. The informants differed somewhat regarding the Hathagas and Tcilokis, the earlier authority placing the Beaver among the Tciloki and the Panther among the Whites, allocations exactly reversed by my later informant.

LITTLE TULSA

Next we come to one of the two divisions into which the Tulsa have recently split, this being known as Little Tulsa (fig. 3). Plate 1, Figure 2, shows the old Tulsa ground in 1911 from the southeast, before the fission had occurred.

It is said that all of the offices are filled from particular clans. The following is a list of the present officers; exclusive of the miko and his henīha:

tâstânâgi łako	Ispani Tâstânâgi
tâstânâgi	Kapitca Tâstânâgi
"	Lata Miko (controls the two above)
ahaga haiyâlgi ("law makers") (messengers for the tâstânâgis)	Kapitca Tâstânâgi (Aktayatci), and Tâmi Tâstânâgi (Tâmi)
simiabaia	Kântcati Miko (busk name) or Nokos Hadjo (common name)
hilis haya	Miko Tcâpko (Beaver)
hilis tcâlaba	Tâmi Yâhola (Tâmi)
tutka oktidjdja	Tâmâłâkutci (Tâmi)

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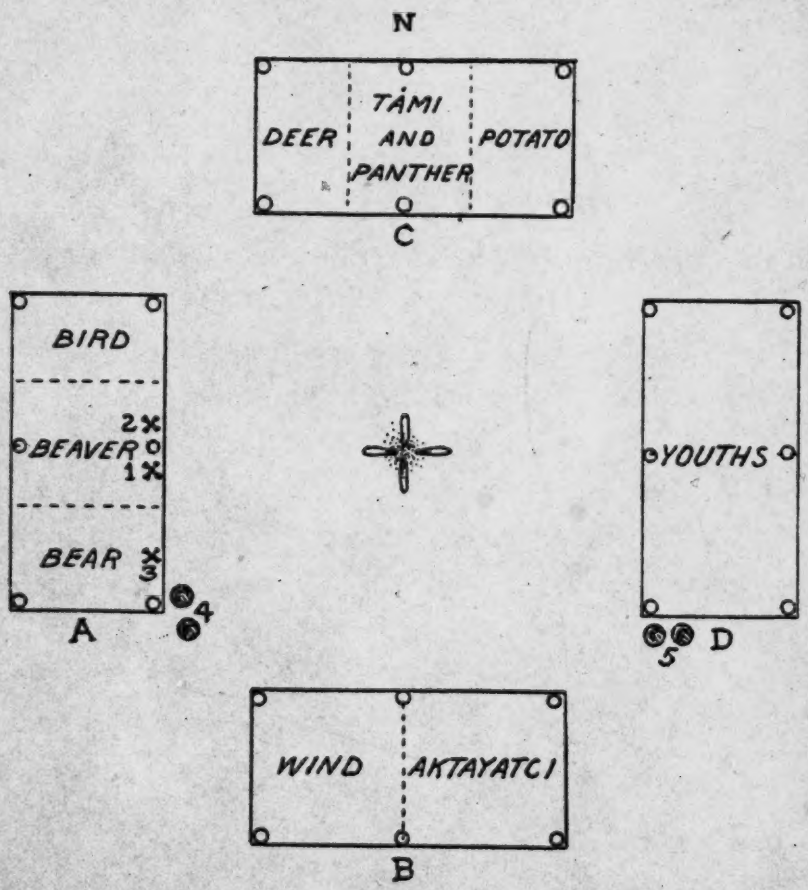

FIG. 3.—Little Tulsa square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko; 2, henīha; 3, simiabaia.
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

4, old location of medicine pots; 5, modern location of medicine pots.

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ta'pala	Nokos Fiksiko (Bear)
"	Tâmi Hâtkutci (Tâmi)
yâhaikas	Kapitca Fiksiko (Aktayatci), and Pin Hadjo (Tâmi)
Captain of the Light Horsemen	Yâhola Tcâpko (Tâmi)
Light Horsemen	Oktcân Hadjo (Bear) Fûs Yâholutc (Beaver) Kapitcutci (Aktayatci)

The ta'palas functioned at the women's dance, the yâhaikas sang at the women's dance and at the feather dance.

My original Tulsa data, published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (p. 213), was obtained from an old man and was intended to reflect the most ancient arrangement he could remember. Since that time the Tulsa Indians who used to meet at the Little River ground have divided and maintain two distinct squares. The general agreement between the older and the later plan is therefore surprisingly close. The principal difference seems to be in the position given the Aktayatci who appear in the north bed in the earlier plan and in the south bed in the later one. The earlier plan may also be in error in the position given the medicine pots but this was subject to change from town to town and during the ceremony itself. The Eagle clan, which appears on the older plan, died out so long ago that it can barely be remembered by any living Creeks.

NUYAKA

The plan of this ground is given in Figure 4 and a view of it as it appeared some years ago in Plate 2, Figure 1.

The positions of hilis haya, hilis tcâlaba, and tutka dîdja were held for four years when the man and clan were changed so as to teach others the duties of these offices. The tâstânâgis and imałas had become confined to one or two clans. The hoktâgi immiko and his heniha controlled the women's dance and were called istatcagas. The term hola'ta was applied to a certain class at the square ground in some towns, sometimes to the Tcilokis, but its application here is not explained. The first ta'pala acted under the women's chief. He was taken from the Bear clan, or, failing that, from the following in order of preference: Wind, Raccoon, Tâmi.

In taking the medicines they drank of the miko hoyanîdja first and pasa second.

A rock was placed under the miko's seat "to make the seat heavy." Anciently there was a tcokofa northeast of the square. Nowadays the ground is hoed off only once a year.

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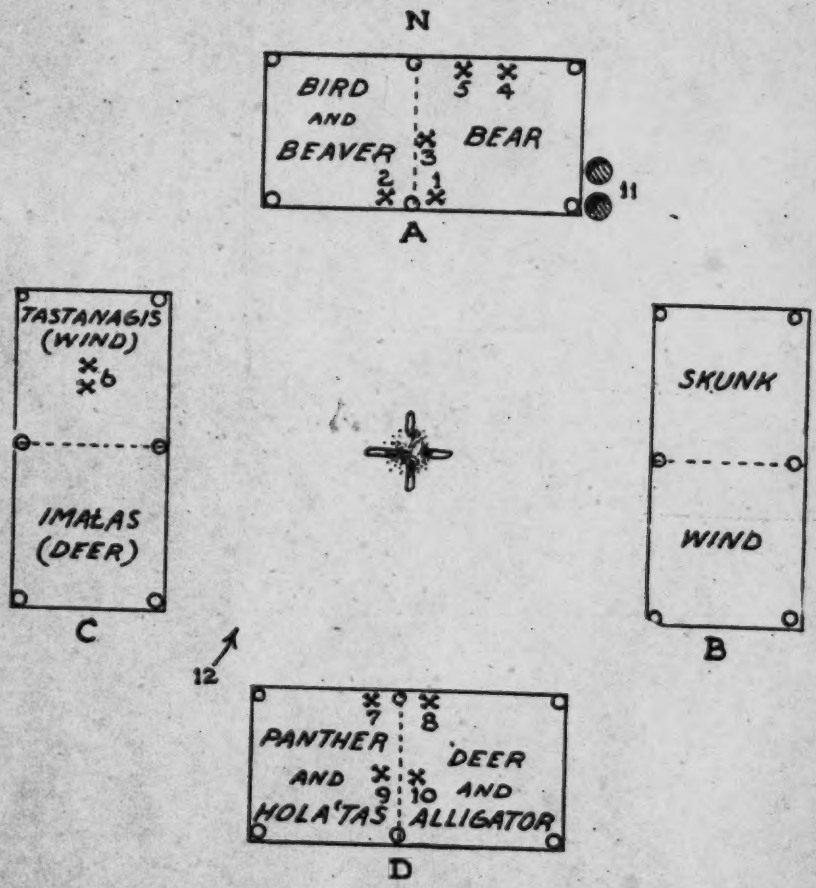

FIG. 4.—Nuyaka square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (usually Wind; Deer in 1929); 3, hilis haya (changed every 4 years; Turkey in 1929); 4, hilis tcálaba (Alligator); 5, tutka dīdja (Raccoon).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed; 6, two tàstànàgis (or law makers).

D. Tcilokis' Bed (Tcilokogálgi intupa), or Tàsikaias' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa): 7, hoktàgi immiko (Aktayatci); 8, henīha for hoktàgi immiko (Alligator); 9, 1st ta'pala (Bear preferentially); 10, 2d ta'pala (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, point at which women enter; 13, ball post.

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In this town the Turkey and Alligator clans belong in one phratry and so do the Wind and Skunk.

The present officers are as follows:

miko	Nokos Miko
henīha	Miko Tcápko
hilis haya	Tástánákutci
tutka oktidīdja	Hotálgi Hadjudji
hilis tcálaba	Lōdja Yáhola
hoktági immiko	Wotko Yáhola

When the present Nuyaka data are compared with that which I obtained in 1912 for Nuyaka and the related towns Okfuskee, Abihkutci, Talmutcási, and Tcatoksofa, the agreement is found to be close except in the cases of the two last where the square grounds had long been given up and were described by individuals from memories of their early years. The main correction is in locating the miko, henīha, and hilis haya and the difference here is not great.

PAKAN TALLAHASSEE

Figure 5 gives the plan and Plate 2, Figure 2, and Plate 3, Figure 1, views of the ground, one showing the three cabins, or arbors, and the other the chunk yard and ball post.

The tutka oktidīdja, hilis tcálaba, hilis haya, and oīdjawas, were appointed every four years from any clan. The ta'palas and hilis hoboia were appointed every four years from the same clan. The miko and asimbonaias held their positions for life.

Here we seem to meet some strange innovations. The Bears' section of the south cabin receives one name connected with war, tásikaiálgi intupa, and the section of the Birds, Beavers, and Alligators another, tástánágálgi intupa, while, at the same time, they are White or Hathaga clans and their cabin is called hathagálgi intupa. Yet one section of the west cabin is called tástánágálgi intupa also, and the whole cabin receives the unusual name of láksáfáskálgi intupa, "bed of the Blacks," the Blacks being evidently the clans elsewhere called tcilōkogálgi.

The tcokofa was to the northwest and this was the last town to put up such a structure.

The Birds' section was called istatcagági intupa. The Deer and Pahosálgi were formerly called the imalágálgi.

Three poles with white feathers attached were fastened to each of the front posts for use in the feather dance.

Back of the tástánágis' section of the west cabin was a little structure in which to inclose the medicine pots when they were not in use.

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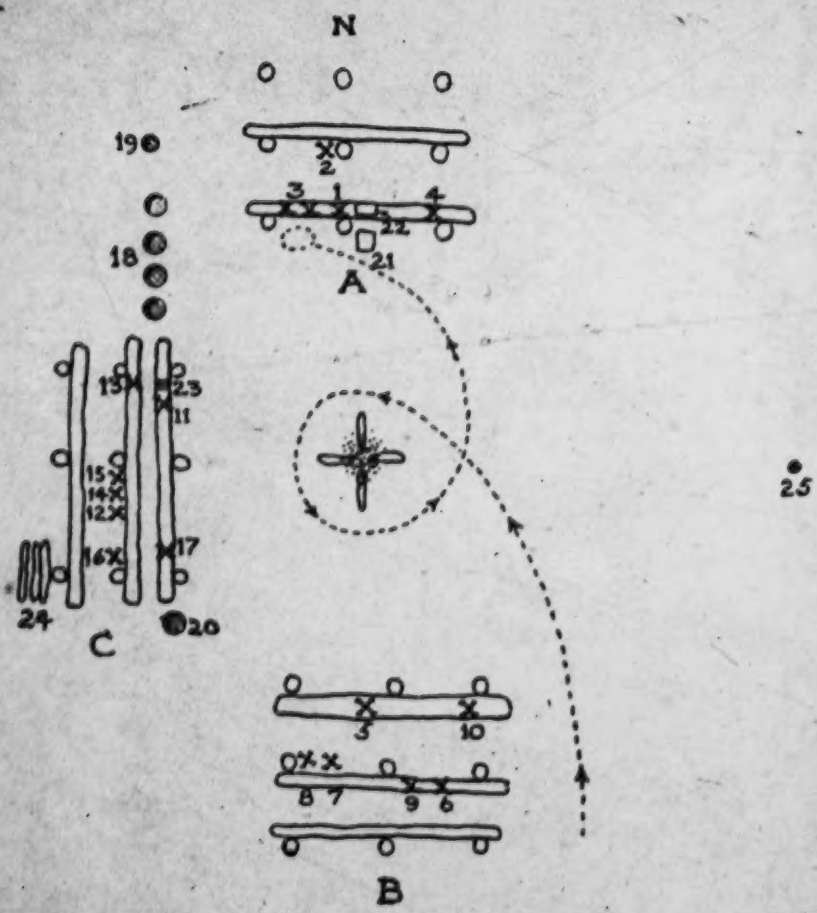

FIG. 5.—Square ground of Pakan Tallahassee.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi intupa): 1, miko (Bear); 2, hilis haya (Panther in 1929); 3, yáhaikas (singers for women); 4, dog whipper.

B. Whites' Bed (hathagálgi intupa): 5, asimbonaia (Bird); 6, ta'pala (Bear); 7, hilis hoboia (Bird); 8, oïdjawa (Bird); 9, oïdjawa (Bear); 10, dog whipper.

C. Blacks' Bed (laksáfáskálgi intupa): 11, asimbonaia (Deer); 12, ta'pala (Bird; father Raccoon); 13, hilis tcálaba (Deer in 1929); 14, tutka oktididja (Raccoon in 1929); 15, hilis hoboia (Raccoon in 1929); 16, oïdjawa (Panther in 1929); 17, dog whipper.

18, medicine pots (1st position); 19, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 20, medicine pot for women (2d position); 21, drum; 22, box for tobacco; 23, place where medicine was laid before being used; 24, woodpile; 25, ball post. The dotted line marks the course pursued by the women when they entered to dance.

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In this town* the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, Tâmi, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous. 344 621 796 526

The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai, Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

miko .....Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird)
asimbonaia .....Tâstânâk Imała (Deer)
" .....Tâstânâk Hadjo (Bird)
hilis haya .....Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther)
hilis tcâlaba .....Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer)
oidjawâlgi .....1. Fus Yâholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)
2. Hotâlgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)
3. Halâk Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry)
hilis hoboia .....1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)
2. Tâlsi Yâhola (Bird)
ta'pala .....1. Halâk Yâhola ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon)
" .....2. Hotâlgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind)
tutka oktididja ...Itco-ili Imała ("Deer Foot Imała") (Raccoon, father Deer)
yâhaikas .....1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated)
" .....2. Miko Yâhola (Bear)

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atâsa held by the leading woman is red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is white and has a feather of the fus hâtki ("white bird"), a bird found down by the creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to 14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta'palas stand about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each carries a wand called sî'dik-kika having a white feather fastened to the end. 344 621 796

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

*[i.e., Pakan Tallahassee. -- Analyst]

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About 54 men were present at the last preceding busk and 25 women and girls participated in the dance.

At the top of the pokábi in this town was a horse skull. In scoring for this game they draw a line from the ball post to the nearest corner of the south cabin. When the skull is struck, 4 are scored; when the pole under the skull is struck, it counts 2 on the way out and 1 on the way back. They may count it as a game, however, by agreement when they reach the corner post. The women's tallies are marked on one side of the line, the men's on the other.

There is little difference except in detail between the above plan of Pakan Tallahassee and the several I recorded in 1912.

WIOGUFKI

The plan of Wiogufki is given in Figure 6 and a view of the ground from the southwest in Plate 3, Figure 2.

There is a little log house on the grounds in which the pots are stored when not in use to keep them from being broken. There never was a north cabin so far as my informant knew. On the upper end of the ball post is a cow skull.

The women walk four times around the fire; then their leaders stop opposite the singers and they begin to dance.

The hilis tcálaba holds office for four years. In this town the place of the miko's henīha is taken by a tástánągi. Indeed all of the tástánągis are considered the same as the henīhas. They are called "the people who are named" and are of the nature of lawmakers and assistants to the miko. The miko's tástánągi is also the same thing as the yatika. There are no istatcagagis (retired leaders who acted as councillors), and no Creek town now has a holibonaia. There are five water boys picked at random. At the front posts of each cabin are four poles with feathers tied to the ends for use in the "feather dance."

The two leading women in the women's dance carry atása. The principal function of the ta'palas is to call the women up for their dance which they do four times. Each has a wand with a little white feather at the end. Their official positions do not end with the women's dance but continue to the end of the busk.

No medicine is now put on the firesticks but it was formerly done. The only medicine they use at the busk is the miko hoyanīdja, to which nothing is added.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as in Hilibi. They were exogamous, and if the exogamic law was violated the ears of the culprits were cut off.

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The towns of Wakokai, Tukpafka, and Talahasutci were all one with this. In regular ball games they always played against Alabama.

Comparison between the plan given above and the two obtained in 1912 shows considerable differences, but since one of the former

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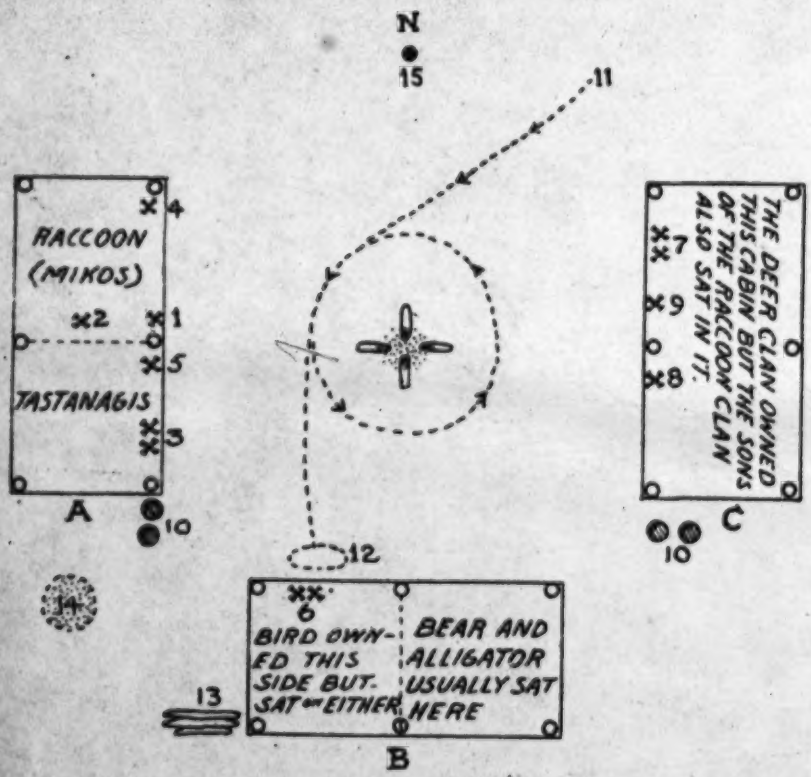

FIG. 6.—Square ground of Wiogufki.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Alligator); 2, hilis haya; 3, hilis tcálaba (Bear and Deer); 4, hilis hoboia (Panther); 5, a tàstánàgi (instead of heníha) (Raccoon).

B. Whites' Bed: 6, yáhaikas (Deer).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, ta'pala (Raccoon); 8, hilis hoboia (Deer); 9, tutka oktidldja (Deer).

10, medicine pots (near bed A for men; near bed C for women and boys); 11, point where women enter to dance; 12, point where women begin dancing; 13, woodpile; 14, ashes of old fires; 15, ball post.

was obtained from the same man, I think the explanation lies in the smallness of the town and the weakness of many of the clans which has resulted in many changes within a comparatively short time. Nevertheless there is a general correspondence and the allocation of clans to the moieties also agrees except in the case of

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the Panther clan. This is explained by the fact that the Panther was anciently considered a White clan and later came to be regarded as Tciloki.

OKCHAI

Figure 7 shows the arrangement of this square and Plate 4, Figure 1, shows a view of it taken in winter.

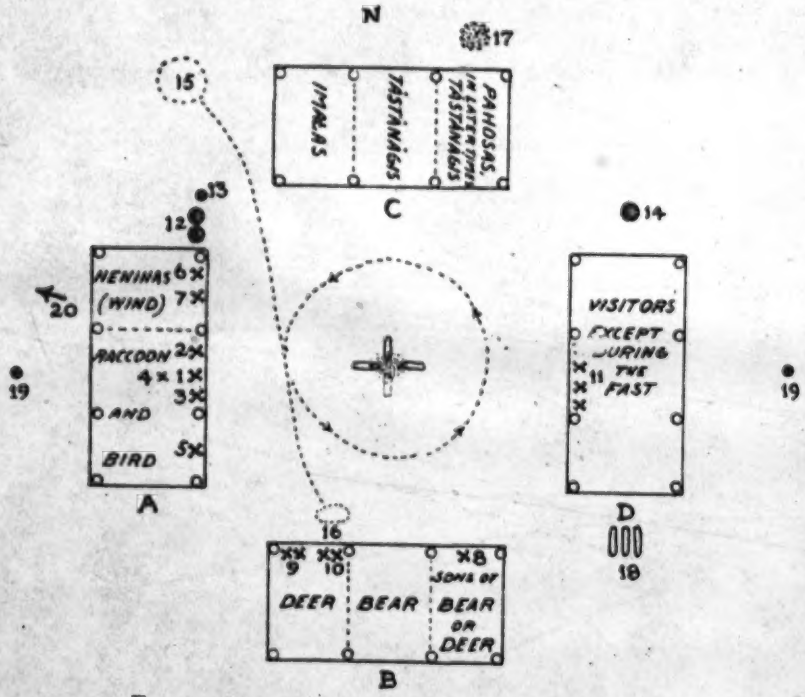

FIG. 7.—Arrangement of square ground of Okchai.

A. Chiefs' Bed 1, miko (Raccoon formerly; Bear in 1929); 2, heníha (Deer); 3, yatika (Deer formerly; Wind in 1929); 4, hilis haya; 5, ta'pala (any clan); 6, hilis tcálaba (Bird); 7, tutka oktidīdja (Wind).

B. Henihas' Bed: 8, ta'pala (any clan); 9, hilis hoboia; 10, yáhaikas (any clan).

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. Youths' Bed: 11, oidjawa (any clan).

12, medicine pots; 13, medicine pot for boys; 14, medicine pot for women; 15, point where women assemble preparatory to their dance; 16, point where women start dancing; 17, ashes of previous fires; 18, woodpile; 19, ball posts; 20, a spring lies in this direction.

The hilis tcálaba, ta'pala, and tutka oktidīdja changed every four years. The hilis haya was reappointed every four years.

Wiley Buckner, an old informant of mine, was the former yatika. The tutka oktidīdja in 1929 was Hotálgi Miko.

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The medicine was pounded up just in front of the pots at the north end of the chiefs' bed.

The fire was brought from Alabama in the great migration and new fire was lighted from it. They dug up the earth as deep as the arm would reach, put the fire in there, and made the new fire on top. This is the very spot at which they first placed their square in Oklahoma and it has not been moved. The squares of the kindred towns, Łáłogálga and Ásilanabi, are not so old.

There were two poles with feathers on the ends at each of the front posts of the cabins all the way round.

Atása were borne by the two women who led in the women's dance.

The tástánágis were law makers. They had charge of the rules governing the taking of medicine and if anyone broke one of these regulations they made him stay in the square ground all night without eating instead of breaking his fast that evening as was usual.

In the various beds of this square ground the "sons of the clan" can sit with their fathers.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as at Hilibi.

Their principal opponents in the ball games years ago were the Hilibi.

This arrangement agrees substantially with that obtained by me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 234), the principal difference being in the location of the Bear and Bird clans. My earlier informants placed the Bird and Aktayatci in the middle of the south cabin and the Bear at the east end of the same, while the later ones said nothing of the Aktayatci but placed the Bird clan in the southern section of the west cabin and the Bear clan in the center of the south cabin, the sons of the Bear being located next to them on the east. The arrangement of this square must be taken in connection with the plans of Łáłogálga and Ásilanabi.

ŁAŁOGÁLGA, OR FISH POND

For a plan of this ground, see Figure 8.

The tutka oktidīdja is appointed every four years but always from the Aktayatci clan. The hilis hoboia are chosen every four years and ordinarily from the Aktayatci and Bear clans but this is not necessarily the case. However, if one dies before his four years have expired he is replaced by someone of his clan. The hilis hoboia also act as the hilis tcálaba.

Ta'palas are appointed only when needed. There are no special water carriers, the hilis hoboia calling upon any boys for this purpose whenever water is required.

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The two leaders among the women carry atàsa, that held by the first being colored red, that by the second white.

One of the two medicine pots contains pasa; the other the miko hoyanīdja along with wīlana, tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), which

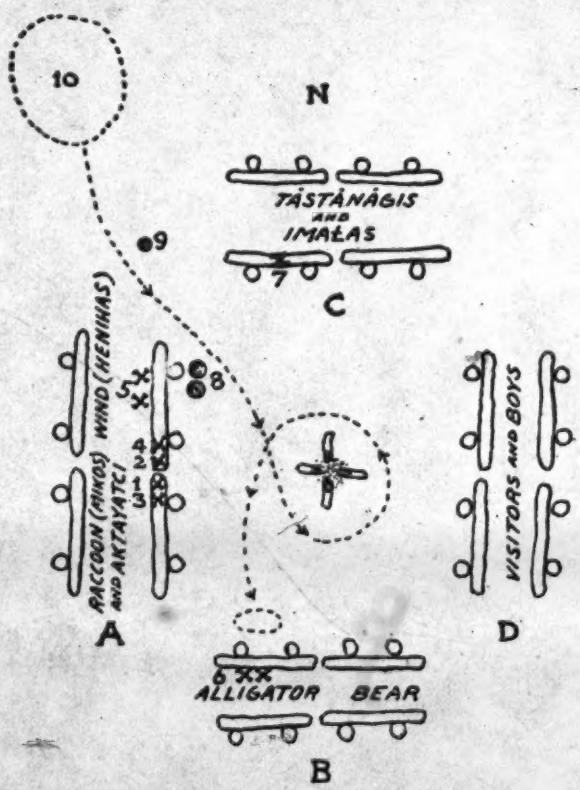

FIG. 8.—The square ground of Łałogàlga, or Fish Pond.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, heniha (or 2d chief) (Wind); 3, asimbonaia or yatika (head speaker, drawn from any clan); 4, hilis haya (any clan); 5, hilis hoboiz.

B. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa); 6, yàhaikas (no fixed clan).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, tutka oktidīdja (Aktayatci).

8, medicine pots; 9, boys' medicine; 10, point where women assembled preparatory to the dance.

grows in wet places in swamps and has red flowers, tcàto hàtkutci (four "little white rocks"), and tutka-tcok-hissi (green moss from an old fireplace).

If one has eaten new roasting ears he is given a little pasa root to chew and then a little pasa in cold water of which he must take four drinks. Then he can take all of the medicines like the others.

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Some of the medicine is swallowed, the rest spit out. The doctor sees that the medicines are taken and fines those who neglect to do so.

There is a town policeman called istikonā'ha who carries out the orders of the miko against those who have refused to obey him, and collects fines from them. The incumbent in 1929 was Maxcy Alakotci. When I interviewed them they were using the tàstànàgi as the town miko.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Wind, Bird, and Alligator; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Potato.

The Aktayatci are said to have formed one phratry with the Raccoon.

In match games, they played against Tukabahchee, Atasi, Łapłàko, Eufaula, Hilibi, and Kealedji. Alabama was formerly of the same fire but later drew away.

This year (1929) they did not use the pasa. The Àsilanabi square ground is arranged just like this one, but the Okchai differ from these two a little in the use of their medicines. It is thought that Àsilanabi is older than Łàłogàlga and that the latter branched off in order to get the extra money that was paid to its six representatives in the national assembly.

Except that there is more detail, the arrangement given here differs only slightly from that which I recorded in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 236). The only noteworthy divergence is in the position assigned to the Deer clan by my earlier informants, but this may be attributed to the fact that the miko apokta was then a Deer and his clan was probably brought over to the west cabin for that reason. As we should expect, the agreement is also close with the arrangement of the Àsilanabi ground though there are minor divergencies in the allocation of clans to the south cabin. All of my authorities agreed well in assigning clans to the two moieties, but the oldest of all of them thought that the Beaver and Alligator were probably Tcilokí. This may have been the ancient arrangement.

TUKABAHCHEE

The plan of Tukabahchee square appears in Figure 9 and a view of it as it looked in 1912 is given in Plate 5, Figure 1.

The number of tàstànàgis is indeterminate. The toba mawīdine were officers not otherwise named who always remained in the cabins. There is one in each of the 12 beds except a part of the southeast cabin as indicated. They were selected from any clan, given names taken from the father's clan, and seated with the latter. Thus, if

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a man were a Deer and his father a Raccoon, they would give him a name from the Raccoon clan's names and seat him with them. After being so seated these officers were not obliged to do any further work connected with the busk.

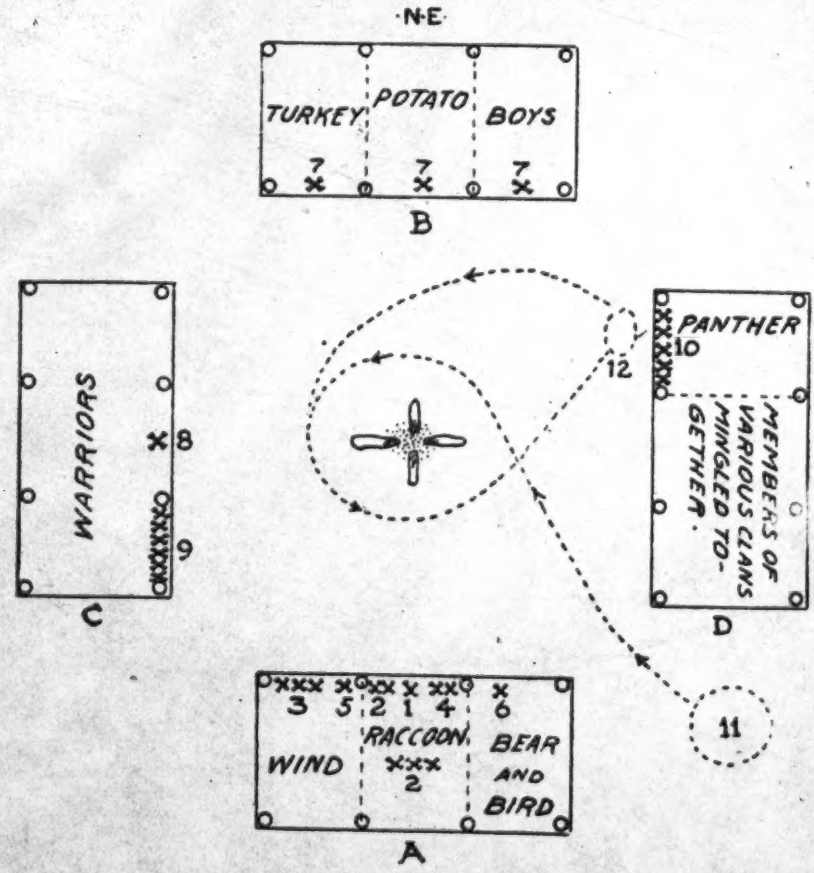

FIG. 9.—Tukabahchee square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, mikos (substitutes) (Raccoon); 3, henīhas (Wind); 4, henīhas and yatikas; 5, hilis haya; 6, ta'pala.
B. Potato Bed; sometimes also called Youths' Bed: 7, 7, 7, toba mawidīne.
C. Warriors' Bed: 8, ta'pala; 9, tàstànàgi łàkàlgi.
D. Youths' Bed (Tcibànàgàlgi intupa): 10, yàhaikas; 11, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 12 point where the women start dancing.

The istatcagagis, most of whom sat in the southeast bed, were like a jury, or like a committee, to settle matters of routine. They comprised both men and women. The admittance of women to this select group is something which I heard from no other informant.

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A man was picked out of the bed of the henīhas to speak for others, *i. e.*, the yatikas were selected from the henīhas. None was used in the stomp dance. As payment for his services the yatika was given a deer hide and a ribbon. When he was wanted by the miko he was summoned four times, but he did not start until he had received the fourth call. He set a basket on the ground into which all of the tàsikaias threw bits of tobacco to be taken to the singers for the women as payment for their services.

The hołibonaia was a special speaker used in the ball game and in war. The term asimbonaia was about equivalent to that of yatika. He was a head man chosen from among the tàstànàgis for almost any purpose. He listened to any message which the miko wished to give out and then repeated it aloud.

There were two hilis tcàlaba who sat with their clans and were summoned whenever needed. One was a Raccoon and one a Bear.

There were two oktidīdja who sat with their clans or wherever they belonged until summoned to attend to the fire.

Four hilis hoboia, selected from any clans, were sent to gather the medicine.

All of the tàsikaias shared in getting water.

The famous Tukabahchee plates were taken out and cleaned four years in succession and then left covered for four years.

The feather dance was discontinued at Tukabahchee when my informant was a small boy.

The three leading women in the women's dance carry atàsa. The leading woman has an eagle feather on her atàsa, the second a white crane feather, and the other the feather of a third bird, perhaps a goose. They start one at a time and when the third moves all the rest follow. After they have walked round the fire four times they begin to dance and circle the fire again six times.

The Hathagas were Bird, Wind, Bear, and Beaver; the Tcilokis were Turkey, Alligator, Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and any others.

In olden times the moieties were exogamous. The Raccoon and Potato were then brothers, or rather half brothers, but intermarriage between them is now common. Even today, however, the Beaver and Bird will seldom intermarry. The Bird was the "uncle" of the Beaver and the Beaver the former's "nephew."

A man's children called his father's clan "fathers." One can say anything he wishes to, however disrespectful, about his own clan, but he must not speak against his father's clan or permit anyone else to.

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The general arrangement is the same as that obtained from the father of my informant in 1911-12 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 244), but the stations here assigned to some of the individual officers are probably more nearly correct, particularly the locations of the mikos.

KEALEDJI

Figure 10 shows the Kealedji square.

The hoktâgi immiko, "women's chief," supervised the women's dance. There are now no regular water carriers. The imałas formerly sat in the north cabin, but now there are no officers so called. The beds are called by the names of the clans which occupy them. If the asimbonaia is wanted to deliver a speech, he is called over to the miko's seat for that purpose. For tâstânâgis the best men are chosen. The ta'palas are changed every four years. In former times they had a regular four days' busk, but now it lasts for but one day and there is no feather dance.

In the match games they played against Okchai, Wiogufki, and Tulsa.

The Hathagas are Wind, Bear, Panther, and Turkey; the Tcilokis are Raccoon, Deer, and Aktayatci. In ancient times these moieties were exogamous.

The names of the present officers are as follows:

miko	Kasihta Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Henīha Imałutci (Wind)
miko apokta	Kayomulgi (Raccoon)
hoktâgi immiko	Wiwohka Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Oīkas Hadjo (Wind)
asimbonaia	Kōsa Fiksiko (Bear)
ta'pala	Tâlmutcâs Hadjo (Bear)
"	Alak Hadjutci (Turkey)
hilis tcâlaba	Kân Tcati (Wind)
" "	Itco Imała Fiksiko (Deer)
tutka oktidīdja	Ahali Imała
hilis hoboia	Tâłkōna Hadjo (Wind)
" "	Hotâlgi Fiksiko (Wind)
tâstânâgi	Tâstânâk Tcâpko
"	Tâstânâkutci
"	Inheniha (= henīha)
"	Tâłkōna Hadjo

The plan of the revived square ground of the Kealedji agrees in all essentials with the one given me in 1912 from memory by a very old man, except that in recent times the Deer clan seems to have lost its importance or died out. It is interesting to find that old

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and recent informants agree in assigning the Panther clan to the White moiety. They differ, however, regarding the position of the

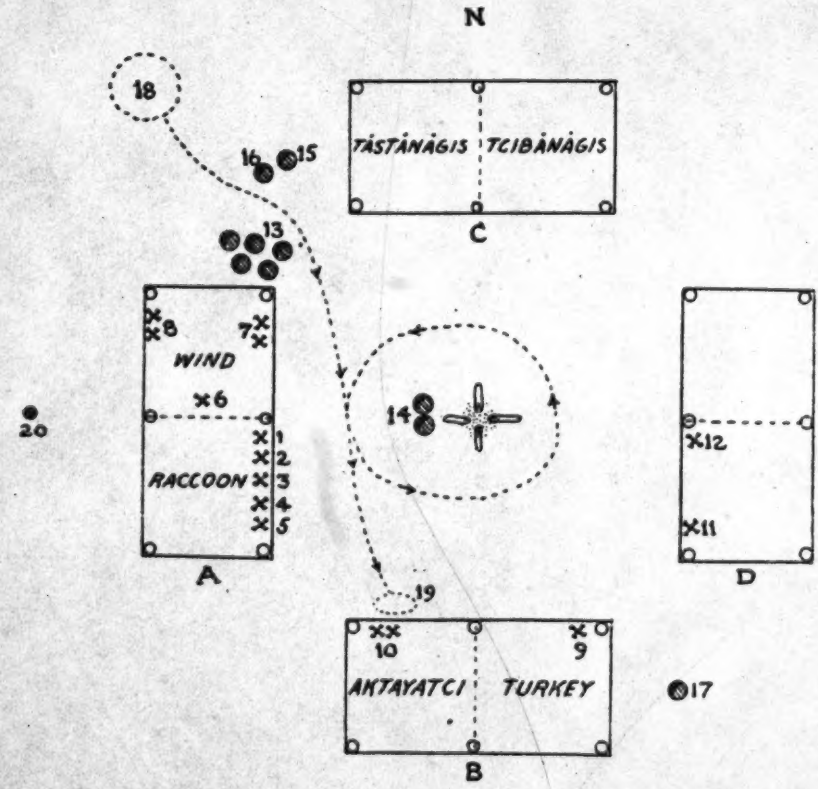

FIG. 10.—The Kealedji square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, heníha (Wind); 3, miko apokta (Raccoon); 4, hoktàgi immiko (Raccoon); 5, heníha (Wind); 6, hilis haya (usually Raccoon; Wind in 1929); 7, hilis tcàlaba (Deer and Wind); 8, hilis hoboia (Wind).

B. Youths' Bed: 9, ta'pala (Turkey); 10, yàhaikas.

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. White Bed: 11, asimbonaia (Bear); 12, ta'pala (Bear).

13, medicine pots (1st position); 14, medicine pots for those fasting (2d position); 15, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 16, medicine pot for girls (2d position); 17, medicine pot for women (2d position); 18, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 19, point where women start dancing; 20, ball post.

Turkey, which the earlier informant considered Tciloki and the later White. But this clan, together with the Alligator and Tàmi, is known to have been on one side in some towns and on the opposite in others.

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ŁAPLÀKO

Figure 11 shows the plan of this ground.

The two pots of medicine were prepared where they are shown (nos. 4 and 5) and remained there all of the time. The Bird clan sat

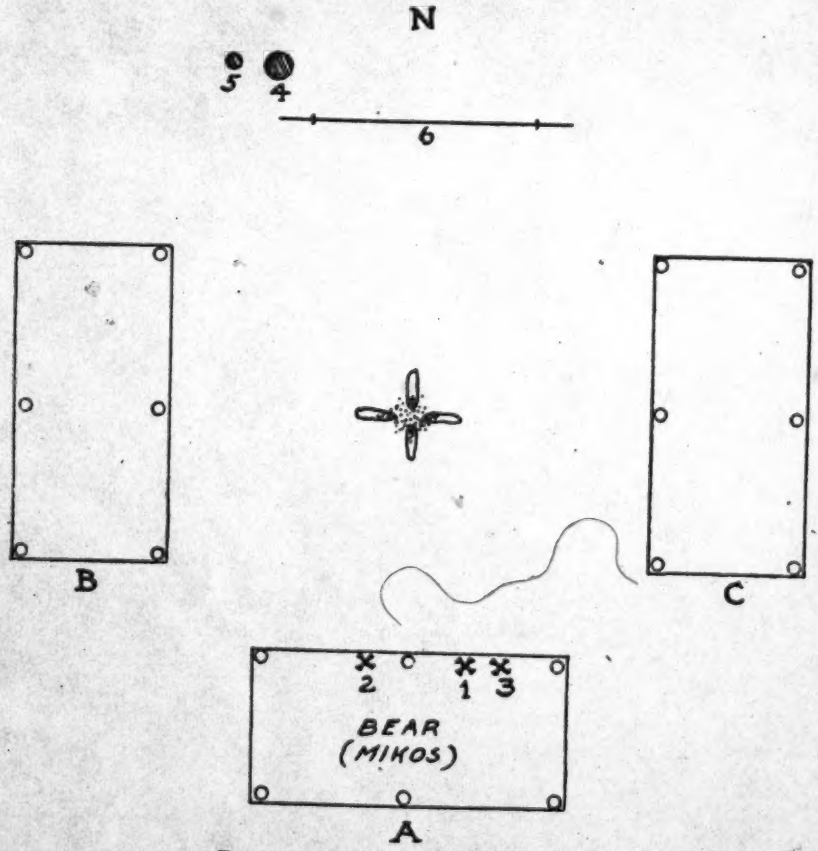

FIG. 11.—Square ground of Łaplàko.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha or miko apokta (Bird); 3, yatika (sometimes seated here).

B. Warriors' Bed. This was usually occupied by middle aged men of various clans.

C. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa). Occupied by various classes, including persons not properly citizens of the town but taking medicine there, men married in the town or adopted into it, and men whose fathers belonged to it.

4, a large pot of medicine for the fasters; 5, a small pot of medicine for the women and children; 6, rack for ball sticks.

anywhere. The yatika belonged to no regular clan, and at the present time there is no such officer. There are two hilis tcàlaba who occupy no special seats, and one hilis haya who is taken from any clan of a friendly town. Towns belonging to the other town moiety do not

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take medicine with them and in fact are not invited except in the case of individuals married into the town.

The Hathagas are the Bear (the most important of them), Bird, Beaver, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Deer, Potato, Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator, etc. Here the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver can intermarry; in Eufaula they could not. But probably this means that the Beaver could intermarry with the other two, as the Alligator and Turkey were seldom allowed to marry under any circumstances. The Bird and Beaver were classed together in Łapłáko, but this group does not include the Bear or Wind. The Hathaga clans had the reputation of being progressive while the Tcilokis were full-bloods and reactionaries. This characterization probably followed the coming of the white people.

The towns of the opposite group were called Tálipoła, which means " foreign but not unfriendly."

The word Łapłáko indicates a place where there are many marshes filled with canes. This town square, which had been discontinued, was revived in the year 1903 in this way. They had to prepare a ground in order to take medicine before a game with the Nuyaka Indians next year. Later this was improved with regular cabins, but it must have been inconspicuous or have been considered unimportant, as I heard nothing about it in 1912.

Łapłáko and Atasi are now nearly fused on account of the number of marriages between individuals belonging to them. Before the Civil War the Łapłáko had an Atasi Indian named Hotálgi Hadjo married among them as their hilis haya. One of the great men of Łapłáko in former times was Jim Boy (Tástánągi Imała) whom my informant remembers to have seen. He thinks he died just before the Civil War broke out. McKenney and Hall (History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. 2, pp. 71-74) give a portrait of this chief and a considerable account of his life. He was born in what is now Alabama in 1793 and accompanied the warriors of his town during the Creek War of 1813-14, but was too young for active participation. In the war with the Seminole he was one of the leaders of the Creek contingent which aided the Americans. The exact date of his death seems to be unknown.

The arrangement of the modern ground differs more from those described to me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 254 and 255) than any of the others. The first of the latter was obtained from a very old man who should have known the ancient arrangement well, but of course my interpreter and I may have misunderstood him. The cabins are at different points of the compass

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and more confusion is shown in the later organization, but they agree in stating that the miko belonged to the Bear clan and in placing that clan in the south cabin. My older informant allocated this clan with the Tciloki. This was probably an error on his part but he seemed to insist upon it.

They have had no busk since the Civil War and no women's dance, and the pasa is no longer used, only the miko hoyanīdja. The dances in the square are three stomp dances. Seven days before one of these the "broken days" are sent out and on the day when the sixth stick is thrown away they are all to be at the ground, while on the seventh they are supposed to be taking medicine. Seven days before the dance they also meet and pick out four clean young men, called hilis hoboia, men whose wives are not pregnant, who are not given to intoxicants, and who have not attended to the digging of a grave during the preceding month. These men gather four bundles of medicine (miko hoyanīdja) which they lay down with their tip ends toward the west. First they spread out a bed of leaves called lodja issi, "turtle leaves," which should be taken from hickory trees. The medicine is laid on top of these and more leaves are spread over it. On the morning of the fast day all of those who are to take medicine are supposed to present themselves at the square ground. The fire is built up so that it will not go out all day. Early in the morning the two hilis tcâlaba prepare the medicine, first the medicine for the women and children and then that for the adult men. This is taken four times during the day, the fourth time between one and two o'clock. Before they take the medicine the yatika announces, on behalf of the chief, that each of those intending to take it is to get a stick and throw it into a blanket. These sticks are counted and the yatika announces the number. Four times (or sometimes twice) during the day the men who are to take medicine with the exception of the officials (the mikâlgi, yatika, hilis haya, and the two-ta'pala) go out to get firewood so as to be ready for the dance that night. Four men are selected to keep watch of the fasters during the night, to see that no one sleeps or breaks his fast, or drinks or goes with a woman. That is why the numbers are taken. These four men are called istikonā'ha, "men taking away," because they take away the hat of anyone found sleeping (and treat similarly anyone who breaks the taboos in other ways). The hat they carry to the miko and, when the owner comes to get it, he is fined.

After they have taken medicine for the fourth time, they go to the creek for a bath and then return to the square. The yatika

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talks to them telling them to take care of themselves all of that night, and then they scatter to the camps to eat. Before sundown, however, they are supposed to be back on the ground. The yatika calls to them four times and by the fourth time they are to be in their seats. When all are in their places, the two ta'pala are selected. The yatika makes a speech on behalf of the miko, calling upon his hearers not to act in an unfriendly way toward the outside friends who are about to be admitted to the dance, not to take liquor, to behave themselves all through the night, not to fight, and so on. This speech is addressed to the town people and outsiders alike. After it the fasters dance four times and then the visitors are admitted. That "kills the fast." All through the day the square is to be kept clean with the idea that the fasters will in consequence be clean. They go up to take the medicine two by two, and those who are ceremonially unclean take the medicine last. They dance until about daybreak. Then all belonging to the town go down to the branch and bathe, after which they return and sit in their respective beds. Then a collection may be taken to defray their expenses and they settle other matters. The night before, the chief of a friendly town may have announced a dance, and, if so, the announcement is now made and advice given as to how they are to help their friends. This advice is uttered by the yatika, speaking for the miko, and he then gives a general talk, advising his people not to use liquor, not to break the laws, and to be good citizens in every sense of the word. Then they disband for the year.

HILIBI

A plan of Hilibi square is shown in Figure 12 and a general view of the ground as it appeared in the winter of 1911-12 in Plate 5 Figure 2.

Two poles with white feathers attached were at each front post. These were used in the "feather dance" and were called "the path," because the path was to be white.

When there are visitors the owners of the east cabin move elsewhere in order to make room for them. When the south cabin is overcrowded, some of its occupants move into the east cabin. In this town the clans were always considerably mixed up in the beds. The ta'palas can sit anywhere. The tutka oktidīdja does not have a particular seat on account of his official position. He is appointed every four years. The tutka dīdja, who starts the fire, is identical with the hilis haya.

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If a man whose father is of the Aktayatci, the miko's clan, is given a busk name, he is brought to the mikos' bed and given a seat there.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Turkey, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Panther, Potato, Deer, Aktayatci, and evidently the Raccoon. The Alligator and Bird are considered as practically one clan.

The two leaders in the women's dance carry atâsa.

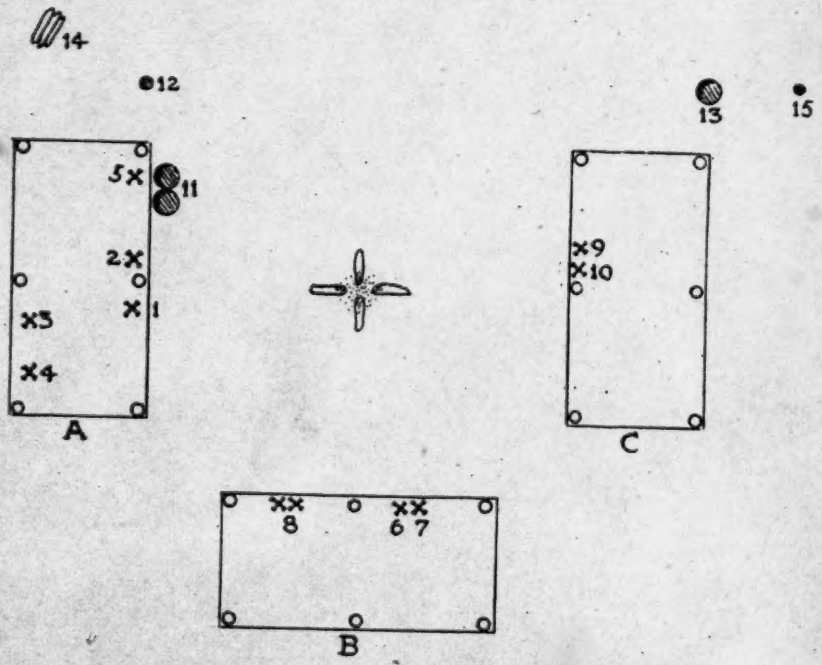

FIG. 12.—Square ground of Hilibi.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1 miko (Aktayatci); 2, henīha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon in 1929); 4, ta'pala (Bear); 5, hilis tcâlaba (Bear in 1929).

B. Raccoons' Bed: 6, hilis hoboia; 7, tutka oktidīdja (Raccoon in 1929); 8, yâhaikas (any clan).

C. Cabin used by visitors:- 9, ta'pala (Alligator); 10, hilis hoboia (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, medicine pot for boys; 13, medicine pot for women; 14, woodpile; 15, ball post.

The history of this town is as follows. It was founded by a man of the Aktayatci clan who went off to live by himself and then put up a ball post. Many women belonged to his family and he had numerous visitors, some of whom married these women so that it soon grew into a large band of which he was probably the first miko. Anyhow that is the way the Aktayatci came to have the town. After stomp dances had been held there for some time, more visitors came

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to join them and it grew still larger. Because it was built up very rapidly, its founder called it Hilibi, which means "hurry" (hila'pkis, "I make haste"). Since it was an "illegal" band, a tâlwa fâtcasīgo ("town deviating from correctness"), all the clans do not have regular places, having been drawn from so many other bands.

The following notes on some personal names contained in the town roster give an interesting insight into the manner in which totemic names were bestowed:

Fos Hâtki Imała ("White Bird Imała"), so named because he belonged to a White clan, the Wind.

Halak Hopaie. He belonged to the Bear clan, but his father belonged to the Raccoon, hence the name Halak or Ahalak ("Potato"), since both these clans are Tciloki.

Pahos Fiksiko. He belonged to the Wind clan, but his father was a Deer and the Pahosa is of the same moiety as the Deer.

As shown by the native story above given this town was not supposed to be ancient or to have a firmly fixed town organization, and, while it was older than the Hilibi people themselves believed, it seems to have preserved the irregularities which might naturally be associated with a new town. Not improbably the tradition of irregularity preserved the fact. At the same time there is a general agreement between the plan here given and that which I obtained in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 258). The mikos' cabin is to the west, and the mikâlki and henihâlgi were of the same clans, Aktayatci and Alligator respectively. The Alligator and Turkey were classed as Whites from association with the Bird by my later informants, but the earlier ones gave them as Tciloki.

ALABAMA

This was a very simple square of exceptional arrangement as shown in Figure 13.

The Alabama were one of the incorporated tribes with a language distinct from Creek. The clan names in Alabama are: Mahaleha (Wind), Sawaha (Raccoon), Aktayatciha (Aktayatci), Hâtcuntcobaha (Alligator), Konoha (Skunk), Nitaha (Bear), Koīha (Panther), Fociha (Bird), Fitōha (Turkey), Ofâtaha (Beaver).

All of the officers were brought over to the chiefs' bed. Men of the Alligator, Bear, and Aktayatci have been mikos and a man of the Skunk clan was once the henīha. There is no regular rule for either position.

The Hathagas were the Wind, Bear, Panther, Skunk, and Raccoon; the Tcilokis were the Bird, Beaver, Turkey, Alligator, and Aktayatci. The Wildcat was the same as the Panther.

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One of the greatest Alabama Indians now remembered was Kàntcati Yàhola (Alabama name Tcīsōki), who was the hilis haya. He was born in Alabama and came west with his tribe. He lived until about 1866.

The above plan and the three others I obtained in 1912 and the years immediately following (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 263-264) show considerable minor variations but all agree in locating the chiefs' bed in the east and the warriors' bed in the west. Most of them also place the Bear and Panther clans in the latter and the Wind, Aktayatci, and Deer in the former, where they are noted at all. In allocating the clans the above informant agrees with

FIG. 13.—Alabama square ground.
A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Wind); 2, henīha (Raccoon).
B. Warriors' Bed.

the older ones except regarding the Panther which the men first consulted asserted was Tciloki while it is here given as a White clan, but this is a clan which has been placed on both sides.

KASIHTA

For the plan of Kashita square ground, see Figure 14.

There should be two hilis tcàlaba, drawn from the Alligator clan, but they are not employed now. Four hilis hoboia for the pasa, four for the miko hoyanīdja, and one tutka oktidīdja are chosen by the miko without reference to clan. There is no definite body of water carriers. Two ta'palas are selected from any clan to serve just for the night. They carry sticks called reels, and their function is to invite the dance leaders to lead dances and see that all take part. There is only one singer for the women's dance. He sits behind the miko.

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In 1901 the old square ground was given up and the new one was established in June, 1920. Because the new generation was weak one cabin was cut out. The Coweta square is said to have been the same as that of Kasihta.

Every time anything is brought in or anything repaired they dance all night because thus the two things are joined together, just as

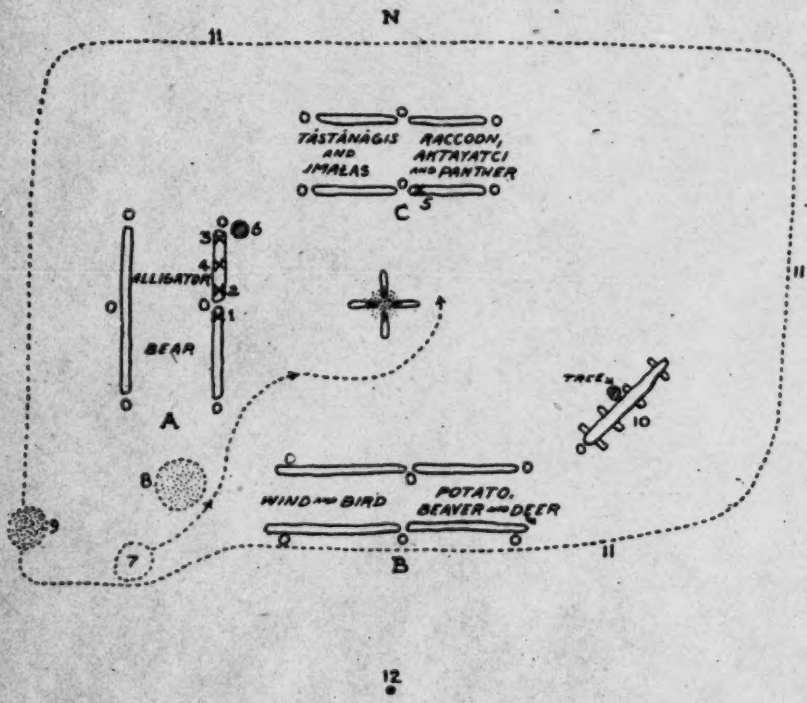

FIG. 14.—Kasihta square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heníha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (seat when on duty); 4, asimbonaia.
B. Whites' Bed (Henihálgi intupa), or "Cabin of the Greater Kings."
C. Warriors' Bed: 5, asimbonaia (Aktayatci).

6, medicine pot; 7, point where women assemble before dancing; 8, trash heap; 9, where ashes of old fires were placed; 10, split log where are seated those young men who have broken the rules and are in consequence placed here as a punishment before being allowed to mix with the rest of the people; 11, line of sweepings (tádjo) marking limit of square ground; 12, ball post.

two days are united by the night on which they dance. Formerly dances were held every Saturday night, but hard times have put an end to them. The dance which was being held when I paid my visit was because they were then putting up a ball post.

The Hathagas are the Wind, Beaver, Bird, and Deer; the Tcilokis are the remaining clans, yet it is said that the Bear, Alligator, and

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344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
•621 marry outside of third cousins.

796 The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,

> The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

He added:

177 We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part
609 of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

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This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanīdja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanīdja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [475]

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Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[475] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

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had its own set of titles which were given to new aspirants after the death of the former holders. If at any time the titles belonging to a clan were entirely exhausted a name could be borrowed from the clan of the aspirant's father, but after the death of the holder it would revert to the clan from which it had been taken. 551 554 614

These titles usually contained two words, of which the second was commonly hadjo, fiksiko, yahola, imala, tástánągi, or miko. The last three belonged properly to certain classes of functionaries to be described elsewhere, but in some towns they seem to have become hereditary in the clans; at least this is definitely affirmed for the term tástánągi. It has frequently been reported that these titles were bestowed in a certain order. Thus one of my own informants said that a man would probably be given first a name containing hadjo, next one with imala, and finally one with tástánągi. Another gave the order as hadjo, tástánągi, and miko. Most of this is explained, however, by the fact that the names imala, tástánągi, and miko were applied to officials. Nevertheless there seems to have been some tendency to use a name containing hadjo first and one with yahola later on. These two, together with fiksiko, are called "common names," which here mean merely that they did not carry official positions with them. Hadjo means "mad," "crazy," but more particularly "furious in battle." Fiksiko means "no heart," "heartless." Yahola refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it. Originally it may have been restricted to a class of criers but later it became "common." The tendency of these names to become "common" in course of time explains why Speck was told that hadjo, fiksiko, imala, and yahola were all of equal rank.[76] 551 554 622

The first word in the title was derived from various sources, but there were two principal kinds. The most important set was based on the name of the totem animal, and in most cases it was the simple name of the animal itself, not a mere reference to it. Names of this kind were usually bestowed only upon persons belonging to clans having the same name, but sometimes they were allowed to those whose fathers belonged to that clan. Another considerable set was taken from names of tribes or towns, particularly those which composed the Creek confederacy. Sometimes they preserved the names of tribes or towns that otherwise would have been forgotten On the other hand the names of Kán hátki, Okchai, Pakan tallahassee, Otciapofa, and Alabama seem not to have been used, or if so only rarely. Only a few cases of the use of the name of Muklasa can be recalled. It may be added that the name of the Toad clan, Sábáktálgi, also seems not to have been used. Jackson Lewis said that the non- 551 554 614

[76] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

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551 554 614 totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

551 554 622 Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tástánągi and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imała łákągi was always called Imała yahola, the leader of the tástánągągi Tástánąk tcąpko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tástánągi, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Ahá'łąk tástánągi, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti átca'gągi (abbreviated into I'sti tcągągi)[796] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

553 614 796 The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson [571] Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

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[796] See pp. 301-308.

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615 leading clans on the opposite side, and, as a mark of this distinction, in the tcitahaia, the so-called "feather dance," those who belonged on the Tciloki side carried eagle feathers [43a] on their wands while those who belonged on the opposite side, the White side, carried white crane feathers. The leading position ascribed to the Eagle by Jackson Lewis is explained by Hawkins's statement to the effect that in [622] his day the chiefs of Tukabahchee, the leading town of the Upper Creeks, were selected from it.[44] At the present time, however, Tukabahchee chiefs are selected from the Raccoon clan, a fact easily accounted for if the Eagle and Raccoon were closely related. Indeed, one of my best informants gave this very reason. In my lists the Eagle and Raccoon are found classed together at Abihkutci. At Lutcapoga it is said that the Eagle was placed with the Aktayatci and Kapitca, but, as we have seen, these were sometimes classed with the Raccoon and Potato. The Salt clan seems to have been particularly prominent in the Alabama tribe. Legus Perryman stated that it was a branch of the Bear, and he is confirmed in every one of the four instances in which the two names occur together in my lists. It is particularly important to obeserve that this association is preserved by the Alabama Indians in Texas. Jackson Lewis classed the Otter with "the Alligator and other water clans," and one might naturally expect it, but as a matter of fact in three of the seven cases which I have recorded it is placed in one phratry with the Wind and Skunk, while in three of the others it is with the Bird and Beaver. All of these clans are White clans; I am therefore of the opinion that the Otter was also considered a White clan and was attached to the others on account of some supposed resemblance to the Skunk and Beaver.

Native informants generally state that the Pahosa are the same as, a part of, or kindred to, the Deer, and this testimony is confirmed by my lists where the two clans are linked together in 11 out of 13 cases in which they are both mentioned, the two exceptions being probably due to imperfect information from the towns concerned. According to Kasihta yahola the Deer people called the Pahosa their "uncles" and the Pahosa called the Deer people their "nephews." The connection of the Mole, Toad, and Tcokote with the Deer has been referred to. The Mole also appears once with the Wind and once with the Raccoon.

The position of the Beaver clan is somewhat peculiar. It was particularly prominent in the towns of the Tulsa group, where it usually supplied the chiefs, and in these towns it ordinarily occurs in a separate phratry. Elsewhere, however, it is so commonly associated with the Bird that many Creeks consider the connection axiomatic. The Beaver people are said to have called the Bird people their "uncles"

[43a] And also, it is said, buzzard feathers. [44] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69.

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342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house [592 owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of 606] the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

171 When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find 361 that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

342 "The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of 344 all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to •622 give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong."[88]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[88] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

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mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

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"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

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"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.
[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 150.
[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 82.
[70] Ibid., p. 101.
[71] Ibid., p. 23.
[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 56, 102.
[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 120.

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344 to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihâlgi always
554 acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during
621 the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[a] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). For our present purposes it is important to find out
614 what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted
•622 the mikâlgi or chiefs, and the henihâlgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tástánágâlgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Talladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[2]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-testi	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Lutcapoga	do	Bird [3] (Beaver, second chief).
Okfuskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tcatoksofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutcî	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutcasi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee	(1) Aktayatci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis).	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktayatci	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Lâlogâlga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [6]	Bear or Wind.[6]
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[6]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 287.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tcîloki clan, perhaps the Aktayatci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasihta yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

[a] See pp. 293-295

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Town	Chiefs	Henihas
Łapłáko	(1) Bear	(1) Bird (second chief).
	(2) Raccoon	(2) Bear or Wind.
Łiwahali	(1) Panther	(1) Deer.
	(2) Panther	(2) Aktayatci or Fox.
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator, Turkey, and Tâmi.
Upper Eufaula	Aktayatci (anciently Eagle)	Do.[9]
Alabama	Bear [9]	(1) Aktayatci.
		(2) Alligator, Bird, etc.
Kasihta	Bear [10] (Alligator—Gatschet)	Wind (Istani—Hawkins); (Alligator, second chief).
Hitchiti	Bird (Tâmi—Jackson Lewis)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (Deer, in last organization)	Bear (Bird, in last organization).
Yuchi	(Passes from father to son irrespective of clan:)	
Coweta	Fish [11] (Wind)	Bird.[12]
Łikatcka	Alligator	Wind (Bear, second chief).
Eufaula Hobayi	(1) Kapitca	(1) Deer (?).
	(2) Bear (second inf.)	(2) Wind (second inf.)
Chiaha	(1) Raccoon, Potato, or Fox	(1) Bear or Deer.
	(2) Bear	(2) Bear.
	(3) Wind	(3) Aktayatci, Potato, Alligator, Tâmi, Raccoon, Fox.
Osochi	(1) Fox (Jim Sapulpa)	(1) Wind (Jim Sapulpa).
	(2) Potato (Tob Tiger)	(2) Panther (Tob Tiger).
Ochese	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee Seminole	do	Bird (second chief).
Tallahassatci	do	Bird.
Hitchiti Seminole	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula Seminole	Kapitca	Panther.[13]
Łiwahali Seminole	(1) Bird	(1) Bear.
	(2) Potato	(2) Bird.
Chiaha Seminole	Bear	Wind.[13]
Mikasuki	(1) Alligator	(1) Alligator (Panther, second chief; Potato, third chief).[14]
	(2) Snake (anciently); Panther (later)	(2) Panther (anciently); Alligator (later).

[9] According to Jackson Lewis. Later the Bird clan seems to have occupied this position, though according to some Hilibi people the Wind once performed the function.

[9] One of the last chiefs belonged to the Wind clan.

[10] According to three different informants.

[11] Hawkins and Ispahihica (Ede-Gatschet) both give the Fish, which we may therefore assume to have been the chief's clan in ancient times.

[12] According to both my own informants and those of Doctor Gatschet (Creek Ms. vocab.).

[13] These clans are called tistanigigi but take the place of the henihâigi.

[14] See Fig. 52.

Regarding the Texas Alabama I learned the following facts. Within the memory of living Indians the chieftainship has not passed down in a single clan. The first head chief held in remembrance was leader of the tribe before they came to Texas. His name has not been preserved but he was the grandfather of John Scott, the late chief, and he belonged to the Daddy-longlegs clan. The second head chief is remembered as "old man Antone." He belonged to the Bear clan, and the second chief under him was a Tawasa Indian of the Beaver clan named Celestine. Antone was succeeded by the late chief, John Scott, who was of the Deer clan. The second chief under him was formerly John Walker, a Bear.

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By eliminating the Texas Alabama and the doubtful and less well-authenticated material in the above data and reducing all of the towns of each group under one head we obtain the following summary result. Alternative possibilities are in parentheses.

Town	Chief	Henihà
Abihka	Bear	Raccoon.
Tulsa	Beaver	Bird (or Wind).
Okfuskee	Bear	Wind (or Bird).
Pakan tallahassee	Aktayatci (or Bear)	Do.
Wiogufki	Aktayatci	Wind.
Okchai	Bear	Do.
Wiwohka	Panther (or Bird)	Do.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear	Bear or Wind.
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind.
Tukabahchee	Eagle (or Raccoon)	Do.
Atasi	Bear	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.
Łapłàko	Bear	Bird (or Wind).
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator.
Eufaula, Upper	do	Do.
Alabama	Bear	Aktayatci.
Kasihta	do	Wind (or Tàmi).
Hitchiti	Bird (or Tàmi or Raccoon)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (or Deer)	Bear (or Bird).
Coweta	Fish (or Wind)	Bird.
Eufaula Hobayi	Kapitca	Deer (or Wind)
Chiaha	Fox or Potato	Bear.
Osochi	do	Wind (or Panther).
SEMINOLE TOWNS		
Ochesee	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee	do	Do.
Talla hasutci	do	Do.
Hitchiti	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula	Kapitca	Panther (tàstànągi).
Łiwahali	Bird (or Potato)	Bear (or Bird).
Chiaha	Bear	Wind (tàstànągi).
Mikasuki	Alligator (or Snake)	Panther (or Alligator).

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A study of this table yields certain very interesting facts. Taking the henihàlgi clans first we find that with few exceptions these come from the White side. The Deer occurs twice, once in Hitchiti and once in Eufaula Hobayi, but in the latter case there is an alternative possibility, while the former applies simply to the last organization of the Hitchiti square. Nevertheless this clan is said to have been used at Tukabahchee as henihàlgi during the women's dance. The old woman who gave me the data for Apalchicola said that anciently

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the Hitchiti square was the same as in the Apalchicola town. On the other hand the Seminole Hitchiti had the Toad clan, generally considered akin to the Deer, as their henihâlgi. The Deer was, however, considered a White clan in Chiaha, and Chiaha anciently spoke the Hitchiti language. It is therefore possible that the Deer was once a White clan among Hitchiti-speaking people. Again, the Alligator and their allies were the henihâlgi at Hilibi and Upper Eufaula, perhaps also in the Mikasuki town; indeed an old Mikasuki Indian told me that the Alligator were considered the henihâlgi among all Seminole. While this does not seem to agree with the statements of other Seminole Indians there may nevertheless have been truth in it, since the clans given as henihas among the Seminole are often those which furnished the second chief, and the old organization appears to have fallen to pieces. Possibly the position of the Alligator as henihâlgi may have resulted from the influence exerted by the Eufaula band who formed a considerable body among the Seminole. The Alligator, like the Deer, was also sometimes a White clan, and much more frequently. The Aktayatci are given as henihâlgi among the Alabama by one informant, but the Alabama town is small and the organization badly broken down, and, besides, another informant stated that the Alligator or Bird were the only henihas. Moreover, the Aktayatci in Alabama were said to form part of the same phratry as the Deer which is sometimes White. Only in the Abihka towns have we a well accredited case of a clan of henihas never reckoned among the Whites. But although the Raccoon clan there plainly performed the functions of the henihâlgi one of the very men who gave me the information stated that the south bed was called "bed of the henihâlgi" because the Wind clan sat there, and he added that "it was understood that in every town the Wind clan were the henihâlgi." The chief of the Mikasuki said the same thing. This, of course, can only mean that in the Abihka town there has been a dislocation of the older usage.

An inspection of the table shows the Wind clan mentioned as henihas seventeen times, eight times without qualification. Next stand the Bird, mentioned ten times, and the Bear four times. There can be little doubt that it was the general opinion that the Wind should be henihâlgi, and I am inclined to believe that anciently they were so to a greater extent than at present, but as far back as Hawkins's time we know that they were not henihâlgi in a town as important as Kasihta; perhaps their enjoyment of this dignity was partly theoretical and never carried out in all cases. Nevertheless it is certain that almost invariably the henihâlgi were a White clan, and this I believe once to have been universally the case, for the henihas were associated with peace and sometimes their bed was called the "white or peace cabin."

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Turning to the chiefs, we do not find such a simple proposition. The chief was selected from the Bear clan in 8 and possibly 11 cases, from the Beaver in 4, from the Aktayatci in 3 and possibly 4, from the Raccoon in 2 to 4, the Bird in from 1 to 4, the Fox or Potato in 2 to 3, the Wind in perhaps 3, the Kapitca in 2 cases, and the Fish, Eagle, Panther, Tâmi, Deer, Alligator, and Snake in single cases. The Beaver clan furnished the chiefs in the Tulsa towns and in three Seminole towns which had probably drawn most of their population from the Tulsa towns. The Aktayatci led in Hilibi, Upper Eufaula, Wiogufki, and possibly Pakan tallahassee. The Raccoon is found in two towns traditionally related or closely connected, Tukabahchee and Kealedji, and in Koasati, a near neighbor. The Bird occurs in this position principally in Hitchiti and Hitchiti Seminole, the Wind in the Lower Creek towns, particularly Coweta, and in Tuskegee, the Fox and Potato in the related towns of Chiaha and Osochi, and the Kapitca in Lower Eufaula and in Eufaula Seminole. Of the isolated cases the Eagle is already explained as a branch of or now incorporated with the Raccoon, and in the same way the Fish was an old branch of, or has been incorporated into, the Wind.

The other single cases are all reported from towns that have long given up the busk or which are known to have been reduced very much in numbers and otherwise disorganized. They also occur sometimes where there is disagreement. The Bear clan is the only one that by the number of cases and their distribution suggests a position for the chieftainship similar to that of the Wind for the henihâlgi. This is brought out more strongly by the discovery of several cases in which the Bear has been superseded by some other clan only in recent times. By several early writers we find it stated that the White towns were governed by chiefs and the Red towns by warriors. It is evident that tàstânâgis were never chiefs of towns; therefore all this statement could mean is that the chiefs of Red towns were drawn from Red clans. Examining our lists we find that, in fact, with two exceptions, all of the White towns about which there is unanimity of opinion were ruled by chiefs drawn from White clans. Of the two exceptions one, Wiogufki, claimed relationship with Eufaula and Hilibi, and is said to have been originally a Red town, while the other, Koasati, has long ceased to have busks, and the organization that is remembered is probably one that was adopted after the older form had been partly given up. There are a few other White towns which some hold to have been ruled by Red clans, but one of them, Wiwohka, was thought to be composed of refugees from all quarters, and it early became reduced and disorganized. Another, Pakan tallahassee, which now has the same head clan as Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula, has in late years been closely associated with those towns. Finally, Gatschet was told that the miko of Hitchiti was a Raccoon,

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and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łapłáko, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łapłáko, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck. 614 622

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[3] tcokofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable. 344 554 [614] 621

[3] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. 560.

I: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

GOVERNMENT

619 The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the
621 most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been
642 already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confedera-

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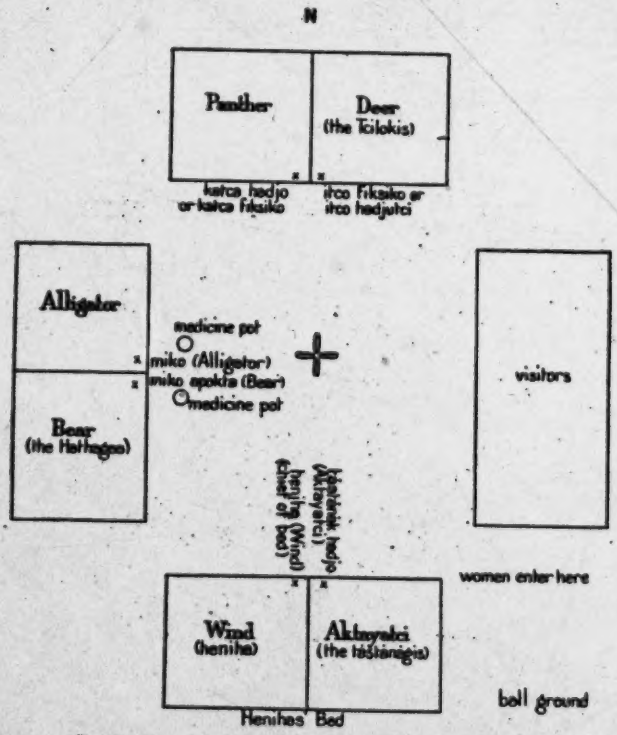

FIG. 79.—Plan of the Square Ground of Łikstcka or Broken Arrow

tion, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

towns alone being under mikos.[28] If he means by warriors men bearing the title tástánagi we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

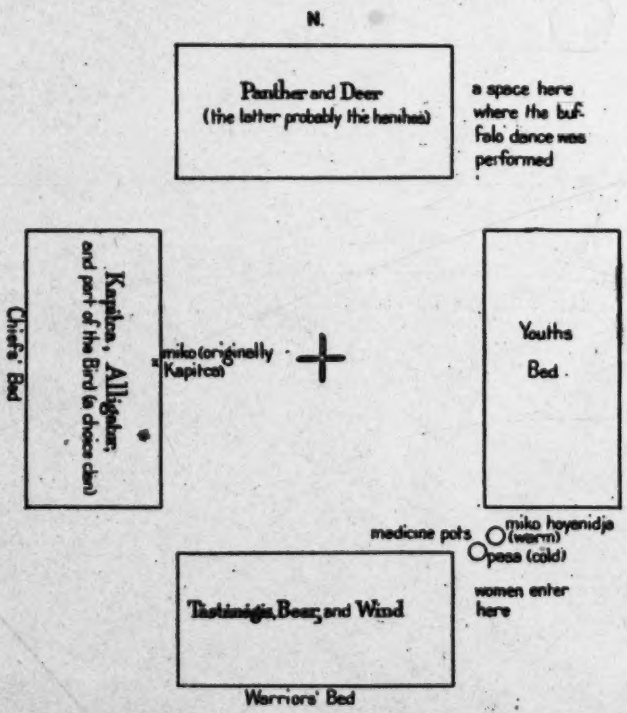

FIG. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

[28] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

[i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

●622 talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[27] Bartram remarks:

"He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, [574] receives presents, etc. He[1] alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's

[344 621]

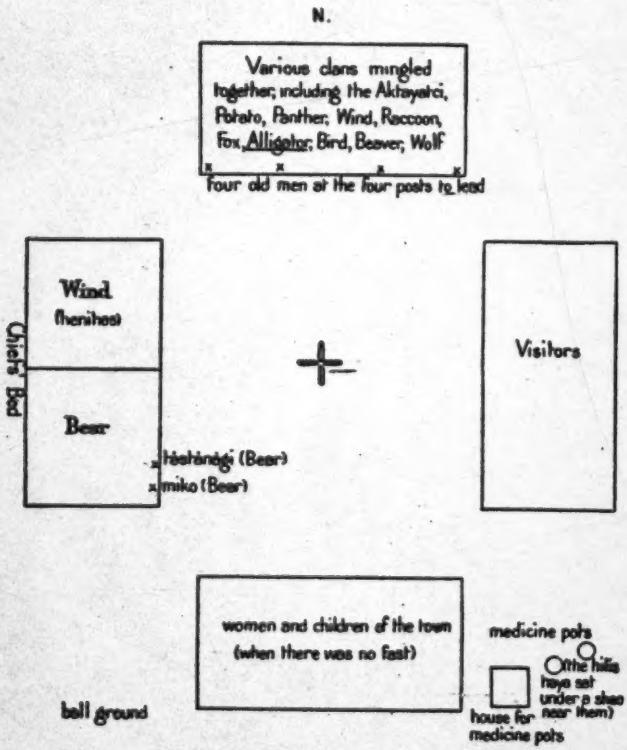

FIG. 81.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (II)

feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night."[28]

[27] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69.
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 24

1 [i.e., the miko. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti

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Speck says regarding the Tuskegee miko:

"The function of this dignitary, as the civil head of the town, was to receive all embassies from other tribes, to direct the decisions of the town council according to his judgment, and finally to stand as the representative of the town in foreign negotiations. . . . The town chief had also to appoint the time for the annual harvest ceremony. He had personal charge of the town square and the lodges about it, and it was his duty to distribute the broken sticks to the heads of families by which they were to number the days to elapse

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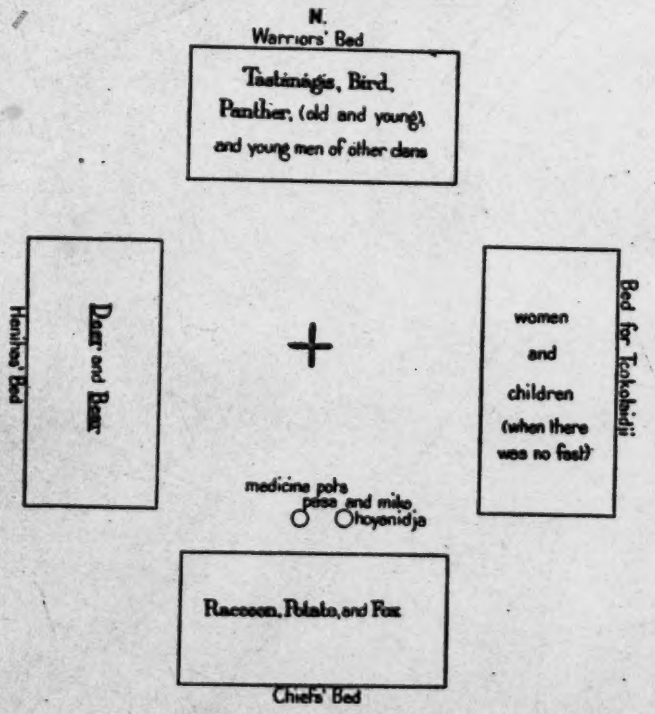

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (I)

before the ceremony. The Taskigi have been known to depose their town chief on the ground of inefficiency and to elect another from his clan instead." [29]

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action with-

[29] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti

622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko łáko, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he

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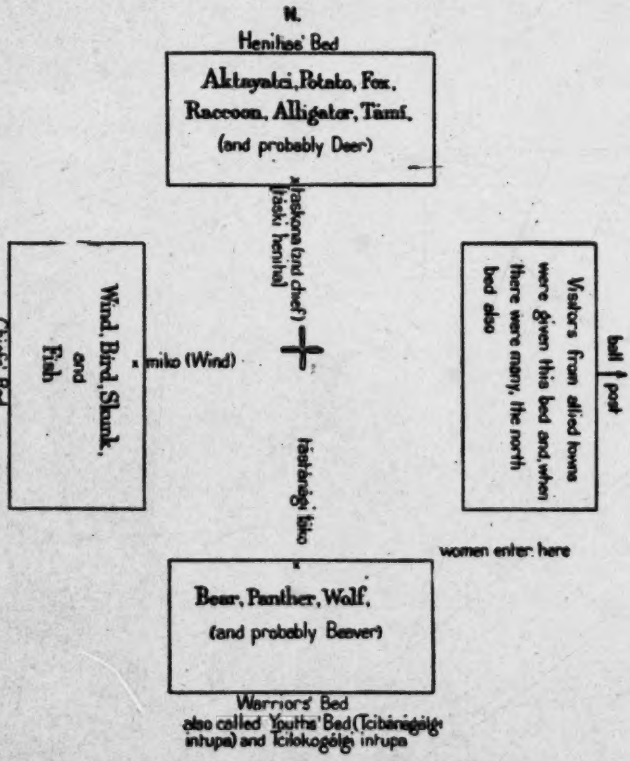

FIG. 82.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

614 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already
622 been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi

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person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance."[20] As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on

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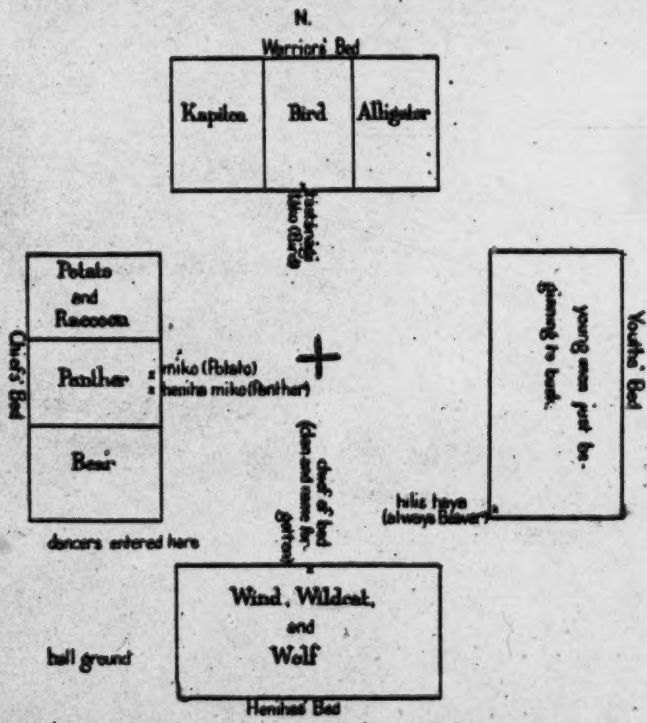

FIG. 84.—Plan of the Cusahi Square Ground (I)

the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtca told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.[21] According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtca himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

[20] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 81.

[21] Gatschet, Ms. notes; see p. 56.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi

•622 According to Jackson Lewis, who was best acquainted with Upper Eufaula, the selection was made by the other members of the same clan, but this seems to have been unusual. According to a Hilibi Indian well versed in everything connected with the organization of a town, the miko was selected by three men, one taken from the clan of the former chief, one from the clan of his father, and a third who appears not to have belonged to any particular clan. My informant added that they uniformly selected the humblest person belonging

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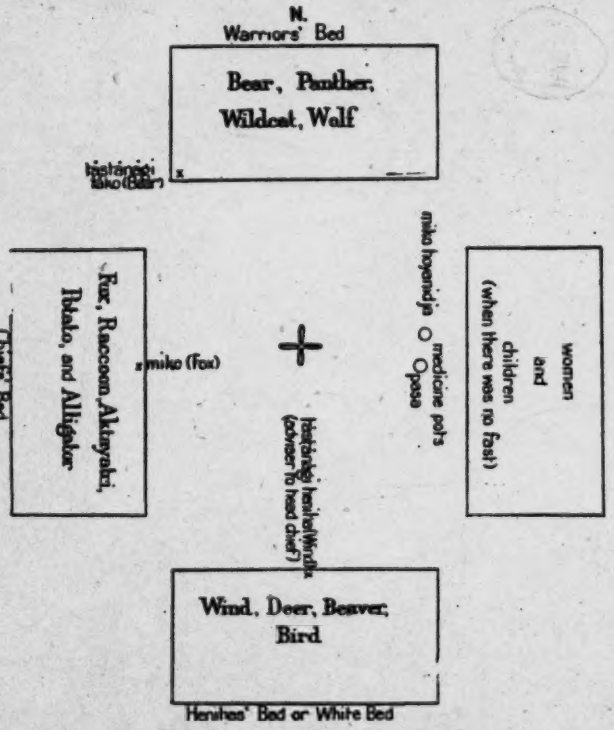

FIG. 85.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)

to the royal clan and those who picked him out always had to labor with him to induce him to accept. Some of this reluctance was no doubt a matter of etiquette, but the public and ceremonial demands of the position were so great and so much of the well-being or misfortune of the tribe was attributed to the incumbent that he may well have shrunk from the responsibility. The miko was, however, at liberty to resign. Some of those who selected the miko might belong to Red clans but he was always inducted into office by a member of one of the White clans. He was seated upon an unsmoked buckskin and

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622.

an address was delivered to him by a speaker appointed for that purpose in which his future duties and the expectations of the tribe regarding him were set forth. In 1912 the then chief of the Yuchi informed me that when he was installed he was placed upon a buckskin which had been dressed by a virgin, and in the speech which was made to him the other members of the tribe were called his "children" and his duties to them were set forth. He was told that all of the paths were white for him; that he was to be governed by that fact and shed

S. [344 621]

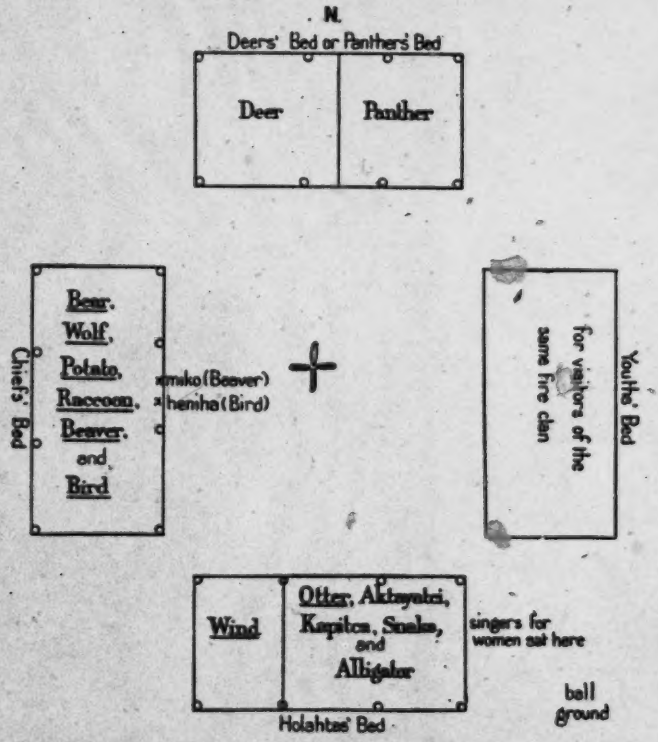

FIG. 88.—Plan of the Square Ground of Ochese Seminole

no blood. The ceremony was completed by all passing around behind him in single file. This ceremony seems to have been common to all of the towns of the confederacy. It emphasizes the miko's close connection with affairs of peace.

C 622 624

In Tukabahchee the organization was somewhat different, there being seven principal chiefs (mikagi) who sat in the front seat of the Chiefs' bed, extending from the center to the southern end. Each of them had an assistant or heniha (an official to be noted presently). If the head miko, who sat in the center of the bed, did not succeed—

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622 624

i. e., if the town did not prosper under him, whether he was responsible or not—or if his haniha died he had to surrender his place and move down to the foot of the row of mikos, the rest of whom moved up, and the man next to him took his place. Vacancies in the row of mikos were filled by the remaining mikos in consultation with the tástánágis, who were called over to the Chiefs' bed to confer about the matter. The man selected was escorted to his seat by another miko or by a tástánági. Mention has already been made of the anomalous

S. [344 621]

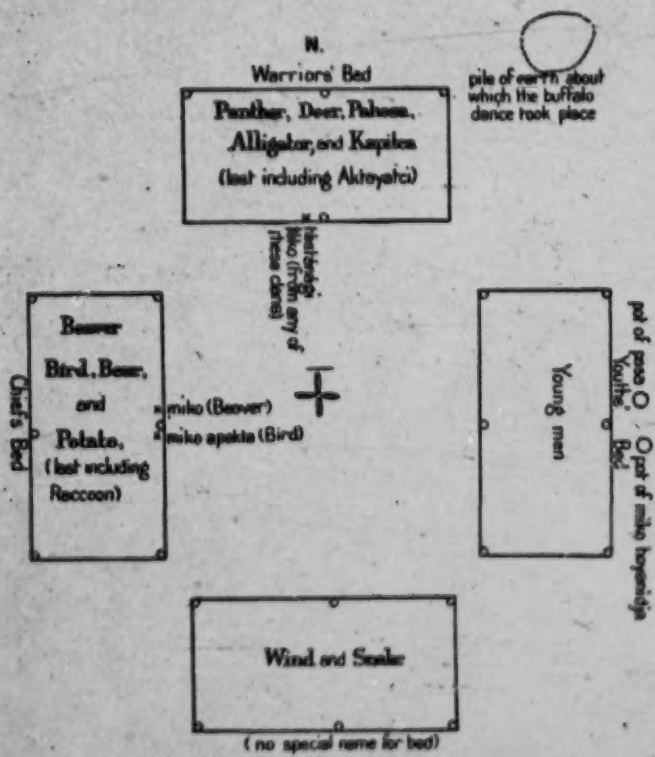

FIG. 87.—Plan of the Square Ground of Okfuskee Seminole

miko called Ispokogi miko, who perhaps enjoyed priestly functions, but of course nothing is known regarding the manner of his selection, the institution having died out too long ago.

C. 622

Tukabahchee preserves its old square organization very well and its system of government may be representative of that of other Creek towns, but I am inclined to think that considerable differences always existed. The Coweta head chief is said to have been elected at a meeting of the entire town, but the actual selection may have

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

been entrusted to the White clans (see p. 281). Probably he was chosen in the same way as the second chief who is said to have been nominated by the White clans, and the nomination confirmed, merely as a matter of form, by the Tcilokis. According to Legus Perryman, the chiefs at Lutcapoga, along with the other officers of each of the three beds, were chosen by the members of the other two, the only limitation being in respect to the clan from which they could be taken.

The chiefs of the Texas Alabama were elected at a general meeting of the tribe, but this statement applies only to recent times, and

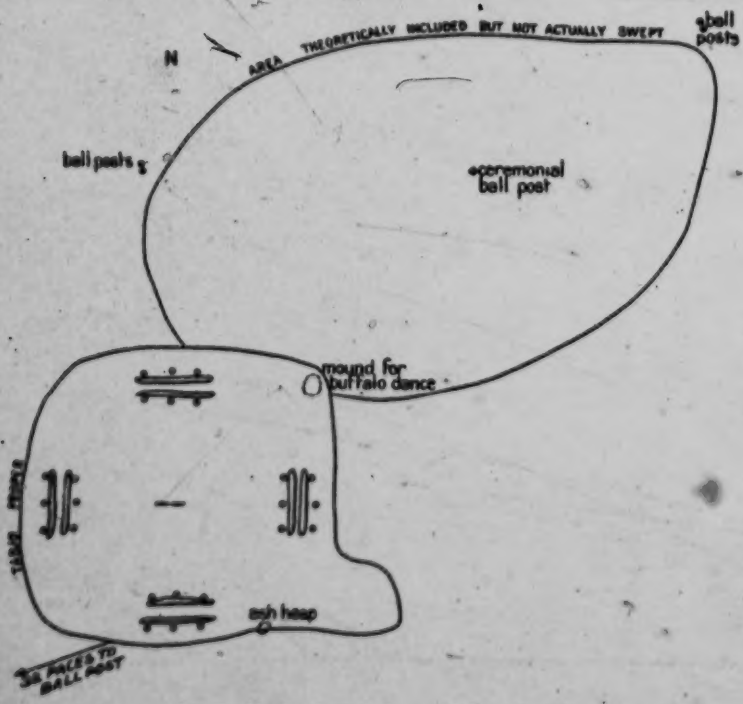

FIG. 88.—Okfuskee Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1913

before they left the other Creeks in Alabama their custom may have been different.

As we have seen in the case of Tukabahchee, there were sometimes assistant chiefs. At Tukabahchee they were all of one clan, but sometimes they were of different clans, perhaps in such cases the heads of their respective clans, for we know that the oldest or most influential uncle in each presided at clan councils and advised his fellows regarding their conduct. This has been spoken of already. At Pakan tallahassee the miko, who belongs to the Aktayatci clan, sits

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 614 •622 624

in the middle of the north bed, on his left his henîha, and on his right, in succession, a second chief of the Wind clan, a third chief of the Bear (or Panther) clan, and a fourth chief of the Bird (or Panther) clan.

Usually, however, there was one principal subordinate chief, or vice chief, miko apokta ("twin chief") as he was called, and the customs regarding him seem to have varied considerably from town

S. [344 621]

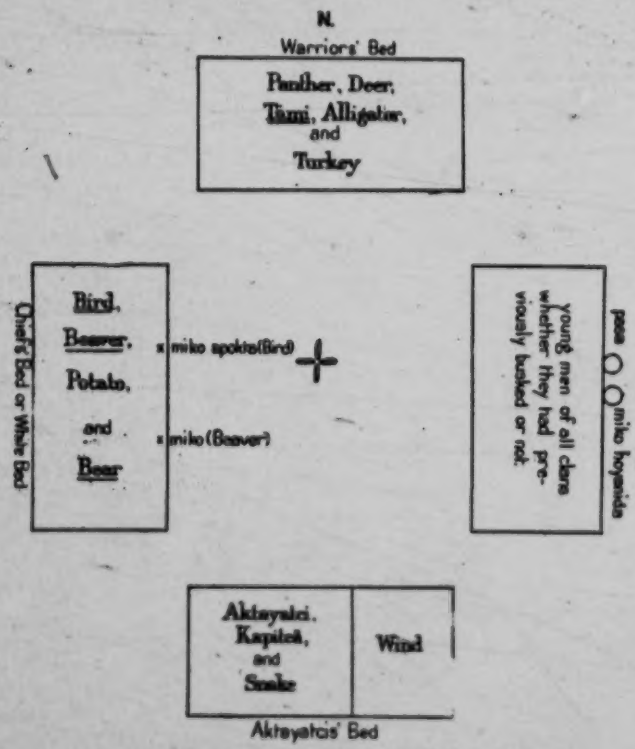

FIG. 38.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahassutci Seminole

to town. Hawkins says of this chief: "When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly." The second chief in Tulsa Canadian, Lutcapoga, and probably in the other Tulsa towns as well, belonged to the Beaver clan, the same as that which furnished the first chief. According to Legus Perryman, the second chief of Lutcapoga was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622 624 614

called the itá'lwa mi'ko. He was assistant to the head chief and, while the authority of the latter extended over the town as a whole, he concerned himself with matters of a more local character, particularly those connected with the square. He might be called the "square chief." Similarly, the second chief of Coweta, who was taken from the Panther clan, is said to have been "chief of the square," while the head chief was "speaker for the other towns friendly to Coweta." This may refer back to the time when the Coweta chief was also chief of all the Lower Creeks. The second chief of Łiwahali is said to have been of the Aktayatci or Fox clan and to have taken charge if, for any reason, the miko had to leave the square ground. In Łikatcha the miko belonged to the Alligator clan and the miko apokta to the Bear. I was informed that at Chiaha the miko and heniha were both taken from the Bear clan, but the miko apokta must have been intended instead of the heniha. From Speck it appears that the position of miko apokta at Tuskegee was of a less permanent character. He says: "If the miko could not leave his town he appointed a delegate who bore his title to attend the councils of other towns or those of the Confederacy."[1]

S. [344]

Fig. 90.—Tallahassutci Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Connected evidently with the institution of a miko apokta was a condition reported from several towns in which the chieftainship alternated between two clans. I was informed that in Tcatoksofka such an alternation took place between the Bear and Beaver clans. If the head chief belonged to the Bear clan and the second chief to the Beaver clan, and the former died the latter would become head chief, a member of the Bear clan being chosen as second chief. In Tuskegee a similar alternation took place between the Bear and Wind clans, and in the old Abihka town near Eufaula an alternation is reported between the Bear and Raccoon. This Abihka square has, however, long been given up and the other Abihka towns do not seem

[1] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. ii, p. 113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 614 ●622 to have preserved the custom, although in two of them the chiefs are Bear and the henihas Raccoon. In the Seminole town of Talahasutci there is said to have been an alternation between the Beaver and the Bird clans. I was told that, after the last reorganization of the Hitchiti square in which the miko was taken from the Bird clan and the heniha from the Deer, in an emergency the latter could be made miko and the former heniha.

C. 624 In addition to the chiefs, second chiefs, and similar leaders there was anciently a considerable body of persons called mikâgi, or mikâlgi,

S. [344 621]

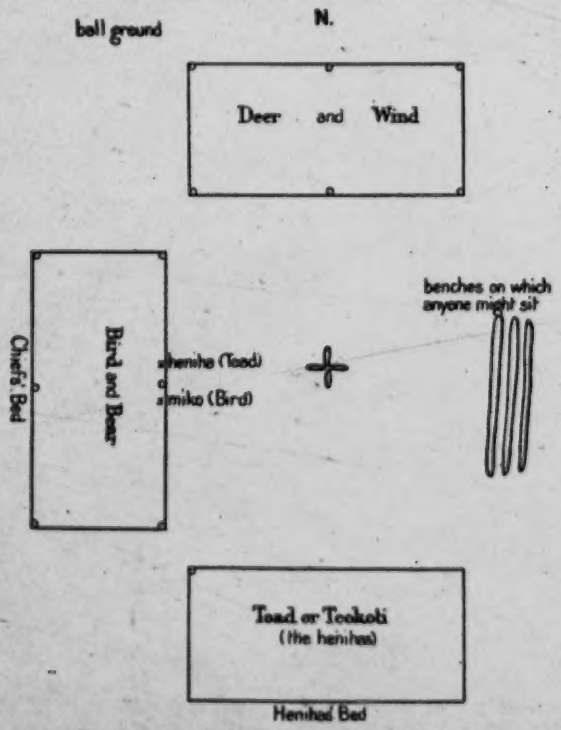

FIG. 91.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole

the plural of miko, who performed minor functions. These were ordinarily taken from the same clan as the head miko, though it may be possible that the appellation was extended beyond under certain circumstances, particularly in later times. It is even possible that the name may have been bestowed at the busk on account of an ancestor who had this title and with no office or dignity attached. All we can say is that the mikâgi belonged theoretically, and usually, to the clan of the head miko. The following account of this class by

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

619 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta.
631 Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

• 622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoûita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqùi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another."[54]

619 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the
631 early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugu-
642 rated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the
648 Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably
177 disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1715, Ms.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

642 631 643 Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

642 631 •622 "After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of $150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

642 646 "The general council for business is composed of the two principal chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them." [a]

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

[a] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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chiefs, and their legislature or council of about forty minor chiefs or captains, who are also, *ex officio*, justices of the peace." [69]

The economic causes operating to increase the number of chiefs, to which reference was made above, are indicated in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of September 15, 1851, by Philip H. Raiford, agent of the Creek Indians. He says:

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"The rude and irresponsible form of government by chiefs still prevails among them. The chiefs all receive salaries in proportion to their grade and rank, or, in other words, a larger share of the common fund of the tribe than the great mass of the Indians. The result of this system has been a great increase in the number of chiefs, until they now amount to about eight hundred, or one to every twenty-five souls; and, as the moneys due from the Government to the tribe are now paid to the chiefs, and they have it in their power to fix their own salaries, a large portion of the funds of the nation is divided out among themselves, and but little left for the great mass. Great wrong and injustice are thus done to the common Indians; and, as they are beginning to perceive and become dissatisfied with the system, and the evil continues to increase by the increase of chiefs, the result before long will inevitably be serious—internal dissentions and difficulties, if not strife and bloodshed, between the chiefs and their partisans on the one hand, and the common Indians on the other, unless the Government interposes some remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs." [70]

The word "chief" as employed by Mr. Raiford evidently does not refer merely to the class of mikàgi. Apparently it included the principal mikos, the isti àtcagàgi, and the leading henihas and tàstànàgis. We are not to suppose that the great increase in the number of chiefs of which this agent speaks was due to a desire on the part of the chiefs to share their privileges; it was rather for the purpose of securing those privileges by taking into partnership all who might have been powerful enough to endanger them. Another Indian agent, James Logan, writing some years before, in 1845, speaks of the abuse as follows:

"The annuity, amounting to [$]34,500, is paid to the principal chiefs of both [Upper and Lower Creeks], and equally divided between them, and by them distributed. . .[71] The chiefs appropriate the whole of this large amount to the pay of themselves and their subordinates. This mode of distributing it is much complained of by the intelligent portion of the community, who are now far from being inconsiderable, and the right thus arrogated by the chiefs of doing what they please with the annuity much questioned. But they are vested with so much power, and have inspired so much awe and fear

[69] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 318.
[70] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851, p. 122.
[71] The writer refers here to an unpublished document for confirmation.

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642 in the minds of the people generally, that they are restrained from
•622 making a public expression upon the subject. Indeed, I question
177 very much whether there could be found many who would, before them, say that they objected to their acts in any particular. This I have sought for in regard to the annuity, and have failed to accomplish, owing to the preponderance of the chiefs and law makers, etc., and to the cause above stated."[77]

The abuse became so great that payments were finally made directly to the heads of families and the old privileges of the chiefs abolished. They suffered the same fate that betook the ringleaders in a certain conspiracy formed not long ago by some of the members and employees of a large corporation. In order to keep what was going on quiet, it was necessary to let more and more into the ring,
642 which finally became so large that the secret leaked. The oligarchic character of the Creek federal government as revealed by Stiggins and these Indian agents clashes rather oddly with what Adair says of its democratic character, but evidently the government of the confederacy was farther removed from the masses of the people than the government of the towns, and with the disappearance of war positions came to be held less on account of merit and more because of family connection and personal "pull." In the erection of a federal government over and above the former tribal governments the mass of the people had not succeeded in holding firmly to the reins of power; still such great abuses would probably not have arisen had it not been for the decline of the merit element in promotions and the cupidity excited by United States Government annuities.

646 The most complete account of the general council as it existed after
622 the removal to Oklahoma was furnished Schoolcraft by Mr. D. W. Eakins, whom Schoolcraft describes as "for some time a resident of the Territory now occupied by them west of the State of Arkansas." These facts were "communicated in reply to printed inquiries issued in 1847, respecting the History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

The answers covering this subject may very well be run together.

"The general council of the Creek Indians consists of a representation from the whole tribe, as divided into towns. This council, composed of the chiefs, is vested with *plenary* power, to act for the whole tribe. Their *verbal summons* or decisions, have all the force of a written document; these decisions are announced in general council; and also recorded by the clerk. Their authority, (as among the principal chiefs,) is often assumed. Their authority is delegated to them, (in many cases,) by virtue of their standing and influence. They are at all times open to popular opinion, and are the mere

[77] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1846, pp. 514-517.

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exponents of it. The power of the chiefs in council is unlimited. Their decisions are absolute.

"The principal chiefs are chosen by the general council; and now, are not chosen so much for their renowned deeds, as their civil and popular qualifications. Their term of office continues during good behavior. The disapproval of the body of the people is an effective bar to the exercise of their powers and functions.

"The chiefs, in public council, speak the opinions and sentiments of the warriors. They consult the priests, old men, and young men composing the tribe, in local matters. Sometimes they are subject to be influenced by extraneous opinions. In many cases they pursue the interests of the people with shrewdness and intensity. In their councils, their decisions are generally determined by the opinions of the leading chiefs; their *dictum* generally influences the mass. The right to sit in council, is, nominally, equivalent to giving a *vote*. The *ayes* and *noes*, if counted, would be by the clerk. Casting the vote, however, has not been introduced among the Creeks. The opinions of the leading chiefs generally regulate the decisions of the council. Powers are sometimes exercised by the chiefs, in advance of public opinion; but anything gross or outrageous would be indignantly repelled.

"The public or general councils are opened with a good deal of ceremony. The principal chiefs first enter and take their seats. The next in order then enter, and addressing themselves to the whole body, ask: 'Are you all present, my friends?' They then take their seats. The principal chief, rising from his seat, presents to the second chief, his tobacco; and this interchange takes place throughout the whole assembly. These interchanges having been gone through with, they next speak about their domestic affairs. Then local matters; after which they proceed to business. Their business is conducted irregularly, daily, and generally, by the position of the sun. The principal chief adjourns the council to the appointed time next day. Before the close of their deliberations, the two bodies agree upon a day of adjournment. At the appointed time for adjournment, the two bodies come together. The second chiefs, rising first, address themselves to the first chiefs, telling them 'they are going to leave them.' They then seat themselves, the whole council following in regular order, according to their grade. The principal chiefs, then rising, say, 'We return home.' There is still some respect paid to ancient ceremonies. Regard is paid to the weather in their deliberations. They have two national clerks and one United States, and one national interpreter. All questions are considered with more or less deliberation. Decisions are sometimes made upon the principle of majorities, and sometimes forced by the opinions of the leading chiefs. There are no cases that require absolute unanimity. There may be cases in which the voice of a leading chief might be taken as the will of the tribe.

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"Decisions made by the chiefs in council are carried into effect implicitly. In cases of capital punishment, the executioner is selected from a body of men called 'the Light Horse.' He uses neither tomahawk, club, nor arrow. The gun is generally selected as the instrument of execution. If the culprit has no choice of place for execution, the executioner may appoint the place, which is generally selected with reference to a convenience for burial. In case of the restoration of property, a messenger is sent to the parties. There is, however, no regularity on this subject.

"In case of a vacancy by death or otherwise, the office is filled by the selection of the General Council. Sometimes the vacancy is filled by the town to which the chief belonged, and then brought before the General Council for sanction. In case of a vacancy among the leading chiefs, the vacancy is filled by the General Council. The chiefs may be deposed from office for gross outrage." [73]

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Logan, the agent quoted above, furnishes the following additional information about the Creek government of his time:

"Each party [i. e., both the Upper and Lower Creeks] has its own head chief, etc. Roly McIntosh, the chief of the Lower Towns, is also vested with the dignity of head chief of the nation, and he presides as such in the general council of the nation, which generally convenes once a year, but at no particular period. Its deliberations are confined to subjects exclusively national, and which affect both parties in common. Those subjects having reference to their own party concerns meet the action of their own councils, which are held separate and distinct, and in which neither interferes with the other. They are conducted precisely similar, and are composed of the chiefs and law-makers of the different towns (or more properly clans) adhering to each party. These chiefs are generally selected from the older citizens. In point of intelligence, they cannot compare with private individuals, who generally do not desire such dignities. Generally speaking they are extremely ignorant, are noted for their superstitious bigotry, for their old customs and ceremonies, and most bitter prejudices against all measures calculated to reform the condition or enlighten the minds of their people. There are, however, a few honorable exceptions, but they are far in the minority, and their councils have but little weight. They are opposed to [the Christian] religion and education, more particularly the former, conceiving very justly that it has a tendency to lessen their authority, and to abolish their old rites and ceremonies, of which they are particularly tenacious. They have gone so far this year as to exact a fine of from two dollars to three and a half dollars a head upon all non-attendants at their 'busks,' green corn dances, etc., or who do not drink the physic, a most nauseous compound of poisonous weeds. Their authority is often exerted arbitrarily, and their laws are unjust and unnecessarily severe. It is a standing law of the nation, 'if any

[73] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, pp. 275-277.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

person preach or hold religious meetings, whether white or red, he shall for the first offence receive fifty lashes on his bare back, and for the second offence one hundred lashes.' To maintain their authority, they support, out of the annuity, an immense number of subordinates, known as law-makers, light horse, etc. The people stand in much awe of them, and blindly pay them the obedience they exact; they have no voice in their appointment nor in their acts: when a vacancy occurs, the place is filled not by an election, but by the nomination made by some noted chief." [74] 646 622 177

Logan is decidedly too severe in his criticisms of the conservative party who were in the nature of things bound to be opposed to the spirit of innovation of which he was a part. While the nature and amount of the fines exacted from those who absented themselves from the busk were no doubt determined at the council of which he speaks, the principle was by no means new.

The practical effect of the Confederate government on the bulk of the people was probably about as indicated in the following lines intended to apply to southern confederacies generally: 642

"Every town is independent of another. Their own friendly compact continues the union. An obstinate war leader will sometimes commit acts of hostility, or make peace for his own town, contrary to the good liking of the rest of the nation. But a few individuals are very cautious of commencing war on small occasions, without the general consent of the head men: for should it prove unsuccessful, the greater part would be apt to punish them as enemies, because they abused their power, which they had only to do good to the society.[75]

Councils in which all of the towns, or as many of them as chose to do so, took part were certainly held at a period as early as an organization existed that could be called a Creek confederacy, but they seem to have been at irregular intervals and at no determined place. And as we have seen, the Lower Creeks and the Upper Creeks each had an independent council. It is likely that, if we could examine some of these old councils we should find a certain regular method of seating the different chiefs, and a certain procedure, but only the above scraps of information regarding them have come down to us. In Adair's time we learn that the French at Fort Toulouse in the forks of the Alabama River endeavored to foment civil war among the Muskogee especially through the hold they had on the small tribes other than Muskogee about their fort, but the Creek chiefs in council compelled them to desist.[76] In the Georgia colonial documents we read of a number of councils. One of these was represented by nine towns, of which two belonged to the Lower Creeks and seven to the Upper Creeks. Another was attended by 21 towns, of which 6 were Lower towns and the balance Upper. At a council of Lower 642 646

[74] James Logan in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 515-516.
[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 426.
[76] Ibid., pp. 438-439.

f: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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Creeks 4 towns were represented. A conference at Savannah was attended by 16 Upper Creek towns. At Oglethorpe's first council with the Creeks 9 Lower Creek towns were represented and no Upper Creek towns. Another council was attended by 12 Upper Creek towns, and still another by 8 from the same section. There are two other notices of meetings held by the Upper Creeks alone and one held by the Lower Creeks. This brings out clearly the separation existing between the Upper and the Lower Creeks. We also find a note to the effect that the towns of Coweta, Hitchiti, Osochi, "Nipky," Chiaha, Kasihta, and Tuskegee had declared Coweta miko their chief, a statement which certainly shows the primacy of Coweta among the Lower Creeks. The Tuskegee, or part of them, were probably with the Lower Creeks at that time.[77] Two of these councils of which we have a record were held in Tulsa, one in Okchai, one in Apalachicola, and one in Chiaha. Whether accidentally or otherwise it thus happens that all but the last were in White towns.

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A Spanish document dating from 1793 or 1794 contains a list of chiefs, with the town to which each belonged, whom it was thought advisable to invite to a general conference at Pensacola. This list, which is as follows, gives an idea of the towns thought worthy of representation on such an occasion and in some degree the relative importance in which those invited were held:

Kellessechuppo, or Beard	of the Broken Arrow.
Cowabbe, or Little Prince	of the Broken Arrow.
Hycat, or Cussitaw King	of the Cussitaws.
Bird Tail King	of the Cussitaws.
Hollowing King	of the Cowitaws.
Young Lieutenant	of the Cowitaws.
Philatouchy	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
Cochmans Brother	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
George Cousins	of the Eauphallies.
John Kennard and his Uncle	of the Hitchetes.
Mad Dog	of the Tuckabatches.
Beaux Banter	of the Tuckabatches.
Half Breed	of the Ockfuskies.
McKay's Friend	of the Abacouchies.
Tallessey King	[of Tulsa?]
White King	of the Hicklawallies [Holiwahali].
Dog Warrior	of the Upper Towns.
Wockucoy King	[of Wakokai?].
Wiokee King	[of Wiwohka?].
Mawmouth	of the Keyalegies.
One head man	from James Leslie's Town [Natchez?].
Bryen Molton or One head man	from the Tuskeegy.
McPherson	Little Tallesseys.
Upoimico	Little Tallesseys.
Red Shoes	[of the Alabama and Koasati?].
One head man	from the Fussachees.
One ditto	from the Coolamy.
One ditto	from the White Ground.
One ditto	from the Ottosay.[78]

[77] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 210-211.

[78] Copy of Ms. in the Ayer Library, Newberry Library, Chicago.

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Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [79]

642 631 622

It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łáłogálga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

642 648 177 [721]

It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

[79] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

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861 The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was [751] inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

861 Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:

●622 "It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an [838] opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [tcihaksi kania he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Haksinna* [tcihaksina], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [tciabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"[a]

861 In another place the same writer remarks that in his time chil-
609 dren who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

[a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156-157.

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given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [89] 861 609

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [89a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community. 593 604 614 622

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors. 861

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead. 515 855

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikáno' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

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[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 413.

[89a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 34-35.

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726 final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of the chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy. On a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red, black, and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders, their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt. . . . They all take their seats as they come. When assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square where he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other; in a very little time their singing and dancing, is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns. When they are assembled on their way to their enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above.

"I will try to return to the former subject. After a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man, woman, and child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relations, let them be far or near. After they have collected all their kindred, they are ready to commence hositlities on the enemy. Then if one of the other nation is seen by them he is certainly destroyed; their petty wars are wars of extermination. They commence by small parties on venture, not man against man but tribe against tribe. It is a praiseworthy action for a man or a party of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man, who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he [the slayer] was not afraid to go into his enemy's country but achieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped." [2]

726 The following statement from Hawkins gives an excellent idea of the voluntary character of war parties, and the relation of the war 622 to the civil chiefs. War "is always determined on by the Great 701 Warrior [i. e. the Tástánągi łáko]. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have

[2] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 34-35.

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been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk. 726 622 701

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off." [33]

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says: 726

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanīdja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[34] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by [35] and Is-te-pau-pau,[36] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic." [37]

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which 726 177 642

[33] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

[34] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.

[35] This is intended for teito yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chiccota told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.

[36] Isti pape, "person eater."

[37] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

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determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała làbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or hołibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called istatcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

posts are used for the seating of as many clans, groups of clans or related officials. 344

Considerable variation in the ancient and intended plan has been brought about by the attrition which the tribe and its several divisions have undergone, loss of the keepers of the sacred lore, and other factors, but it is plain that normally one of the four cabins was mainly devoted to the miko and his clan. Hence it was called mikàlgi (or mikàgi) intupa, the "Chiefs' bed." Another was devoted mainly to the henīhàlgi and was named from them, another to the higher class of warriors, the tàstànàgàlgi, and so received their name, and still another to the novitiate warriors or youths from whom it was called tàsikaiàlgi intupa or tcibànàgàlgi intupa. The positions of these in the square ground varies considerably. It should be stated in the first place that the cabins are placed normally toward the four points of the compass, but that for some unexplained reason in the square of Tukabahchee the entrances are toward the cardinal points. In the old Kasihta square, which seems to have set the fashion for many other towns, the mikos' cabin lay west, the henihas' south, the tàstànàgis' north, and the tàsikaias' east. In the Okfuskee towns, of which Nuyaka is an example, the mikos' cabin lay north, the henihas' east, the tàstànàgis' west, and the tàsikaias' south. In Pakan Tallahassee the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' south, the tàstànàgis' west, and there is no east cabin. In Eufaula the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' east and the tàstànàgis' south, the west cabin being missing. In Alabama, where there are but two cabins, the mikos' cabin is east.

The other variations in the arrangement of the squares will come out in the subjoined material, but before presenting it something must be said regarding town officials.

The miko, as already stated, was chief of the town, its head presiding officer and responsible executive. Like many of the other officers he had a special companion or henīha taken from the Wind clan or whatever clan occupied the position of henīhàlgi. This henīha is sometimes called miko apokta, "second chief," but the latter name is also given to still another functionary who shares the burdens of state with his superior. The chief had one or more yatikas or interpreters who also bore the name asimbonaia, "speakers." Unless wanted to make an announcement or to send upon an errand, they sat with their clan or other group to which they normally belonged. The tàstànàgi làko and holibonaia have been mentioned. The position of holibonaia, "war speaker" was the most exalted military position, and it is possible that there was only one such official at a time in [622] 624

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But however the arrangement, it is to be noticed that the public grounds of the Creeks included three elements, the *A*, *B*, and *C* of Bartram. As already stated, I believe the building which he calls the rotunda to be the oldest element of all, although it is the one which has disappeared most completely. In construction it was similar to the winter house of the individual Creek Indian, differing little except in size and the uses to which it was put. Adair says: 344

"It is usually built on the top of a hill; and, in that separate and imperial state house, the old beloved men and head warriors meet on material business, or to divert themselves, and feast and dance with the rest of the people. They furnish the inside with genteel couches, either to sit or lie on, about seven feet wide, and a little more in length, with a descent towards the wall, to secure them from falling off when asleep. Every one takes his seat, according to his reputed merit; a worthless coxcomb dare not be guilty of the least intrusion—should he attempt it, he is ordered to his proper place, before the multitude, with the vilest disgrace, and bears their stinging laughter." [76] 344 623

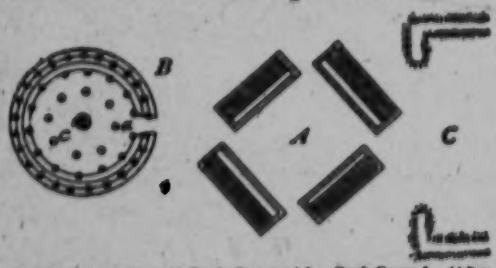

FIG. 8.—Latter pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Bank Ground. (After Bartram.)

Swan describes it as follows:

"The hot-house is a perfect pyramid of about twenty-five feet high, on a circular base of the same diameter. The walls of it are of clay, about six feet high, and from thence drawn regularly to a point at the top, and covered round with tufts of bark. Inside of the hot-house is one broad circular seat made of canes, and attached to the walls all around. The fire is kindled in the center; and the house, having no ventilator, soon becomes intolerably hot; yet the savages, amidst all the smoke and dust raised from the earthen floor by their violent manner of dancing, bear it for hours together without the least apparent inconvenience." [77] 344

Hawkins names this house the "chooc-ofau thluc-co"—Tcokō'fa lā'ko, "house with a big room," as obtained by myself—and he goes on to give the following description:

"This is near the square, and is constructed after the following manner: Eight posts are fixed in the ground, forming an octagon of thirty feet diameter. They are twelve feet high, and large enough to support the roof. On these, five or six logs are placed, of a side,

[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 421. [77] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. [illegible].

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fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry small sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoak. All around the inside of the building, betwixt the second range of pillars and the wall, is a range of cabins or sophas, consisting of two or three steps, one above or behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sophas are covered with mats or carpets, very curiously made of thin splints of Ash or Oak, woven or platted together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year." [80]

This writer is the only one mentioning three concentric rows of posts in addition to the central pillar.

Contemporaneous with Bartram's description is that of Taitt:

"The hot house is generally built at the north west Corner of the Square having the door fronting the South East. The one in this Town [Tukabahchee] is a Square building about 30 feet diameter rounded a little at the Corners; the walls are about four feet high; from these walls the roof rises about twelve feet, terminating in a point at top. The door is the only Opening in this house for they have no window nor funnell for the smoke to go out, there is a small entry about ten feet long built at the out side of the door and turned a little round the side of the house to keep out the Cold and prevent the wind blowing the fire about the House; they make a Circle of pitch pine Split small; or in lieu of the pitch pine they use small dry Canes, leaving a small space of the Circle Open where the fire is lighted, still keeping some person Employed to add pitch pine of Canes to one part of the Circle while the fire Consumes the other. In this house the Indians consult about the affairs of their Nation in the Winter Season and in their Square in Summer." [81]

[623]

Hitchcock's notes contain a short description of the Tukabahchee tcokofa erected after the emigration of the Creeks to the banks of the Canadian. He calls this building "the Round house," and says:

"Considerable ingenuity has been employed in its erection.[81a] The main structure is supported upon *twelve* posts or pillars, one end sunk in the ground. They are disposed in a circle about 9 or 10 ft. apart, making a space within of about 120 ft. circumference, in the centre of which, upon the ground, is the sacred fire. The roof over this circle

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[80] Bartram, Travels, pp. 366-367.

[81] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 508.

[81a] It seems that the architect was Tukabahchee mike, a well-known Upper Creek leader and at that time its leading medicine maker. After giving the dimensions of the building as "about 60 feet in diameter and 20 feet high," he says that Tukabahchee mike "cut sticks in miniature of every log required in the construction of the building, and distributed them proportionately among the residents of the town, whose duty it was to cut logs corresponding with their sticks, and deliver them upon the ground appropriated for the building, at a given time. At the raising of the house, not a log was cut or changed from its original destination; all came together in their appropriate places, as intended by the designer. During the planning of this building, which occupied him six days, he did not partake of the least particle of food."—Swanton, Mus. Colls., No. 88, p. 13.

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"Each square has a black-drink cook, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum." [87] 344 [272]

Hawkins probably had the square of Kasihta more particularly in mind and Swan that of Otciapofa. From Bartram we have two different descriptions, one more generalized, the other a particular account of the square of Atasi. The first and briefer of these runs as follows:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all the apparatus of the priests. None but the priests having the care of these articles are admitted; and it is said to be certain death for any other person to enter. [623] [778]

"Fronting this is another building, called the "Banqueting House;" and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike, and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment." [88]

His description of the Atasi square is much longer:

"The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre and highest part of the town: it consists of four-square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants: there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width: each building is constructed of a wooden frame fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay morter; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air; the front or side next to the area is quite open like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the coun- 344 623

[87] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 264-265.
[88] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. iii, pp. 59-64.

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344 cilhouse where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who
[623] have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide and rectify all grievances, complaints and contentions, arising betwixt the citizens; give audience to ambassadors, and strangers; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies or distant nations; consult about the particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens, or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three: it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded
[778] place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary* dedicated to religion, or rather priest craft; for here are deposited all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs and other apparatus of conjurations; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail (Vultur sacra) curiously formed and displayed like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermillion. The piazza or front of this building, is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats or cabins stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sophas, and serve for a banqueting-house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females however are seldom or never seen in the public square.

344 "The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated
532 with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as an historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque or caricature, as men in variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kind of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front

* "Sanctorum or sacred temple; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war-chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night."—Bartram.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each tálwa, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the miko's seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the

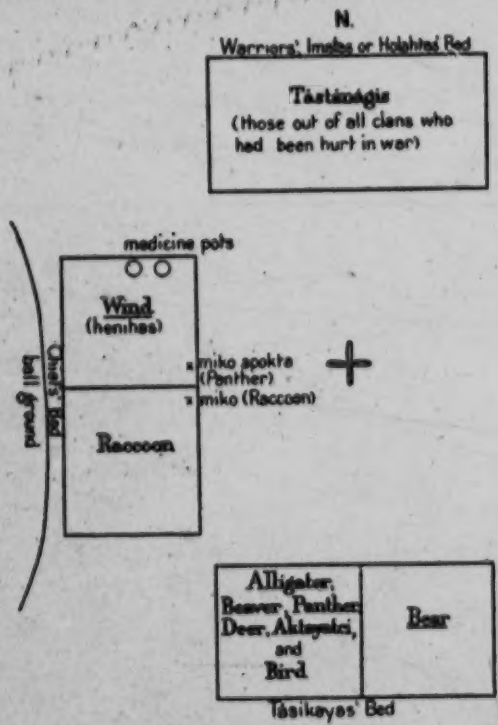

FIG. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2

four front posts of the miko's bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Koasati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the miko's bed in the Koasati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

554 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck
302 derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say:

"The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti àtcagàgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the à-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the àsi was the prerogative of the henihàlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the àsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at
614 different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the
623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

619 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy
631 the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets
642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 246.
[48] See p. 438.
[49] The game described on pp. 469-470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 288.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

574 met was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink concluded the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine, and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

"After the public entertainment was over, the young people began their music and dancing in the square, whither the young of both sexes repaired, as well as the old and middle aged: this frolick continued all night."[21]

796 Bartram has the following regarding the ceremonies connected with an ordinary Creek council:

•623 "As their virgils and manner of conducting their vespers and mystical fire in this rotunda [the tcokofa], are extremely singular, and altogether different from the customs and usages of any other people, I shall proceed to describe them. In the first place, the governor or officer who has the management of this business, with his servants attending, orders the black drink to be brewed, which is a decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender shoots of the Cassine: this is done under an open shed or pavilion, at twenty or thirty yards distance, directly opposite the door of the council-house. Next he orders bundles of dry canes to be brought in: these are previously split and broken in pieces to about the length of two feet, and then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution encreases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly or meeting is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the earth, however I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blaze instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up. Soon after this illumination takes place, the aged chiefs and warriors are seated on their cabins or sophas on the side of the house opposite the door, in three classes or ranks, rising a little, one above or behind the other; and the white people and red people of confederate towns in the like order on the left hand; a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall about breast high, separating them: the king's

[21] Bartram, Travels, pp. 230-235.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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cabin or seat is in front; the next to the back of it the head warriors; and the third or last accommodates the young warriors, etc. The great war chief's seat or place is on the same cabin with, and immediately to the left hand of the king, and next to the white people; and to the right hand of the mico or king the most venerable head-men and warriors are seated.

"The assembly being now seated in order, and the house illuminated, two middle aged men, who perform the office of slaves or servants, pro tempore, come in together at the door, each having very large conch shells full of black drink, and advance, with slow, uniform and steady steps, their eyes or countenances lifted up, singing very low but sweetly; they come within six or eight paces of the king's and white people's cabins, when they stop together, and each rests his shell on a tripos or little table, but presently takes it up again, and, bowing very low, advances obsequiously, crossing or interesecting each other about midway: he who rested his shell before the white people now stands before the king, and the other who stopped before the king stands before the white people, and as soon as he raises it to his mouth, the slave utters or sings two notes, each of which continues as long as he has breath; and as long as these notes continue, so long must the person drink or at least keep the shell to his mouth. These two long notes are very solemn, and at once strike the imagination with a religious awe or homage to the Supreme, sounding somewhat like a-hoo—ojah and a-lu—yah.[22] After this manner the whole assembly are treated, as long as the drink and light continue to hold out; and as soon as the drinking begins, tobacco and pipes are brought. The skin of a wild cat or young tyger stuffed with tobacco is brought, and laid at the king's feet, with the great or royal pipe beautifully adorned; the skin is usually of the animals of the king's family or tribe, as the wild-cat, otter, bear, rattle-snake, etc. A skin of tobacco is likewise brought and cast at the feet of the white chief of the town, and from him it passes from one to another to fill their pipes from, though each person has besides his own peculiar skin of tobacco. The king or chief smokes first in the great pipe a few whiffs, blowing it off ceremoniously, first towards the sun, or as it is generally supposed to the Great Spirit, for it is puffed upwards, next towards the four cardinal points, then towards the white people in the house; then the great pipe is taken from the hand of the mico by a slave, and presented to the chief white man, and then to the great war chief, whence it circulates through the rank of head men and warriors, then returns to the king. After this each one fills his pipe from his own or his neighbour's skin."[23]

[22] Possibly intended for Yahola and Hayuya (see pp. 485, 544).
[23] Bartram, Travels, pp. 448-452.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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By "the royal standard" Bartram means nothing more than the feathered calumet. The drum, as we learn on all hands, was used to call assemblies at the square for whatever purpose, and bear skins were usually laid down for the principal men and their guests on such occasions. The all-night dance mentioned at the end was a familiar accompaniment of the daily lives of the people.

Ceremony of the Asi

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At least one ceremony is involved here which was more religious than social and I will proceed to a more intimate account of it. This is the ceremony connected with the taking of the *Ilex vomitoria* or "black drink." The longest and best description of this is given by Swan and is as follows:

"The ceremony of the Black-drink is a military institution, blended with religious opinions.

"The black-drink is a strong decoction of the shrub well known in the Carolinas by the name of Cassina, or the Uupon tea.

"The leaves are collected, parched in a pot until brown, boiled over a fire in the center of the square, dipped out and poured from one pan or cooler into another, and back again, until it ferments and produces a large quantity of white froth, from which, with the purifying qualities the Indians ascribe to it, they style it white-drink; but the liquor of itself, which, if strong, is nearly as black as molasses, is by the white people universally called black-drink.

"It is a gentle diuretic, and, if taken in large quantities, sometimes affects the nerves. If it were qualified with sugar, etc., it could hardly be distinguished in taste from strong bohea tea.

"Except rum, there is no liquor of which the Creek Indians are so excessively fond. In addition to their habitual fondness for it, they have a religious belief that it infallibly possesses the following qualities, viz.: That it purifies them from all sin, and leaves them in a state of perfect innocence; that it inspires them with an invincible prowess in war; and that it is the only solid cement of friendship, benevolence, and hospitality. Most of them really seem to believe that the Great Spirit or Master of breath has communicated the virtues of the black-drink to them, and them only (no other Indians being known to use it as they do),[23a] and that it is a peculiar blessing bestowed on them, his chosen people. Therefore, a stranger going among them can not recommend himself to their protection in any manner so well as by offering to partake of it with them as often as possible.

"The method of serving up black-drink in the square is as follows, viz:

[23a] This was by no means the case since, in one form or another, the drink was used by practically all Southeastern tribes. See below.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

344 is a cone terminating in a point over the fire some 20 odd feet high. The rafters extend down from the apex of the cone beyond the twelve pillars, which are about 8 ft. high, to within 4 or 5 ft. of the ground, which space, of 4 or 5 ft., is closed entirely with earth. Between the pillars and the extreme exterior, a space of several feet, are seats of mats, like those of the sheds [in the Square]. The manner of constructing the roof is very remarkable for Indian work. Upon the alternate couples of the 12 pillars are first placed horizontal pieces, then upon the ends of these are placed other horizontal pieces between the other couples of pillars, then another series of horizontal pieces resting upon the second set, but drawn within towards the centre of the circle a few inches. Upon these again are other pieces still more drawn in. There are 4 tiers of horizontal pieces thus placed upon each other (fig. 4).

"A, b, c, d, are four of the twelve pillars. Pieces are first laid upon ab and upon cd, then a piece upon these and between bc, etc., etc. These horizontal pieces are strongly bound together by leather thongs of green hide. They are only carried up to the number of 4 sufficient for giving a direction and a foundation for the rafters, which are laid upon these, extending up to a point in one direction and in the other direction over [the] outside nearly to the ground. The rafters are strongly bound by thongs and covered with ordinary rived boards for shingles. There is but one small entrance to the House which is next towards the angle of the square adjacent to which the Round House stands." [80]

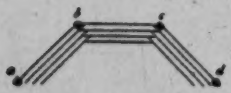

FIG. 4.—Structure of the roof of a Creek tookofa. (After Hitchcock)

[624] He adds that certain persons were appointed to preserve the buildings and that they were obliged to take the black drink every morning.

177 344 These descriptions, particularly that of Hawkins, agree with those I have myself obtained from old men who remember some of the hot houses that were built in Oklahoma. One had even heard that these buildings were anciently on mounds. In later times, however, the construction became much simpler. Some were made by resting poles on one end on an earthen wall and drawing the upper ends together at the center, the whole being covered with long boards. It is to be added that, although the seats ran all the way around this building on the inside, it was divided into separate "beds," maintaining the same general position as those in the "big house" out of doors. It was, as nearly as could be managed, an indoors version of the latter. During the Civil War most of these houses disappeared, and only one seems to have been built after that time, in this case by the people of Pakan tallahassee. One of the men who had participated

[80] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. The overlapping of the horizontal pieces in the sketch is crudely indicated, suggesting an outward rather than an inward flare.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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C. 622.

an address was delivered to him by a speaker appointed for that purpose in which his future duties and the expectations of the tribe regarding him were set forth. In 1912 the then chief of the Yuchi informed me that when he was installed he was placed upon a buckskin which had been dressed by a virgin, and in the speech which was made to him the other members of the tribe were called his "children" and his duties to them were set forth. He was told that all of the paths were white for him; that he was to be governed by that fact and shed

S. [344 621]

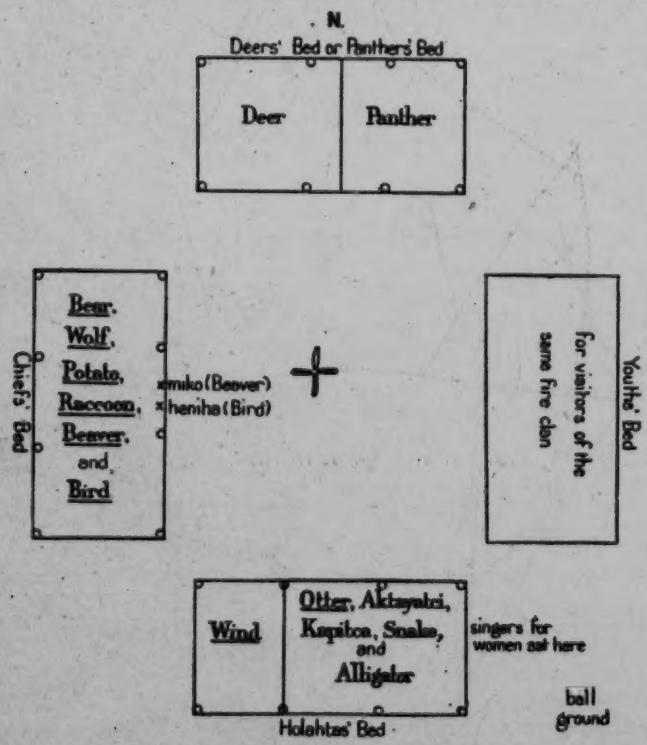

FIG. 86.—Plan of the Square Ground of Oakasee Seminole

no blood. The ceremony was completed by all passing around behind him in single file. This ceremony seems to have been common to all of the towns of the confederacy. It emphasizes the miko's close connection with affairs of peace.

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In Tukabahchee the organization was somewhat different, there being seven principal chiefs (mikâgi) who sat in the front seat of the Chiefs' bed, extending from the center to the southern end. Each of them had an assistant or heniha (an official to be noted presently). If the head miko, who sat in the center of the bed, did not succeed—

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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i. e., if the town did not prosper under him, whether he was responsible or not—or if his heniha died he had to surrender his place and move down to the foot of the row of mikos, the rest of whom moved up, and the man next to him took his place. Vacancies in the row of mikos were filled by the remaining mikos in consultation with the tàstànàgis, who were called over to the Chiefs' bed to confer about the matter. The man selected was escorted to his seat by another miko or by a tàstànàgi. Mention has already been made of the anomalous

S. [344 621]

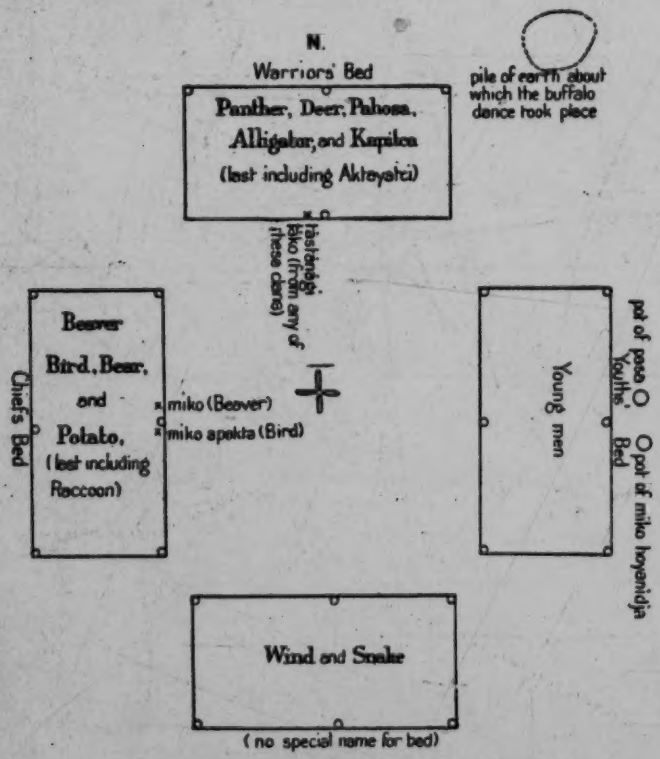

FIG. 37.—Plan of the Square Ground of Okfuskee Seminole

miko called Ispokogi miko, who perhaps enjoyed priestly functions, but of course nothing is known regarding the manner of his selection, the institution having died out too long ago.

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Tukabahchee preserves its old square organization very well and its system of government may be representative of that of other Creek towns, but I am inclined to think that considerable differences always existed. The Coweta head chief is said to have been elected at a meeting of the entire town, but the actual selection may have

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

been entrusted to the White clans (see p. 281). Probably he was chosen in the same way as the second chief who is said to have been nominated by the White clans, and the nomination confirmed, merely as a matter of form, by the Tcilokis. According to Legus Perryman, the chiefs at Lutcapoga, along with the other officers of each of the three beds, were chosen by the members of the other two, the only limitation being in respect to the clan from which they could be taken.

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The chiefs of the Texas Alabama were elected at a general meeting of the tribe, but this statement applies only to recent times, and

S. [344 621]

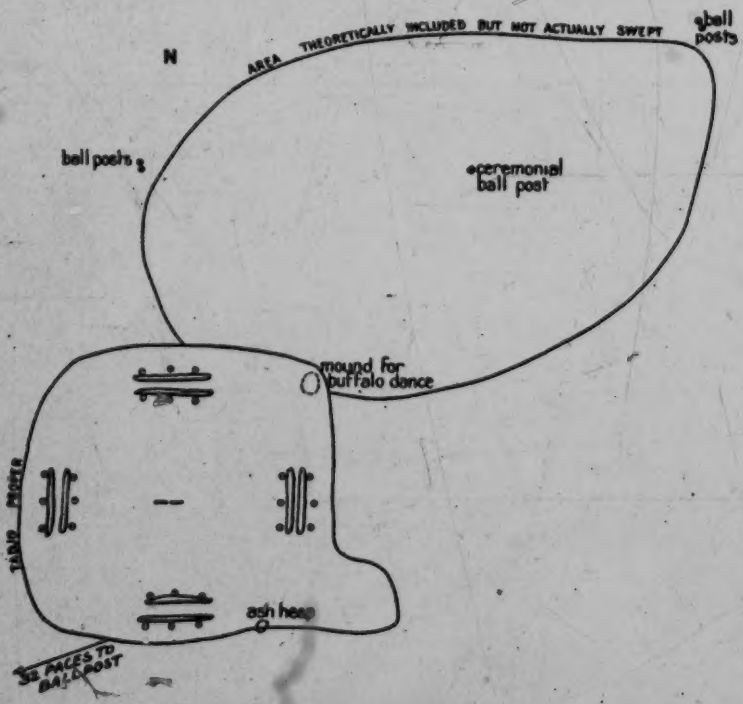

FIG. 88.—Oktustse Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

before they left the other Creeks in Alabama their custom may have been different.

As we have seen in the case of Tukabahchee, there were sometimes assistant chiefs. At Tukabahchee they were all of one clan, but sometimes they were of different clans, perhaps in such cases the heads of their respective clans, for we know that the oldest or most influential uncle in each presided at clan councils and advised his fellows regarding their conduct. This has been spoken of already. At Pakan tallahassee the miko, who belongs to the Aktayatci clan, sits

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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in the middle of the north bed, on his left his heniha, and on his right, in succession, a second chief of the Wind clan, a third chief of the Bear (or Panther) clan, and a fourth chief of the Bird (or Panther) clan.

Usually, however, there was one principal subordinate chief, or vice chief, miko apokta ("twin chief") as he was called, and the customs regarding him seem to have varied considerably from town

S. [344 621]

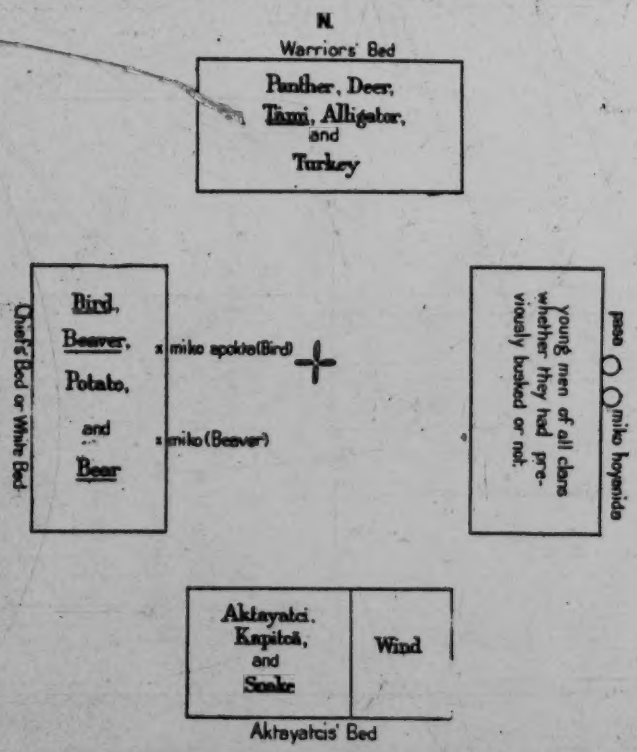

FIG. 88.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahassutci Seminole

to town. Hawkins says of this chief: "When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly." The second chief in Tulsa Canadian, Lutcapoga, and probably in the other Tulsa towns as well, belonged to the Beaver clan, the same as that which furnished the first chief. According to Legus Perryman, the second chief of Lutcapoga was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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called the itá'lwa mi'ko. He was assistant to the head chief and, while the authority of the latter extended over the town as a whole, he concerned himself with matters of a more local character, particularly those connected with the square. He might be called the "square chief." Similarly, the second chief of Coweta, who was taken from the Panther clan, is said to have been "chief of the square," while the head chief was "speaker for the other towns friendly to Coweta." This may refer back to the time when the Coweta chief was also chief of all the Lower Creeks. The second chief of Łiwahali is said to have been of the Aktayatci or Fox clan and to have taken charge if, for any reason, the miko had to leave the square ground. In Łikatcha the miko belonged to the Alligator clan and the miko apokta to the Bear. I was informed that at Chiaha the miko and heniha were both taken from the Bear clan, but the miko apokta must have been intended instead of the heniha. From Speck it appears that the position of miko apokta at Tuskegee was of a less permanent character. He says: "If the *miko* could not leave his town he appointed a delegate who bore his title to attend the councils of other towns or those of the Confederacy."[32]

S. [344]

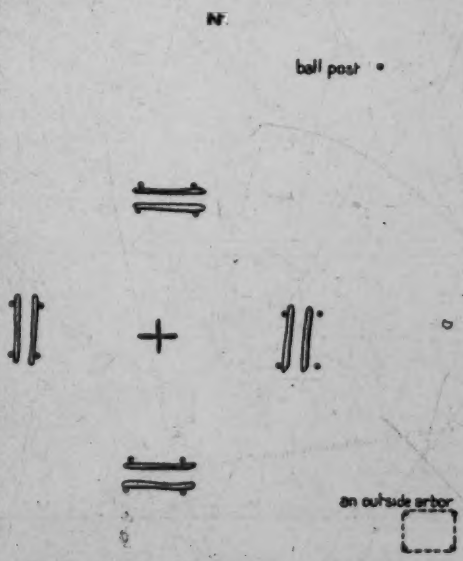

FIG. 90.—Tallahassuti Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Connected evidently with the institution of a miko apokta was a condition reported from several towns in which the chieftainship alternated between two clans. I was informed that in Tcatoksofka such an alternation took place between the Bear and Beaver clans. If the head chief belonged to the Bear clan and the second chief to the Beaver clan, and the former died the latter would become head chief, a member of the Bear clan being chosen as second chief. In Tuskegee a similar alternation took place between the Bear and Wind clans, and in the old Abihka town near Eufaula an alternation is reported between the Bear and Raccoon. This Abihka square has, however, long been given up and the other Abihka towns do not seem

[32] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. 2, p. 112.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 614 622 to have preserved the custom, although in two of them the chiefs are Bear and the henihas Raccoon. In the Seminole town of Talahasutci there is said to have been an alternation between the Beaver and the Bird clans. I was told that, after the last reorganization of the Hitchiti square in which the miko was taken from the Bird clan and the heniha from the Deer, in an emergency the latter could be made miko and the former heniha.

C. 624 In addition to the chiefs, second chiefs, and similar leaders there was anciently a considerable body of persons called mikâgi, or mikâlgi,

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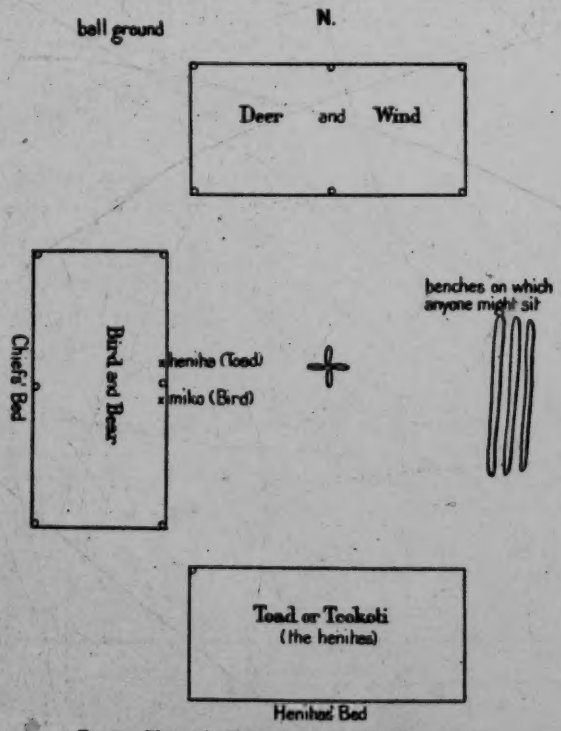

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole

the plural of miko, who performed minor functions. These were ordinarily taken from the same clan as the head miko, though it may be possible that the appellation was extended beyond under certain circumstances, particularly in later times. It is even possible that the name may have been bestowed at the busk on account of an ancestor who had this title and with no office or dignity attached. All we can say is that the mikâgi belonged theoretically, and usually, to the clan of the head miko. The following account of this class by

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Stiggins contains practically all that we know about them. Its importance must be allowed to compensate for the execrable English in which it is cast:

"For a better distribution of their public business, such as public work of planting and tending in corn, &c., their public town field and gathering their Eupon or Cassine leaves for their black drink—when every man of age is obliged to attend and do his part or be fined according to his circumstances—the inhabited parts of the nation

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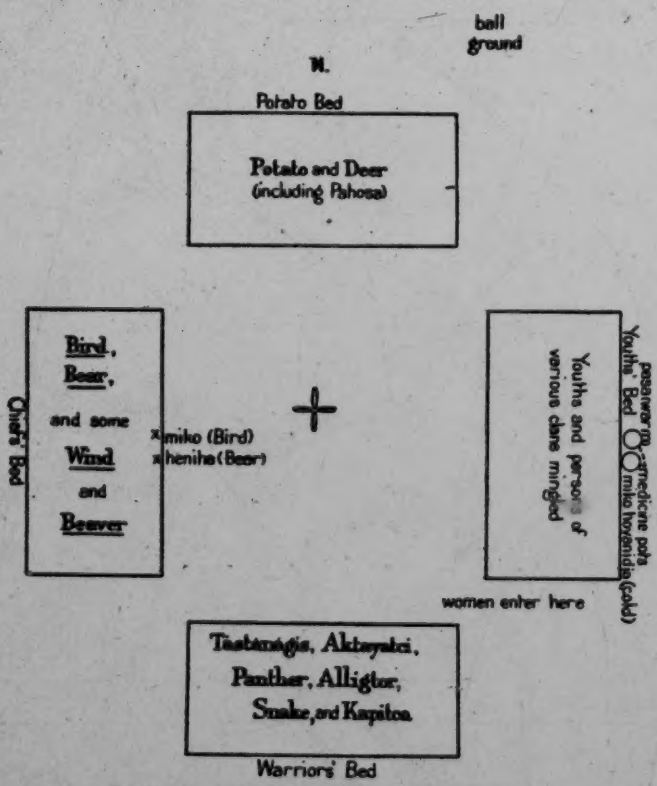

FIG. 94.—Plan of the Square Ground of Liwahali Seminole (I)

are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point, which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga* which term is the plural of *mic co*, a term of gradation more applicable to the office of overseer or guardian in my conception than to that of a King, (as most people will interpret it,) as many towns have at least one tenth of its population for *mic cul ga*

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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which is none too many for guardians to watch over them and moralize their conduct, but it is constituting by far too many kings for one town or principality. When it is thought necessary for the principal men or committee of townsmen to make a new *mic co*, they proceed very ceremoniously in their rude way to his inauguration, *to wit* without his being previously consulted on the subject, when they have made the determination to effect it, and at their townhouse assembly they advance up to him, and call him at the same time in a

S. [344 621]

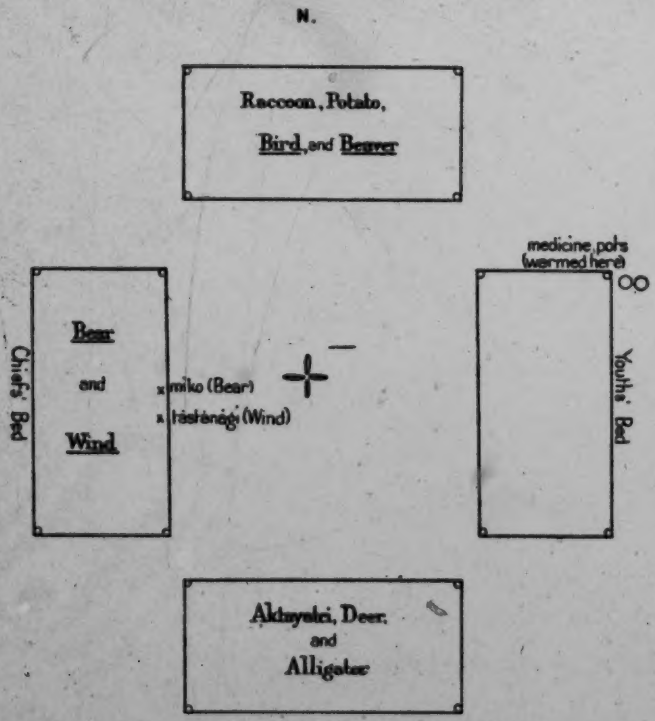

FIG. 97.—Plan of the Square Ground of Chiaha Seminole

loud, long, and shrill tone by a name that he is thereafter to go by, with the addition of *mic co*, for instance such as *yo ho lo micco* or *Ispocoga mic co*, etc.; and at the same time they smear his face all over with white clay, a ceremony imitating in importance the accolade of knighthood and Sir. Though some of the *miccos* do rise to be principal chiefs it is by merit, for nominal office [of the mic cul ga] is for town purposes to admonish, regulate, and keep in peace the members of their town people by whom they are regarded with respect and deference. There are other applicable Sir names given to

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distinguish their grade in their town police. They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[33]

The henihâlgi were devoted to peace even more than the mikâgi. As I have shown elsewhere, a White clan was almost always chosen for this office, and originally the position appears to have been a particular prerogative of the Wind people.[33a] Their section in the

S. [344 621]

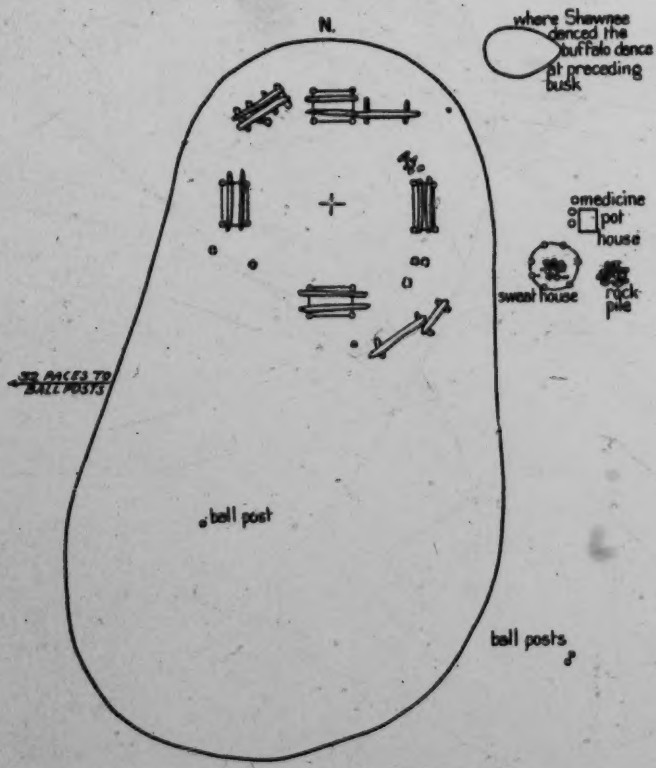

FIG. 98.—Chisha Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

square ground was usually known as the "White bed" and was often diametrically opposite that of the Warriors. Hawkins says of the henihâlgi: "These have the direction of the public works appertaining to the town, such as the public buildings, building houses in town for new settlers, or working in the fields. They are particularly charged with the ceremony of the a-ce (a decoction of the

[33] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.

[33a] See pp. 184-186.

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cassine yupon, called by the traders black drink), under the direction of the mic-co."[34] They thus constituted a kind of Creek Department of the Interior. In some towns, in conjunction with the Bear clan, they had particular charge of the feathers used in the "feather dance." In Tukabahchee every miko, tástánągi, and imała łáko was accompanied by a heniha who sat at his left, and when an official was sent on an errand a heniha had to accompany him. Since in

S. [344 621]

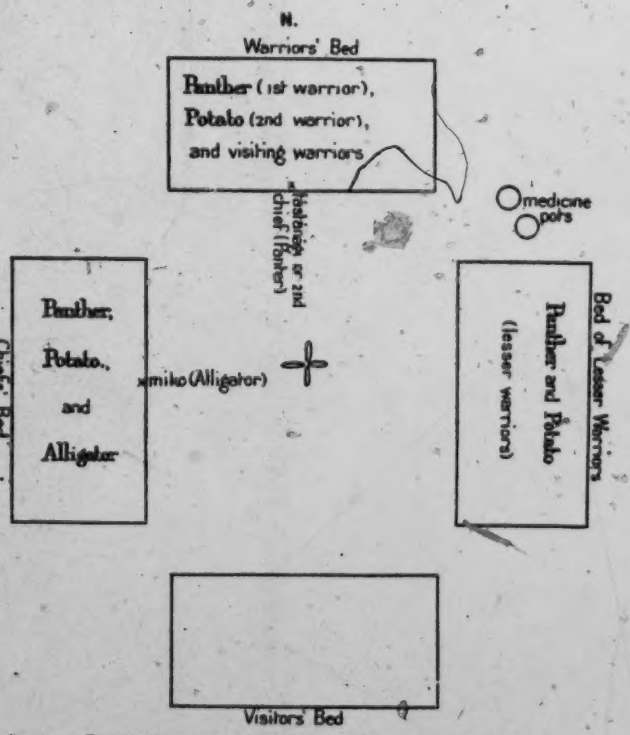

FIG. 90.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (I)

this town the mikos and most of the tástánągis and imałas belonged to the Red clans while the busk was a peace ceremony the association of henihas with these may have been for the purpose of securing or marking the prevalence of peace. A similar custom probably prevailed in other towns, but it has generally fallen into disuse. Its vestigial character at Tuskegee is shown by the report on these officials made to Doctor Speck: "There were always two men of recognized ability in dancing, having also a knowledge of the rites,

[34] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69. In Chiaha, at least, it was one of their functions to compose differences; see pp. 352, 353 in the paper following.

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who were known as *Mníha*, or *Mníha łákko*. Their occupation was chiefly to procure leaders for the various dances or to lead themselves, and to encourage the participants when they became fatigued." [26]

It is generally agreed that the henihálgi, along with the mikági, and the isti átca'gági, a class to be considered later, formed the council of the head miko. According to Jackson Lewis, these officials governed the entire town and laid down certain regulations which a

S. [344 621]

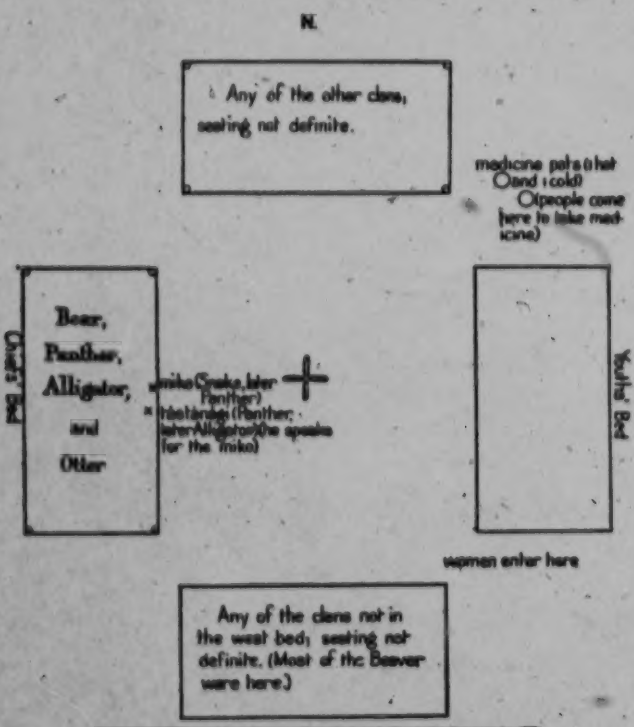

FIG. 100.—Plan of the Square Ground of Mikasuki Seminole (II)

man from the Warriors' bed was called upon to announce. According to one or two men the miko's heniha was the one who made announcements, delivered the "long talks" at the busk grounds and called out the new titles which were conferred. This may have been the case in later times when the square grounds had begun to show signs of disorganization, but I think it was not true of the organization when it was intact. On the contrary, this function seems to have been performed by the chief's yatika or interpreter.

[26] Speak in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. 2, p. 114.

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The yatika was chosen by preference from the clan of the chief but could be taken from any, and he usually sat beside the chief during the ceremonial so that he could interpret his wishes to the assembly. Sometimes, or during a part of the ceremony, he sat by himself. At Ławahali he is said to have been seated in the middle of the south or Warriors' bed.

There was only one holibonaya or "war speaker" in a town at a time, and probably some towns were without any. He was not

S. [344 621]

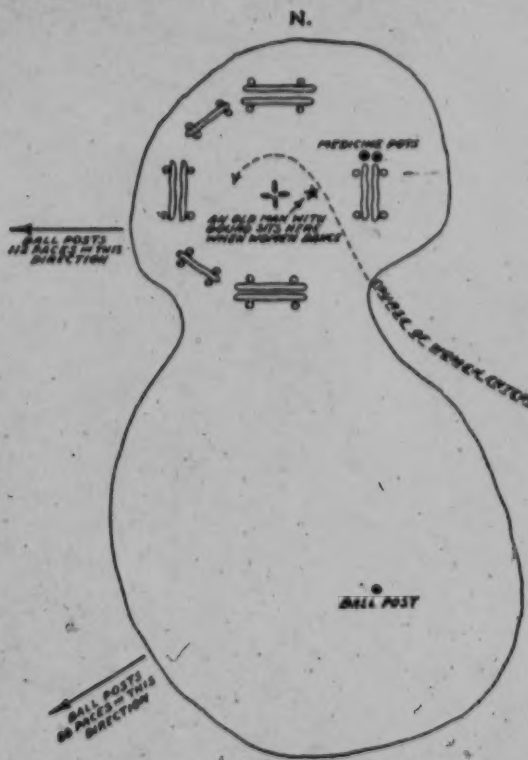

FIG. 101.—Mikasuki Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

necessarily a warrior and was taken by preference from the clan of the chief. Hoboi-hiłyahola, however, the greatest war speaker the Creeks ever had, and one of their greatest men, belonged to the Potato clan at Tukabahchee. At Kasihta the seat of the war speaker was in the corner of the Warriors' bed nearest the bed of the chiefs. A common speaker was called Asimbonaya.

I am somewhat uncertain regarding the relations existing between the yatika and holibonaya, for it is said of each of them that he was

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"the best speaker in the town." The two offices may sometimes have been combined, but it is evident that they were usually distinct. 624

In Tukabahchee and all of those towns of which the ancient organization has been preserved, either in the memories of the Indians or in fact, there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the tástánágálgi, the next in rank the imała łákâ'lgi, or "big imałas," and the third the imała łábotakálgi or "little imałas." At Tukabahchee, and probably in the greater number of towns, the tástánágis sat at the western end of the north bed, but, as I have shown elsewhere, their position varied, and sometimes the tástánágis and imałas were seated in different beds. The Tukabahchee arrangement is given by Hawkins as that in Kasihta in his time. He does not indeed give the Indian names of the various grades of warriors but he states that there were three of them and that promotion was regular from lowest to highest. In most towns the tástánágis and imałas received their positions on account of warlike feats, not because of ancestry or clan connection. One of my informants said that a tástánági was a man who "carried out the determinations of the town." The leader of the tástánágis was usually known as the tástánági łáko, "big warrior," and Hawkins states that he was selected from among the tástánágis by the miko and isti átcagági.[86] According to the same writer the highest title to which a warrior could aspire was that of "Great Leader" (Is-te-puc-cau-chau thlucco [isti pákatca łáko]), which required "a long course of years and great and numerous successes in war." The head warrior of Tukabahchee was known as the Tástánági simiabaiya.[86] He was privileged to call the whole town together. According to a Coweta informant, in his town the tástánágis were elected by the head men of the town from the Red clans, but, although it is probable that, on account of the theory regarding them, more warriors would arise from the Red than from the White clans, they were certainly not drawn exclusively from such clans. These officials all had to do with war and with the ball game which is called "the brother of the war." War, while decided upon in council, was announced by the Big Warrior. According to a Coweta informant ball games were arranged by the Big Warriors of the towns concerned, each taking such assistants as he desired, but in Kasihta there was a special official, the hałisi tástánági, who attended to such matters. The Tástánágis were also the native police, the Big Warrior being "chief of police"; they carried out the decisions of the miko and the isti átcagágis, and they punished any one who

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FIG. 102.—Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green

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[86] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

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failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the henihas, the functions of the tástánágis became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one tástánági, who took the places of the old yatika and chief's heniha. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate mikos and the isti átcagági as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes.[28] They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

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Milfort speaks of the "tastanégy" as if he were the head war chief of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the tástánági łáko of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity." [29]

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Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he was subjected when he was made tástánági is also worth reproducing. As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary tástánági, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

[28] Speck, in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. 2, p. 72. [29] Milfort, Voy., pp. 286-288.

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ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.[40]

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

[40] Evidently the fat.

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entered, the six priests or medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all repaired there together. The old man who had placed me on the litter, came at once to help me descend, and placed me on a bison skin which had been prepared for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank the cassine or the tea-like drink, and for twenty-four hours they took nothing but the war medicine.

"I had not yet drunk this medicine although I had been made a little war chief and I had commanded in the place of the grand chief, because I had taken care to make for myself a particular medicine; for it is indispensable to have one in order to be assured of the confidence of the savages; but this time it was necessary to imitate the assembly, and drink the general medicine. I was not long in experiencing a strong feeling of sickness, which forced me to eject all of the medicine I had taken, and to imitate the assembly in that. This very disgusting ceremony lasted until sunrise next day. Then the entire assembly undressed, and we went, absolutely naked, into a circular cabin where the priests had gone to await us. Each of them had brought thither a brass kettle, in which they had had the war medicine boiled. Shortly afterward the subordinate chiefs brought stones which they had heated red hot in the fire in the center; and the priests, while singing, threw upon them the water which was contained in the two gourds of which I have already sopken which occasioned a dreadful heat and steam. The entire assembly was in a very profuse perspiration, and it was so great on all parts of my body that, although I was very healthy, I thought that it would be impossible to resist it. We remained in this condition about half an hour, and then part of the chiefs went out of the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all left and went immediately to throw ourselves into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without much fear that I decided to imitate the entire assembly in that; it appeared to me very dangerous in the perspiring condition in which I then was to throw myself at once into the cold water; but it was impossible for me to do otherwise, and I suffered nothing more than the fear (j'en fus quitte pour la peur). I think, however, that the purgation which I had undergone in drinking the war medicine, prevented the ill effects of such a bath. On going out of the water, where we remained only a short time, each one dressed himself, and we returned to the grand cabin, in which a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to enter the square in the grand cabin, to dance around the fire, which burned continually during the entire period of this ceremony, lasting three days, during which no member of the assembly was allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, or to sleep. I was so much the more under obligations to remain there with the assembly, as it was for me alone that the ceremony took place.

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"I was seated in a distinguished place, and I had priests on both sides; if I happened to get drowsy, one threw fresh water in my face, and the other rubbed it with little stones, which he had taken care to put into some water beside me for this purpose. 624 701 796

"The three days having elapsed I was conducted home in the same manner as had been observed in bringing me to the grand cabin. When we arrived there the oldest chief proclaimed my appointment, and informed me that I was now the first sentinel of the nation, at whose voice all of the young warriors were prepared to march; that the ordeals through which I had just passed, had for their object to make me understand that nothing must cause my zeal to relax, and that I must bear with equal courage cold, heat, and hunger, in order to defend the interests of the nation. When the old man had finished the assembly broke up, and each person returned to his home."[41]

The imałas were of course of less importance; in the progressive decline of Creek institutions few towns have retained them, and many people have forgotten there ever was such a class of officials. By one informant an imała was described as "a man whose advice was worth receiving anywhere." I was told that at Tukabahchee the big imałas were called into council by the Chiefs along with the tàstànàgis on rare occasions, but this was never done in the case of the little imałas. Nevertheless a question might be referred from the town council to the tàstànàgis to be considered by them and all of the imałas in a separate council. The imałas acted in general as assistants and messengers for the tàstànàgis, and performed the smaller services. 624

Below the imałas were the tàsikayàlgi. This word is now used in the general sense of "citizens" but it means "warriors" and originally designated the common warriors, those who had received busk names but as yet had done nothing to merit further promotion. Hawkins says of them: "The second class of warriors [he treats the tàstànàgis and imałas as one class] is the Tusse-ki-ul-gee. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co, or *war name*."[42] It would seem, therefore, that the name tàsikayàlgi applied to all those in the fourth bed and that tàsikayàlgi intupa might very well be a synonym for tcibànàgàlgi intupa, "youths' bed," the term usually given to it nowadays. As a matter of fact I find it used for that very bed by the Nuyaka Indians. 624 701

There is one other class of officials to be noted and this an important one, but a class which has fallen so much into abeyance 624

[41] Milfort, Voy., pp. 220-228. [42] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

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that it is now difficult to determine its exact status and functions. It is the class of isti àtcagàgi, "revered," "sacred" or "beloved men." We are assisted in forming some conception of them, fortunately, by Hawkins, who, in his account of the Kasihta square, calls the south bed the "is-te-chague-ul-gee in-too-pau, the cabin of the beloved men," and he describes these men from whom it was named thus:

"There are great men who have been war leaders, and who although of various ranks, have become estimable in a long course of public service. They sit themselves on the right division of the cabin of the Mic-co, and are his counsellors. The family of the Mic-co, and great men who have thus distinguished themselves, occupy this cabin of the beloved men."[48]

I was told that these men are the "foundation" of the busk, by which I understand it is meant that they furnish the brains that keeps the busk alive and in proper order. In fact some old Hilibi Indians referred to them as "the brains of the busk." They are exempt from taking any part in the duties, dances, etc., connected with the busk except the taking of the medicines. The same Indians stated that they held meetings in advance and planned the preparation of the beds, the camps, and every part of the program. There were only a few in each town. In Tukabahchee there were four in the north bed, four in the south bed, and four in the east bed, and each of these had a leader. The four in the south bed were called isti àtcagàgi sûlga, and they belonged to the Raccoon clan, that of the miko. The others were taken from different clans. Jackson Lewis stated that the isti àtcagàgi were of the same clan as the miko, or of related clans, but this statement could have applied only to the isti àtcagàgi sûlga. In Tukabahchee the name of each was a title borne in succession by each person elected to fill the position after the death of the previous incumbent. Kealedji was organized much like Tukabahchee, but the isti àtcagàgi sûlga sat at the south end of the Chiefs' bed instead of in the south bed. At Łaplàko there were a few isti àtcagàgi in the west or Chiefs' bed. At Łàlogàlga there was until lately one isti àtcagàgi, a Panther, I believe. At Talladega there were about three in each of the three beds of the town. In the square of the Western Abihka town there were four isti àtcagàgi in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the bed belonging to the Wind clan; also some in the west bed. In this town it was the isti àtcagàgi who arranged ball games. My informant regarding the Kan-tcati ground said that there were none of these officials there in his time. In Otciapofa there were four isti àtcagàgi to each of the three beds. At Okfuskee there were two isti àtcagàgi in the east bed and one in each of the others.

[48] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 70-71.

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At Upper Eufaula there was one of these men in each of the three beds, the one in the north belonging to the Bear clan, that in the east to the Deer clan, and that in the south to the Aktayatci clan. These men gave new names to boys. In Wiogufki there were no isti àtcagàgi, and only one tàstànàgi, who performed the functions of those officials. When the last Hitchiti square ground was organized the tàstànàgis and imalas were used in place of the isti àtcagàgi. In Alabama their place was taken by the tàstànàgis alone. According to one of my informants, in Pakan tallahassee the Bird clan was used as isti àtcagàgi, and the Wind clan is said to have performed their functions in Okchai. At Łiwahali they appointed the tàstànàgis.

At Tuskegee they seem to have lost their official position. "A man who amassed property," says Speck; "or raised himself in public esteem by other means was called *isti adjàqa*, 'man beloved.' No civil office, however, was indicated by this title, but those bearing it occupied a certain place in the lodges about the square. In a general way 'beloved men' also means those who have observed all the dietary taboos of the ceremonies, and even, in its broadest sense, those who have undergone the purging and taken their part in the religious performances."[44]

Putting together the fact, apparent in most towns of which we have information, that the isti àtcagàgi were scattered about in the different beds with what Hawkins tells us and the small items of information that may still be gathered it is fairly plain who these "beloved men" were. They were evidently the elders or veterans of the town who had passed through the various degrees of advancement but were probably not fit for active field service against an enemy. Their experience was, however, of maximum value to the community, and hence they governed the busk and were custodians of information regarding this and regarding the lore of the tribe generally. Therefore they were at the same time counsellors to the chief and the more active officials. Although the henihàlgi are now generally regarded as the chief's counsellors there is evidence that anciently they occupied a position of less prominence in this regard than the isti àtcagàgi. It will be noticed that Hawkins gives their name to the bed usually called after the henihas, while he actually seats them in a position in the chiefs' bed which the henihas often occupied. It is true that in many towns tàstànàgis have assumed their places but this is a result of a still further collapse of the old social organization, isti àtcagàgi having given way first to henihàlgi and both later to tàstànàgàlgi. The "beloved men," it should be remembered, were neither devoted entirely to war nor entirely to peace, and therefore their functions could very well fall in part to the peace officials and in part to the war officials. It seems to have

[44] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

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624 been this class which was pointed out to Milfort as the real rulers of the Creek nation when he inquired for their "king."[45]

624 614 Particular attention should be called to the differentiation of the isti àtcagàgi belonging to the clan of the chiefs as isti àtcagàgi sûlga in Tukabahchee and elsewhere. This differentiation indicates the invasion of the clan and hereditary ideas into an institution mainly based on merit. I do not mean that it necessarily represents a later development, yet it was the side of the institution which became more pronounced in later times. Even an informant as old as Jackson Lewis, in describing the isti àtcagàgi—probably as recognized in Eufaula—says that the term was applied to the men of the same clan as that of the town chief or to men of related clans. He adds that they sat in the central part of the north bed and embraced those who would succeed to the chieftaincy. As we have seen, they were not solely of the royal clan, but it is probably true that those who happened to belong in this group often became chiefs. In Pakan tallahassee and Okchai the hereditary tendency has gone so far that the term is applied to members of the Bird and Wind clans, respectively. It is to be added that the same evolution has taken place with another merit group, the tàstànàgis. At old Abihka near Eufaula I was told that the Raccoon clan were the tàstànàgis, at Kan-tcati the tàstànàgis were of the Panther clan, and at Lutcapoga and Łikatcka of the Aktayatci. At Mikasuki part of the Panther clan is called the "first warriors," part of the Potato clan the "second warriors," and parts of both the "lesser warriors." Nothing could show the decline of the system better than the idea expressed by one of my informants that all of the occupants of a certain bed were at the same time tàstànàgis, tcilokis, and henihas. In Tukabahchee, where the old system is still partially in force, it yet happens that most of the tàstànàgis belong to the Raccoon or royal clan, most of the big imałas to the Potato, and most of the little imałas to the Panther and Bear. It must be remembered, however, that the two first classes were accompanied at the busk by henihas of the Wind clan. We find, furthermore, that certain clans from the Red side are particularly associated with war and often sit in the same bed as the warriors from whom many of their members were chosen, and no doubt this is the real reason why they came in time to be confounded with them. As shown elsewhere, the clans principally associated with war and oftenest seated in the Warriors' bed were the Panther, Deer, Raccoon, Potato, and Aktayatci.[45a] Regarding the Panther, I have evidence that there was a mental association of the characteristics of the animal with the occupation, and I was told in the case of the lesser imałas among the Tukabahchee that they were taken from the Panther and Bear because those two animals have a fierce

[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 208-209.

[45a] See p. 237.

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disposition—and this in spite of the almost universal classification of the Bear as a peace clan. Further evidence of degeneration is shown in some of the Seminole towns in Oklahoma where a singe tàstânàgi has usurped the functions of both the chief's heniha and the miko apokta. 624 614

At Tukabahchee, and probably the other principal Creek towns as well, the isti àtcagàgi, the tàstânàgis, and some of the other classes bore names which were passed on to their successors, and hence amounted to titles. In fact the war names owned by each clan were thus passed on and were therefore rather titles than true names. Since these titles were conferred under state auspices the persons bearing them might be regarded as officials and from that fact possessed of a share in its government. The government of a Creek town or little state, for such it really was, is thus seen to have rested on bodies of men owing their positions partly to descent and partly to recognized prowess in war. When it was in its prime it is probable that merit vastly overbalanced, the isti àtcagàgis, tàstânàgis, imalas, and tàsikayas having owed their positions mainly, at least, to individual accomplishments. Although the mikàgi and henihàlgi had to do with peace mainly, they had gone through with the war discipline and had been selected from among the warriors. While they must always belong to certain clans they were, beyond that restriction, elective, and, as these clans were usually numerous, a considerable choice could be exercised. While it is true that the legislative and executive power was vested in a small number of people these were persons who had, for the most part, worked their way up by their talents and bravery, and were really representative of the native ideals of what was highest and most worthy. A power of recall was also exercised in the case of the chief and it is probable that we should find that the same power existed in effect over the other offices. A separation of governmental functions had begun in some particulars, the henihas being a kind of Department of the Interior concerned with the pursuits of peace, and the various classes of warriors, particularly the tàstânàgis, a department concerned with war, and also constituting an internal police. 624 554

Speck is the only authority for the use of face paintings to mark differences in rank. He says: 554 302

"Facial painting was employed to indicate rank in the town. Persons bearing the title of *miko* or *hiniha* wore black paint on one side of the face and red on the other, coloring either the whole face or only the space around the eyes. The second pattern belonged to ordinary initiated men having the title *taskàya* and consisted of four stripes, from the cheek-bone to the angle of the jaw, alternating in red and yellow." [a]

[a] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 114.

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614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagâlgi, "White People," and Tcilokogâlgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tciloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tciloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tciloki. The Alligator is most often Tciloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tciloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tciloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohīl Yâhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

621 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups
624 in each town which had official functions. Some of these were

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determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała làbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or hołibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called istatcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

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posts are used for the seating of as many clans, groups of clans or related officials. 344

Considerable variation in the ancient and intended plan has been brought about by the attrition which the tribe and its several divisions have undergone, loss of the keepers of the sacred lore, and other factors, but it is plain that normally one of the four cabins was mainly devoted to the miko and his clan. Hence it was called mikàlgi (or mikàgi) intupa, the "Chiefs' bed." Another was devoted mainly to the henīhàlgi and was named from them, another to the higher class of warriors, the tàstànàgàlgi, and so received their name, and still another to the novitiate warriors or youths from whom it was called tàsikaiàlgi intupa or tcibànàgàlgi intupa. The positions of these in the square ground varies considerably. It should be stated in the first place that the cabins are placed normally toward the four points of the compass, but that for some unexplained reason in the square of Tukabahchee the entrances are toward the cardinal points. In the old Kasihta square, which seems to have set the fashion for many other towns, the mikos' cabin lay west, the henihas' south, the tàstànàgis' north, and the tàsikaias' east. In the Okfuskee towns, of which Nuyaka is an example, the mikos' cabin lay north, the henihas' east, the tàstànàgis' west, and the tàsikaias' south. In Pakan Tallahassee the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' south, the tàstànàgis' west, and there is no east cabin. In Eufaula the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' east and the tàstànàgis' south, the west cabin being missing. In Alabama, where there are but two cabins, the mikos' cabin is east.

The other variations in the arrangement of the squares will come out in the subjoined material, but before presenting it something must be said regarding town officials.

The miko, as already stated, was chief of the town, its head [622] presiding officer and responsible executive. Like many of the other 624 officers he had a special companion or henīha taken from the Wind clan or whatever clan occupied the position of henīhàlgi. This henīha is sometimes called miko apokta, "second chief," but the latter name is also given to still another functionary who shares the burdens of state with his superior. The chief had one or more yatikas or interpreters who also bore the name asimbonaia, "speakers." Unless wanted to make an announcement or to send upon an errand, they sat with their clan or other group to which they normally belonged. The tàstànàgi làko and holibonaia have been mentioned. The position of holibonaia, "war speaker" was the most exalted military position, and it is possible that there was only one such official at a time in

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624 the entire Creek Nation. It was the position occupied by Hobohīl Yàhola, famous leader of the Creeks during their removal west and all of their subsequent troubled history until the Civil War. He was not a miko even of one town, but his influence was actually greater than that of any miko, or any number of them. There were two ta'pala, whose chief function was to act as messengers before and during the women's dance, and there were two singers for the women (inyahaikàlgi, "singers for them"), who sat at the end of one of the cabins just in front of the spot where the women began dancing. They were usually selected for their knowledge of songs rather than on account of their clan affiliations. The hilis haya was the head priestly functionary. He supervised the preparation of the medicines and gave them their final potency and he ordered everything in any way touching upon the supernatural. He was assisted by one or more men called hilis tcàlaba or "medicine mixers," whose functions are defined by the name, and by two or more young men called hilis hoboia, "medicine gatherers," who collected the red root, pasa, and other plants that went into the sacred medicine. Some towns seem to have had a separate official called tutka dīdja, "fire builder," to start the fire, but in others the hilis haya did that, and there was instead a tutka oktidīdja, "gatherer of wood" for the fire. A number of boys known as oidjawàlgi brought water for the medicines. In one town we learn of ahaga haiyàlgi, "law makers," who are said to carry out the instructions of the tàstànàgis and may be identical with the imałas elsewhere mentioned. There were also officers called simiabaia, or "leaders." The hoktàgi immiko, "chief of the women," and his henīha, may have been identical with the ta'palas. Anciently the tàstànàgis and their assistants acted as town police, but nowadays three or four light horsemen are selected at random to police the square ground during ceremonies, and there are boys called "dog whippers" with long whips stationed at each opening into the square during the women's dance to drive away dogs. Many of these officers were chosen for four years only. If one died before the expiration of his term, a substitute was selected from the same clan, which seems to indicate that the position was something of a clan prerogative.

796 Of the ceremonies which took place on these grounds, only two have survived. One, called by the popular local name of "stomp dance," was confined to the people of the town and was simple in character, the miko hoyanīdja (red willow) being ordinarily the only medicine used during it. There were no dances other than the common and relatively secular ones, no ceremonial lighting of the fires, no

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[For seating arrangements of village officials and religious functionaries in square grounds, see category 621]

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"the best speaker in the town." The two offices may sometimes have been combined, but it is evident that they were usually distinct. 624

In Tukabahchee and all of those towns of which the ancient organization has been preserved, either in the memories of the Indians or in fact, there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the tástánágálgi, the next in rank the imala łákálgi, or "big imałas," and the third the imała łábotakálgi or "little imałas." At Tukabahchee, and probably in the greater number of towns, the tástánágis sat at the western end of the north bed, but, as I have shown elsewhere, their position varied, and sometimes the tástánágis and imałas were seated in different beds. The Tukábahchee arrangement is given by Hawkins as that in Kasihta in his time. He does not indeed give the Indian names of the various grades of warriors but he states that there were three of them and that promotion was regular from lowest to highest. In most towns the tástánágis and imałas received their positions on account of warlike feats, not because of ancestry or clan connection. One of my informants said that a tástánági was a man who "carried out the determinations of the town." The leader of the tástánágis was usually known as the tástánági łáko, "big warrior," and Hawkins states that he was selected from among the tástánágis by the miko and isti átcagági.[26] According to the same writer the highest title to which a warrior could aspire was that of "Great Leader" (Is-te-puc-cau-chau thlucco [isti pákatca łáko]), which required "a long course of years and great and numerous successes in war." The head warrior of Tukábahchee was known as the Tástánági simiabaiya.[26] He was privileged to call the whole town together. According to a Coweta informant, in his town the tástánágis were elected by the head men of the town from the Red clans, but, although it is probable that, on account of the theory regarding them, more warriors would arise from the Red than from the White clans, they were certainly not drawn exclusively from such clans. These officials all had to do with war and with the ball game which is called "the brother of the war." War, while decided upon in council, was announced by the Big Warrior. According to a Coweta informant ball games were arranged by the Big Warriors of the towns concerned, each taking such assistants as he desired, but in Kasihta there was a special official, the halísi tástánági, who attended to such matters. The Tástánágis were also the native police, the Big Warrior being "chief of police"; they carried out the decisions of the miko and the isti átcagágis, and they punished any one who

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FIG. 102.—Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green

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[26] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

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624 failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to
•625 attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the henihas, the functions of the tástánágis became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one tástánági, who took the places of the old yatika and chief's heniha. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate mikos and the isti átcagági as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes.[31] They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

624 Milfort speaks of the "tastanégy" as if he were the head war chief
701 of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the tástánági láko of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity."[32]

624 Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he
701 was subjected when he was made tástánági is also worth reproducing.
796 As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary tástánági, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

[31] Speck, in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 113. [32] Milfort, Voy., pp. 226-228.

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the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them." [72] 687

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching.[72a] 689

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGillivray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order. 681

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable." [73]

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.[74] 685

Escaped murderers and adulterers, and those who had committed lesser offenses and had withdrawn from their people to avoid the ridicule and contempt of their fellow townsmen, formed a class from which, says Bartram, generally came the ruffians who committed depredations and murders on the frontiers.[75] The foundation of new towns may sometimes be traced to them, as indeed is frankly admitted by members of those towns themselves. It is said that the town of Wiwohka had such an origin, and it is also claimed for others like Hilibi on less satisfactory grounds. In later times many such people swelled the population of the Florida Seminole. 167 [626] [579] 621

Adair is the only writer to say anything about oaths used in adjuring a witness to give true evidence, and in this connection he does not mention the Creeks, only the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The Chickasaw and Choctaw oath he gives as *Chikloosk a ke-e-u Chua*,[76] which he interprets "Do not you lie? Do you not, of a certain 695

[72] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[72a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 120; see p. 365.

[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 261-262.

[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 513.

[76] *Lashki* is a Chickasaw word meaning "to lie"; *chikhashki* signifies "you do not lie"; *ke-e-u* (or *keyu*) is the negative. The form used here is a strengthened one.

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571 I have been told that a Creek woman would never cut off a piece of tobacco for a man but would always bite it off, while she would cut off a piece for herself and never bite it. The cutting off of tobacco was thought to imply the severance of friendship. I have been 572 unable to confirm this. Friendships of the kind common among Indian tribes generally outside of all blood or other natural affiliations were frequently struck up and were cemented by mutual scratching. Swan says:

"Scratching is also practised among young warriors, as a ceremony or token of friendship. When they have exchanged promises of inviolable attachment, they proceed to scratch each other before they part. This is more frequently done in drunken frolics than any other time. After a rum-drinking, numbers of them appear covered with blood, and lacerated from their shoulders down to their heels. Such marks of friendship are indelible, and effectually remind them of their friendly promise so long as they live." [97]

571 The southern tribes had the usual Indian dread of ridicule and the usual willingness to indulge in it at anyone's expense, even at times when pity and sympathy would appear more in order. Says Adair: "If the Indians saw their grandmother break her neck by a fall from a horse, or any other accident, they would whoop and halloo." [98]

Yet ridicule was seldom carried far. Stiggins says:

"To my knowledge they are not a people to utter a remark or word to hurt the feelings of any one, without they would be in a state of intoxication, for should they press a joke even on a friend or acquaintance so far as to be disagreeable and likely to ruffle his temper they will immediately surcease, apologize, and withhold, and it rarely happens to hear one of them at any time reflect on the conduct or reputation of another. If there should be a man of general bad [626] repute [the matter] will be taken up and related by one of their miccos without pointing out any person in particular, but [he will] lay open the ill consequences in any person of such, and such, ill conduct. His comments would be more pointed and acrimonious should there be an instance of a person in the town so churlish of his eatables as to be inhospitable to one of their own people, [and] especially to a traveling stranger." [99]

TRADE

43A The standards of value to be presently discussed show that trade was developed even in pre-Columbian times. The inland tribes could furnish mica, copper, pipe stone, flint for arrows, and angelica roots, while the coast tribes had sea shells, dry fish, *Ilex vomitoria*, and salt. This last commodity was also obtained from the trans-Missis-

[97] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.
[98] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 298.
[99] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 16.

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"deaf," but it has come to signify "drunken," "roguish," "wicked," "sinful," etc.

Institutional killing will be treated under its proper head. It was based on the principle of retaliation, or, as more popularly expressed, "getting even," and was considered necessary in order to placate the souls of the departed. I have already remarked that the victim was sometimes devoted to death in advance, and Bartram mentions a case in which he was selected by lot. The following quotation from Adair shows what happened when murder was committed within the tribe, as well as the Indian attitude toward man killing generally:

"The Indians transmit from father to son, the memory of the loss of their relation, or of one of their own tribe or family, though it were an old woman if she was either killed by the enemy, or by any of their own people. If indeed the murder be committed by a kinsman, the eldest can redeem: however, if the circumstances attending the facts be peculiar and shocking to nature, the murderer is condemned to die the death of a sinner, 'without anyone to mourn for him,' as in the case of suicide; contrary to their usage toward the rest of their dead.

"In the late Cheerake War, at the earnest persuasions of the trading people, several of the Muskohge warriors came down to the barrier-settlements of Georgia, to go against the Cheerake, and revenge English crying blood: but the main body of the nation sent a running embassy to the merchants there, requesting them immediately to forbear their unfriendly proceedings, otherwise, they should be forced by disagreeable necessity to revenge their relations' blood if it should chance to be spilt contrary to their ancient laws: . . . If an unruly horse belonging to a white man, should chance to be tied at a trading house and kill one of the Indians, either the owner of the house, or the person who tied the beast there, is responsible for it, by their lex talionis; . . . If the Indians have a dislike to a person, who by any casualty was the death of one of their people, he stands accountable, and will certainly suffer for it, unless he takes sanctuary.

"I knew an under trader, who being intrusted by his employer with a cargo of goods for the country of the Muskohge, was forced by the common law of good faith, to oppose some of those savages in the remote woods, to prevent their robbing the camp: the chieftain being much intoxicated with spirituous liquors, and becoming outrageous in proportion to the resistance he met with, the trader like a brave man, opposed lawless force by force: some time after, the lawless bacchanal was attacked with a pleurisy, of which he died. Then the heads of the family of the deceased convened the lesser judicatory, and condemned the trader to be shot to death for the supposed murder of their kinsman; which they easily effected, as he was off his guard, and knew nothing of their murdering design.

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628 682 His employer, however, had such a friendly intercourse with them, as to gain timely notice of any thing that might affect his person or interest; but he was so far from assisting the unfortunate brave man, as the laws of humanity and common honour obliged him, that as a confederate, he not only concealed their bloody intentions, but went basely to the next town, while the savages painted themselves red and black, and gave them an opportunity of perpetrating the horrid murder. The poor victim could have easily escaped to the English settlements if forewarned, and got the affair accommodated by the mediation of the government. In acts of blood, if the supposed murderer escapes, his nearest kinsman either real or adopted, or if he has none there, his friend stands according to their rigorous law, answerable for the fact. . . . .

181 628 682 "There never was any set of people, who pursued the Mosaic law of *retaliation* with such a fixt eagerness as these Americans. They are so determined in this point, that formerly a little boy shooting birds in the high and thick corn-fields, unfortunately chanced slightly to wound another with his childish arrow; the young vindictive fox, was excited by custom to watch his ways with the utmost earnestness, till the wound was returned in as equal a manner as could be expected. Then, 'all was straight,' according to their phrase. Their hearts were at rest, by having executed that strong law of nature, and they sported together as before. This observation though small in itself, is great in its combined circumstances, as it is contrary to the usage of the old heathen world. They forgive all crimes at the annual atonement of sins, except murder, which is always punished with death. The Indians constantly upbraid us in their bacchanals, for inattention to this maxim of theirs; they say, that all nations of people who are not utterly sunk in cowardice, take revenge of blood before they can have rest, cost what it will. The Indian Americans are more eager to revenge blood, than any other people on the whole face of the earth. . . .

"I have known the Indians to go a thousand miles, for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods; over hills and mountains; through large cane swamps, full of grape-vines and briars; over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, if not with the rambling and lurking enemy, while at the same time they were exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitude of the seasons; to hunger and thirst, both by chance, and their religious scanty method of living when at war, to fatigue, and other difficulties. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly condemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer, or enemy, to satisfy the supposed craving ghosts of their deceased relations. Though they imagine the report of guns will send off the ghosts of

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their kindred that died at home, to their quiet place, yet they firmly believe, that the spirits of those who are killed by the enemy, without equal revenge of blood, find no rest, and at night haunt the houses of the tribe to which they belonged; but, when that kindred duty of retaliation is justly executed, they immediately get ease and power to fly away: This opinion, and their method of burying and mourning for the dead, of which we shall speak presently, occasion them to retaliate in so earnest and fierce a manner. . . . When any casual thing draws them into a war, it grows every year more spiteful till it advances to a bitter enmity, so as to excite them to an implacable hatred to one another's very national names. Then they must go abroad to spill the enemy's blood, and to revenge crying blood. We must also consider, it is by scalps they get all their war-titles, which distinguish them among the brave: and these they hold in as high esteem, as the most ambitious Roman general ever did a great triumph. [23]

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Says Stiggins:

"When one of another clan if even by chance should kill one of their blood relations on the mother's side of the family, their customary law in this is similar to the law of the Jewish legislator in reference to the manslayer excepting the city of refuge, for their law is literally whoso sheddeth man's blood by man his blood must be shed. Time nor distance can not palliate their revenge for should the perpetrator make his escape one of his brothers or cousins on his mother's side is taken. One of his blood kindred or himself must atone for the one lost, male for male and female for female. Even accidents are frequently made a matter of atonement, as far for instance as to be on business for another person and be killed by their horse the employer or one of the brothers or cousins must atone with his life for the death; for this reason they say that had it not been for him and his business the death would not have happened." [24]

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To illustrate this point Stiggins describes at length an event which occurred in the year 1808 when a Creek named the Singer, described as head chief of the Creek Nation, was on an expedition to the west of the Mississippi River, accompanied by his brothers. They were frightened back to the east side by enemies, and while there one of the Singer's brothers killed another Indian belonging to Kasihta, whom he mistook for an enemy. The comrades of the man who had been slain came to the Singer's camp and found the Singer alone, his brothers having set out to visit the Kasihta and explain to them the accidental nature of what had happened. This the Singer himself then proceeded to do, and at first the explanation was accepted as satisfactory. On their way home, however, the Kasihta Indians

[23] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 148-151.
[24] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 29; cf. also Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol II, p. 111.

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reasoned that inasmuch as their brother had been killed it would be only just to kill the brother of the murderer, and accordingly they went back to the camp of the Singer and killed him in spite of his prominent position in the nation.[25]

According to Eakins, the proper "avenger of blood" was the own brother of the deceased, or, failing him, the nearest male blood and clan relative.[26]

Bossu says that "the law is that the one who has killed must be killed; except in case of a mischance, as in drunkenness, in a transport, or in games,"[27] but, as we have seen, such excuses did not always serve to protect the offender. The same writer also states that the French of Fort Toulouse and the Alabama had a standing agreement that if a Frenchman killed an Indian he must lose his life and vice versa, and an actual example is cited.

The following illustrates the Indian attitude still further. On being asked by Hawkins regarding the native Muskogee custom of punishing in cases of accidental death with the same severity as where there had been a manifest intention to kill, Ifa hadjo, the great medal chief of Tukabahchee and speaker of the nation in the national council, replied:

"This custom of ours is a bad one, blood for blood; but I do not believe it came from E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, but proceeded from ourselves. Of a case of this sort, I will give you my opinion, by my conduct. Lately, in Tookaubatche, two promising boys were playing and slinging stones. One of them let slip his sling, the stone flew back and killed his companion. The family of the deceased took the two boys, and were preparing to bury them in the same grave. The uncles, who have the right to decide in such cases, were sent for, and I was sent for. We arrived at the same time. I ordered the people to leave the house, and the two boys to remain together. I took the uncles to my house, raised their spirits with a little rum, and told them, the boy was a fine boy, and would be useful to us in our town, when he became a man; that he had no ill will against the dead one; the act was purely accidental; that it had been the will of E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-se to end his days, and I thought that the living one should remain, as taking away his life would not give it to the other. The two uncles, after some reflection, told me, as you have advised us, so we will act; he shall not die, it was an accident."[28]

The permanent conversion of the Indians may well be doubted, but the ancient law is well illustrated by the circumstance. Hawkins

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[25] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 29-31.
[26] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 237.
[27] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 48, footnote.
[28] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 81.

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has the following to say regarding murder in the stricter sense of that term: 628 682

"If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitely. When the tribe may be affected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

"This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid."[20] 727 648

In view of these facts the following law which Hawkins induced the Creek council to adopt becomes significant: 682 177

"To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation."[20]

Nevertheless it was with great difficulty that the Indian agent was enabled to secure the punishment of certain thieves and mischief-makers, some of whom had insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States,[21] so strong was the sense of obligation to retaliate for injuries received by a fellow clansman and so great the fear of awaking it. Adair mentions several occasions on which an offender was protected by his family.[22] By 1820, however, Hodgson reports,

[20] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 74-75.
[20] Ibid., p. 68.
[21] Ibid., p. 67.
[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 262, 264.

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desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment. 681

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment. 628 682 614

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[39a] 888

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows: 847

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[40]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[41]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed 754 683

[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 497.
[39] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 25-26.
[39a] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
[40] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[41] Milfort, Mém., p. 281.

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from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws. 173 539

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white." [526 631 829]

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breathholder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

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173 539 A different narrative, obtained from an old Lower Creek Indian named Fulotkee, runs thus:

"Upon one occasion after a number of Indians had been reading those parts of the Bible which relate the story of Adam and Eve, they asked an old Indian of the town of Tulsa Canadian what his forefathers used to say about the origin of man. He answered:

"'In olden times two Coweta men came from the northwest, each carrying a war club (atàsà). They ran and whooped, so that the earth quaked and echoes rolled in all directions. In some mysterious manner this produced more people who came flocking around. After that they saw a flash of lightning in the north and the thunder following echoed along toward the southwest. It had a sound like that of people, so they sent out four men to search, and these four men saw people in the air. They talked to these people, and presently they came down and accompanied them back. They were the Tukabahchee. Then the men of the two towns said "We have seen each other's power; let us unite. The Coweta shall be the leaders."

[609] "'After this they drifted eastward until they came to the sea. And in course of time people emerged from the waves, seeming to come up out of the foam. Therefore the Indians believed they had been hatched from it and they called them Nokfilàlgi, "People of the foam or ocean drift." These were the white people and they fought with the Indians but were at first prevented from gaining a foothold. The whites were very clever, however, and behaved so humbly that in time the Indians began to make treaties with them and allow them to come to land.'"

173 539 631 619 In the following traditional story of the original meeting of the Upper and Lower Creeks we are somewhat reminded of the narratives just given. It was recorded in the year 1845 by James Logan, United States agent to the Creek Indians.

"The Creek nation is divided into two parties, designated as the Upper Towns, and Lower Towns or McIntosh party. This division, according to their traditions, has always existed. Indeed, it is stated that they have only been known to each other but little upwards of a century, and their first meeting upon the banks of the Chattahoochee was in a hostile attitude, each deeming the other a belligerent and separate and distinct nation; and only upon the eve of battle did they discover their affinity of language, which, though essentially the same, has some peculiarities possessed by the one different from the other."[48]

173 539 619 From several sources the story comes that at one time the Tukabahchee were a small, persecuted people whom the Coweta agreed to befriend and protect. The Tukabahchee were surrounded by enemies who were just about to shoot down into their town. This

[48] Rep. Comm. Ind. Aff. for 1845, p. 515.

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554 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck
302 derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say: "The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti àtcagàgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the à-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the àsi was the prerogative of the henihàlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the àsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at
614 different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the
623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

619 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has
●631 been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets
642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 246.
[48] See p. 436.
[49] The game described on pp. 469-470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 263.

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came to be known to the white people as Upper and Lower Creeks. While the confederation appears to have originated with the Lower Creek towns Kasihta and Coweta, the Upper Creeks were more numerous and naturally demanded recognition. One of the largest and most powerful Upper Creek towns was Tukabahchee, which early entered upon terms of friendship with Coweta and soon came to be considered as the head war town of the Upper Creeks. To complete the mythic number four and to include a White town from among the Upper Creeks, Abihka was added to these,[83] and the four were regarded as the "foundation towns" of the confederacy, Coweta and Kasihta being, respectively, the head war and peace towns of the Lower Creeks and Tukabahchee and Abihka the head war and peace towns of the Upper Creeks. There is said to have been a great deal of social rivalry between them. Each of these four towns also had a ceremonial title. Coweta was called Coweta máhmā'yągi, "tall or high Coweta;" Kasihta, Kasihta łáko, "Big Kasihta;" Tukabahchee, Tukabahchee spokogi; and Abihka, Abihka nągi. The meaning of the Abihka title is unknown, but since Abihka was the frontier town against the Cherokee and Chickasaw, its people were also called "the door shutters." For, as Jackson Lewis explained, enemies encountered them first, and if they were conquered it was as if the enemy had opened the gates to enter the Creek country. Several different interpretations are given of the name Spokogi or Ispokogi. According to Jackson Lewis, it signified that Tukabahchee had an oversight of and care for the other towns much as a hen broods over her chickens. Another informant said that it meant "a great people," and a third "to hold everything strongly." It appears to have been given particularly to the beings who came to the Tukabahchee Indians from the world above (see p. 65). According to one story, the sacred copper and brass plates of the Tukabahchee were also sent down from above and given to the Shawnee who handed them over to the Ispokogi. This particular tradition perhaps furnishes a clue to the name, which may have been derived from that band of Shawnee known as Kispokoke. I shall show elsewhere that there is some reason to think the name Muskogee itself is of Shawnee origin, and there is as much reason to attribute this word to the same source. It may have been allowed to or conferred upon the Tukabahchee in ways common among Indians by the Kispokoke band of Shawnee and its origin afterwards forgotten.

In the rating of the four capital towns Abihka is always last, but the position of the other three appears to have changed from time to time. To-day Upper Creeks will generally tell you that Tukabahchee

[83] The Indian agent Mitchell gave the name of the fourth town as "Oeccochee," but this can not be identified with any known Creek town. It may have been intended for Abihkutci. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 95.)

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619 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta. Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which
631 it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoüita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqùi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another."[54]

619 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugu-
631 rated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably
642 disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials
648 strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In
177 a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1754, Ms.

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619 town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was
•631 referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the
642 state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that
648 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the
177 Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

423 A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the
642 volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by
648 Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in conse-
559 quence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand, the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 573. [56] Ibid., p. 738.

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423 missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same
642 way, but not to sell the land."[57]

648 It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship
539 of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

649 But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native
•631 traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe
642 Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

642 Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the
646 confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 582.

[58] French Ms. of 1718.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlocestabo" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Eikatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."[96]

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In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikági Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[96]

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Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."[97]

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says:

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"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

[96] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 19-15.
[97] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. ii, p. 575.
[96] Ibid., p. 15.

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Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

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"After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of $150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

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"The general council for business is composed of the two principal chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them." [88]

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

[88] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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Creeks 4 towns were represented. A conference at Savannah was attended by 16 Upper Creek towns. At Oglethorpe's first council with the Creeks 9 Lower Creek towns were represented and no Upper Creek towns. Another council was attended by 12 Upper Creek towns, and still another by 8 from the same section. There are two other notices of meetings held by the Upper Creeks alone and one held by the Lower Creeks. This brings out clearly the separation existing between the Upper and the Lower Creeks. We also find a note to the effect that the towns of Coweta, Hitchiti, Osochi, "Nipky," Chiaha, Kasihta, and Tuskegee had declared Coweta miko their chief, a statement which certainly shows the primacy of Coweta among the Lower Creeks. The Tuskegee, or part of them, were probably with the Lower Creeks at that time.[77] Two of these councils of which we have a record were held in Tulsa, one in Okchai, one in Apalachicola, and one in Chiaha. Whether accidentally or otherwise it thus happens that all but the last were in White towns.

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A Spanish document dating from 1793 or 1794 contains a list of chiefs, with the town to which each belonged, whom it was thought advisable to invite to a general conference at Pensacola. This list, which is as follows, gives an idea of the towns thought worthy of representation on such an occasion and in some degree the relative importance in which those invited were held:

Kellessechuppo, or Beard	of the Broken Arrow.
Cowabbe, or Little Prince	of the Broken Arrow.
Hycat, or Cussitaw King	of the Cussitaws.
Bird Tail King	of the Cussitaws.
Hollowing King	of the Cowitaws.
Young Lieutenant	of the Cowitaws.
Philatouchy	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
Cochmans Brother	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
George Cousins	of the Eauphallies.
John Kennard and his Uncle	of the Hitchetes.
Mad Dog	of the Tuckabatches.
Beaux Banter	of the Tuckabatches.
Half Breed	of the Ockfuskies.
McKay's Friend	of the Abacouchies.
Tallessey King	[of Tulsa?]
White King	of the Hicklawallies [Holiwahali].
Dog Warrior	of the Upper Towns.
Wockucoy King	[of Wakokai?].
Wiokee King	[of Wiwohka?].
Mawmouth	of the Keyalegies.
One head man	from James Leslie's Town [Natchez?].
Bryen Molton or One head man	from the Tuskeegy.
McPherson	Little Tallesseys.
Upoimico	Little Tallesseys.
Red Shoes	[of the Alabama and Koasati?].
One head man	from the Fussachees.
One ditto	from the Coolamy.
One ditto	from the White Ground.
One ditto	from the Ottosay.[78]

[77] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 210-211.

[78] Copy of Ms. in the Ayer Library, Newberry Library, Chicago.

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Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [9]

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It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łałogalga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

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It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

[9] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings." [86]

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It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (tástánagi láko) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,[87] both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

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A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thuluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

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[86] Pope, Tour, p. 64.

[87] In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. ii, p. 780) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.

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"2d. Ki-a-li-jee and Eu-fau-lau. For these two towns, they appointed E-maut-lau Hut-ke.

"3d. Hill-au-bee, Woc-co-coie and Pochusehatche. For these three towns they appointed Cussetuh Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Hill-au-bee, and Thle-chum-me Tustunnigge ["Łidjámi Tástánągi], of Woc-cocoie.

"4th. Au-bee-coo-che, Nau-che, Coosau and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. For these four towns, they appointed Olohtau Haujo [Holahta hadjo].

"5th. Ho-ith-le-wau-le, Ecunhutke, Sauvanogee, Mook-lau-sau and Took-au-bat-che. For these five towns, they appointed O-poie E-maut-lau [Hobayi Imała], of Ho-ith-le-waule. . . .

"6th. Oc-fus-kee and its villages, Sooc-he-ah, New-yau-cau, Immook-fau, Took-au-bat-che Tal-lau-has-see, Took-to-cau-gee, Au-che-nau-ulgau, Oc-fus-coo-che, and E-pe-sau-gee. For this town and its villages, they appointed Hopoie Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Oc-fus-kee, and Tal-lo-wau-thlucco Tus-tun-nug-gee.

"7th. O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-kee-gee. For these two towns, they appointed Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie.

"8th. Tal-e-see, Aut-tos-see, Foose-hat-che and Coo-loo-me. For these four towns, they appointed Foose-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Tal-e-see, and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Foose-hat-che.

"9th. Hook-choie-oo-che, Coo-sau-dee, E-cun-cha-te, Too-wos-sau, Pau-woc-te, and At-tau-gee. For these towns and villages, they appointed Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc, of Hook-choie-oo-che." [88]

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To what extent this plan of government was put in force seems uncertain, but the primacy of Coweta and Tukabahchee continued, as is shown by numerous statements in the documents of the first half of the nineteenth century. We learn that in 1814 the "Little Prince" was head chief of the entire nation—though one writer refers to him as "the chief speaker." He belonged to Łikatcka, which, as we have seen, was a branch of Coweta. At the same time we are told that Tástánągi łáko, the "Big Warrior," a Tukabahchee, was "speaker for the Upper Creeks," Tástánągi hopai speaker for the Lower Creeks, and William McIntosh head chief of Coweta.[89] From what Hodgson says it is evident that in 1820 the Little Prince and the Big Warrior occupied the same positions, although they are both called "Chief Speakers of the Nation" as if their authority were coordinate. Hodgson adds, "The most popular and influential person, however, in the Nation, is Mackintosh, the Head Warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age; who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country." [90]

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[88] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

[89] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, pp. 571, 575.

[90] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267. In one place (Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571) McIntosh is called "Speaker of the Nation."

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9. Okchaiyutci, Koasati, Kan-tcati, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Atauga. Hawkins states that the first five classes consisted of Red towns, and 6 and 8 of White towns. The words with which he introduces classes 6 to 9 would lead one to expect that 7 and 9 were White towns also and in fact such was the case if we assume the supposed recent change in Alabama. On the other hand, class 8, which is said specifically to have consisted of White towns, contains one, Atasi, now reckoned as Red, and two, Fus-hatchee and Kolomi, of doubtful affiliations but which there are reasons for supposing to have been Red also. At least we should not expect to find them opposed to Kan-hatki, as here given. The classification of some of the Red towns also presents difficulties. The two towns in group 2 are still classed as Red towns, and none of those in group 5 is known to have been White, although this might have been suspected of Kan-hatki and also of Muklasa, supposing that Muklasa was an Alabama settlement. On the other hand, all of those towns in class 1 regarding which we have a record are now White, as are Wakokai and Potcas hatchee in class 3 and Abihkutci in class 4, while Adair so describes Coosa. We should suppose Natchez to have been of one "fire" with the intimate friends of its people, the Abihka, but have no means of knowing the status of Eufaula hatchee, nor of Opilláko in class 1. Pakan tallahassee and the Okchai towns have been White within the memory of all living Creek Indians, yet Adair introduces a puzzle by speaking in one place of "the Okchai war town."[22] In brief, it does not seem as though much reliance can be placed on Hawkins's classification.

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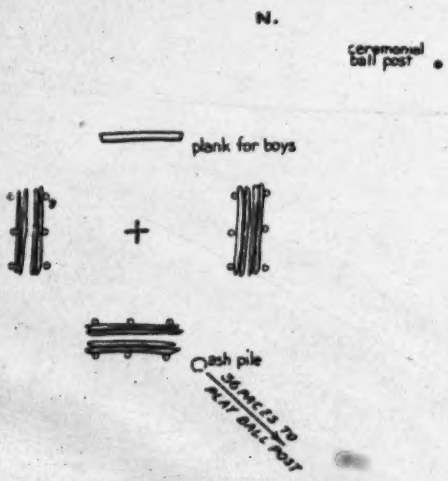

FIG. 60.—Hillbi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

EVOLUTION OF THE CREEK CONFEDERACY

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Any discussion of the probable origin and evolution of the Creek confederacy must carefully distinguish between the native conception regarding its origin and evolution and the thing itself; between the psychological construction and the actual facts.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 262.

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Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names

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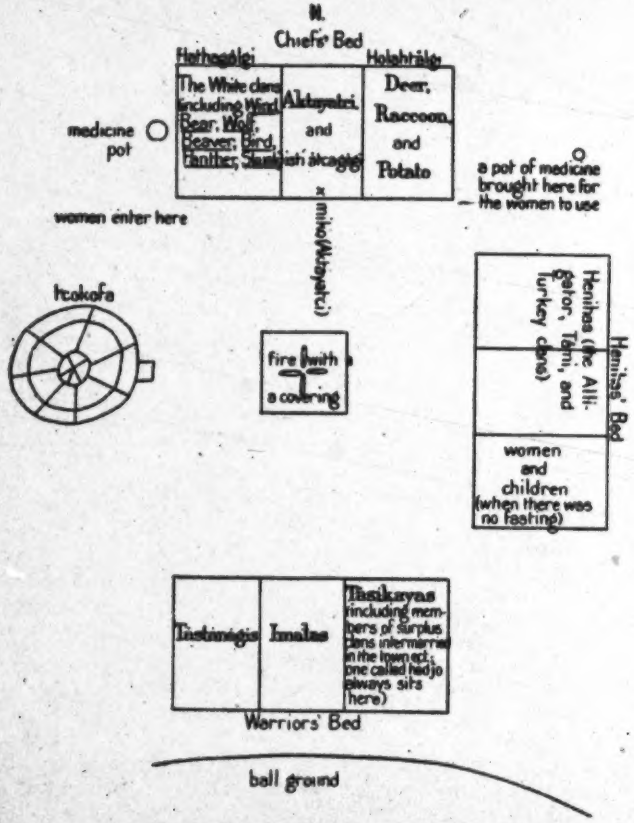

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)

of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe; that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

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the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

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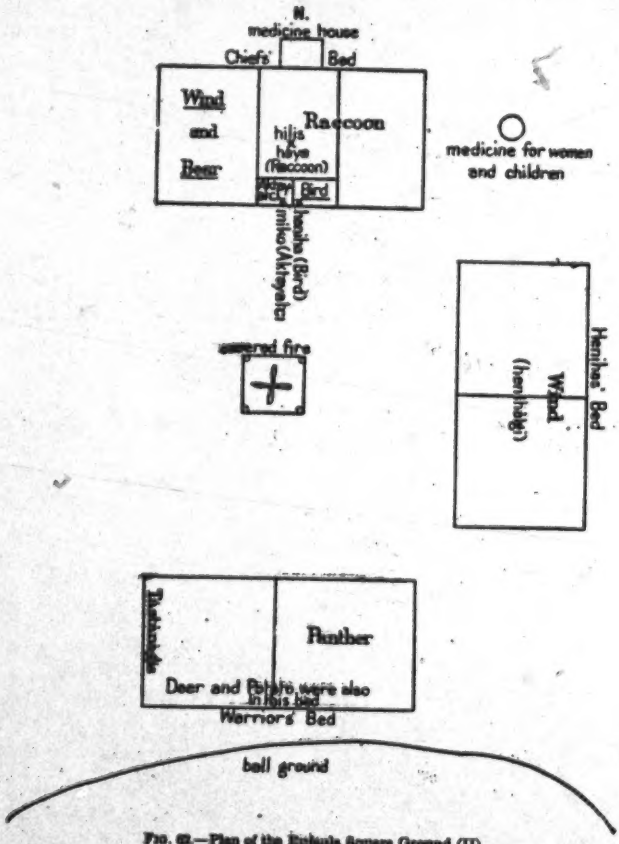

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Eulauls Square Ground (II)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Milfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

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no tribe is except the Coosa and its later divisions. If we consider the traditions by themselves, then, we seem to find that one body of Muskogee came from the west and subsequently divided into two parts which came to be known as Kasihta and Coweta, and that they were early associated with another tribe, probably also Muskhogean, the Abihka. The Coosa, on the other hand, came from the west independently, and had no subdivisions until much later. The explanation of the two divisions of towns or "fires" is given in Judge Gregory's story, and there is reason to believe that they did actually originate with the division of the easternmost band of Creeks into Kasihta and Coweta, although the specific account of it is, of course, entirely mythic. This now seems plausible because, in the first place, these two towns are the only pair seemingly sprung from one stem, which are conspicuously set over against each other as leaders of the opposing sides, there being no such pairing of the Upper Creek leading towns. Moreover, Bartram records a traditional belief that the Creek confederacy had originated at the old town of Okmulgee on the river of that name—i. e., among the Lower Creeks. The later Okmulgee town was a Hitchiti settlement, but Muskogee lived along Ocmulgee River at an early date. In De Soto's time the people of Cofitachequi, which we have identified as Kasihta, knew Coosa well, and it is not improbable that the basis of the confederacy had already been laid. It is likely that it was in existence before the Tukabahchee united with the other towns, in spite of the later prominence of the former and in spite of the fact that some Creeks will tell you that the busk fire originated with the Tukabahchee and was by them distributed to the rest.

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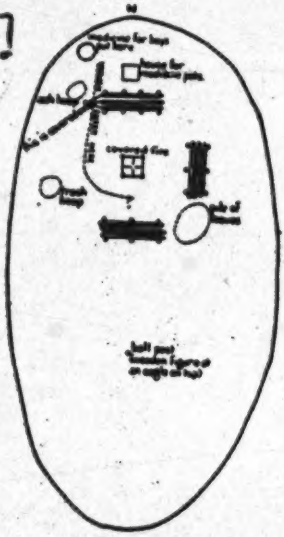

FIG. 68.—Kufaula Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Woodward says it was a matter of dispute among the Creeks whether Kasihta or Tukabahchee was settled first, but it was generally conceded that Kasihta was first settled.[23] Unfortunately we have no record, mythic or otherwise, as to how the friendship between Kasihta, Abihka, and Coosa grew up other than the references in the stories already given, and these do not explain why the friendship was between Abihka, Coosa, and Kasihta, rather than Abihka,

[23] Woodward, Reminiscences, p. 22.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama

Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probaby Łiwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Łiwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that

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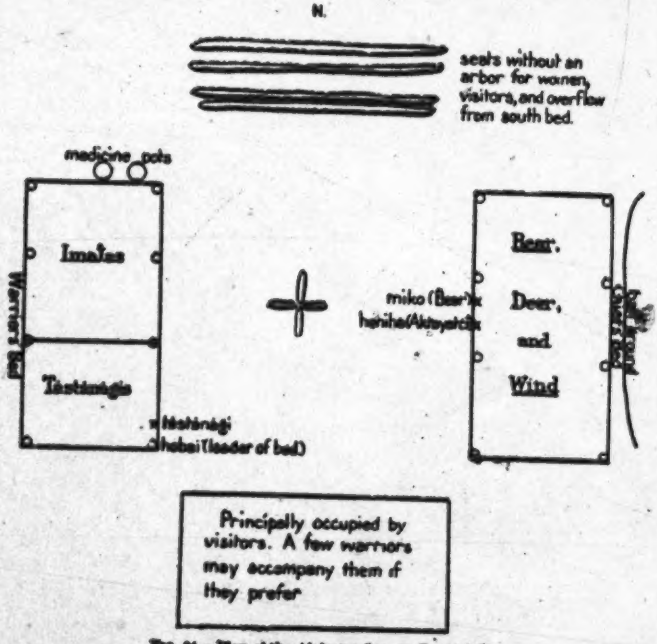

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FIG. 84.—Plan of the Ajabama Square Ground (I)

the first was already a friend of Coweta, Łiwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.[24] From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hilibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Łikatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee tcaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

[24] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 314-323.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

173 groups. And with the exception of Tukabáhchee and its associates, which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy

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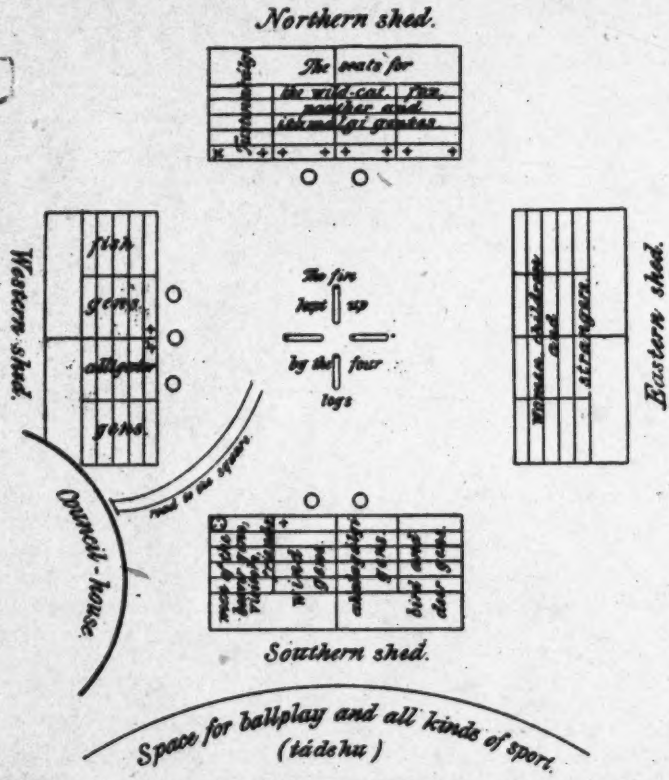

FIG. 69.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,[25] was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with

[25] See p. 254.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and

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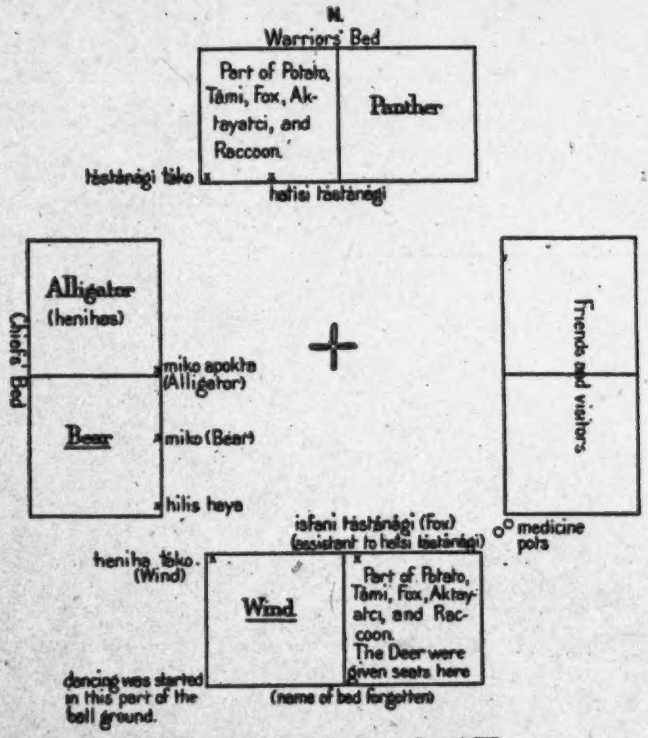

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their

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1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Tcokote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitca and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Lidjami with the Tukabahchee and related towns and

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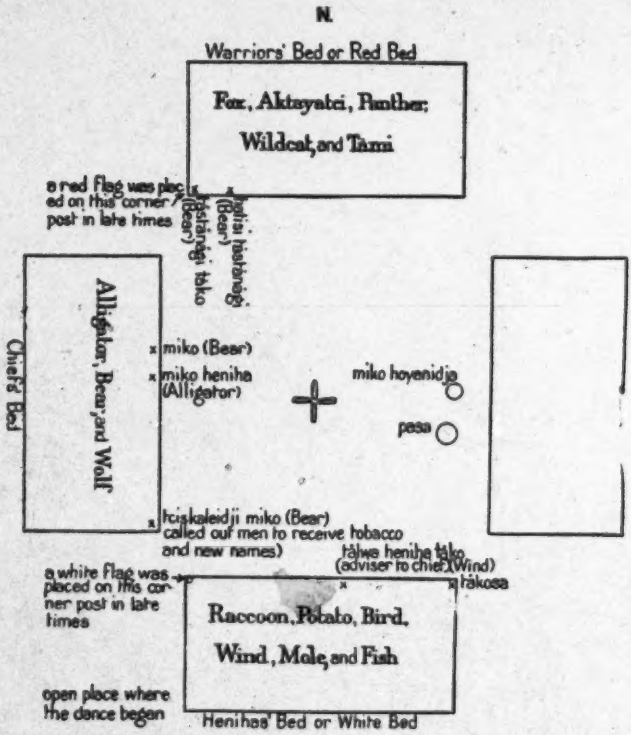

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

the Raccoon with the Tukabahchee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatci is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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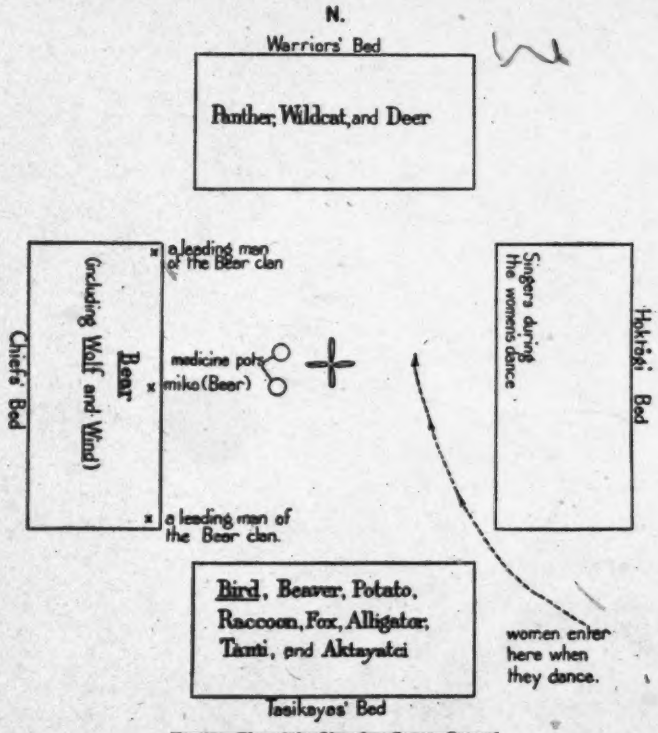

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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GOVERNMENT

619 The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the
621 most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been
•642 already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confedera-

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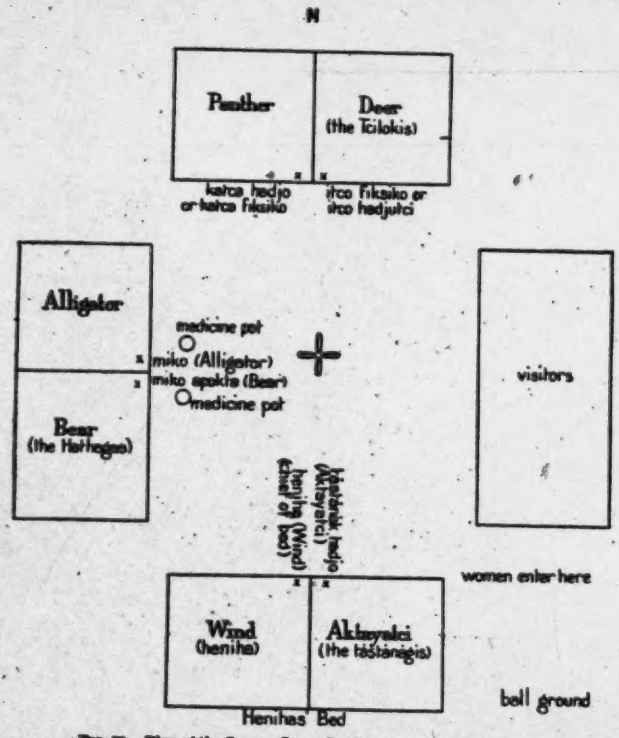

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Square Ground of Łikstcka or Broken Arrow

tion, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

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554 It happens that the very town, Tuskegee, from which Speck
302 derived this information, was the one where I learned about face paintings used to distinguish citizens of different towns.[47] Possibly, therefore, this data contains a reference to some custom not clearly remembered. As we shall see when we come to treat of war customs, the design said to be worn by a Tuskegee miko was almost identical with that assumed by members of a war party, while war honors, which of course carried rank with them, were perpetuated by means of tattooings.[48]

623 Regarding the town council Hawkins has the following to say: "The Micco, counsellors [i. e., isti âtcagâgi] and warriors meet every day, in the public square; sit and drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon, called by the traders, black drink; talk of news, the public and domestic concerns, smoke their pipes, and play Thla-chal-litch-cau, (roll the bullet.)[49] Here all complaints are introduced, attended to, and redressed. They have a regular ceremony for making, as well as delivering the â-cee, to all who attend the square."[50]

These meetings began early in the morning. Elsewhere we learn that the care of the âsi was the prerogative of the henihâlgi.[51] Zachariah Cook states that the âsi was merely taken into the mouth, not swallowed, but this represents the institution in its decline. At an earlier day it was swallowed, but ejected afterwards. The leading men sometimes counselled on the open square and sometimes in the big house, in the latter especially on matters requiring secrecy. From thence, at the time of the busk, instructions were sent out for the clans or clan groups to gather in councils and these were held at
614 different places about the grounds. The clan councils have been referred to in discussing the clan system. At the great council of the
623 town leaders and at the smaller councils lectures on conduct were delivered, the doings of the preceding year reviewed, and future prospects outlined. Each clan council was usually presided over by the oldest pawa, or "uncle," belonging to it, or at any rate the one most esteemed, and he lectured the members of his clan in the same way. If any of the younger members of this clan had deserved a reprimand he would deliver it, and he was often requested so to do.

619 In a previous discussion of the evolution of the Creek confederacy
631 the important part played by the towns of Kasihta and Coweta has been pointed out, and their social significance as leaders of two sets
•642 of towns whose relations were governed by certain laws, or, rather, precedents. The towns drawn into the confederation were also divided in another way, viz, geographically, into two groups which

[47] See p. 243.
[48] See p. 426.
[49] The game described on pp. 469–470.
[50] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 71.
[51] See p. 293.

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came to be known to the white people as Upper and Lower Creeks. While the confederation appears to have originated with the Lower Creek towns Kasihta and Coweta, the Upper Creeks were more numerous and naturally demanded recognition. One of the largest and most powerful Upper Creek towns was Tukabahchee, which early entered upon terms of friendship with Coweta and soon came to be considered as the head war town of the Upper Creeks. To complete the mythic number four and to include a White town from among the Upper Creeks, Abihka was added to these,[83] and the four were regarded as the "foundation towns" of the confederacy, Coweta and Kasihta being, respectively, the head war and peace towns of the Lower Creeks and Tukabahchee and Abihka the head war and peace towns of the Upper Creeks. There is said to have been a great deal of social rivalry between them. Each of these four towns also had a ceremonial title. Coweta was called Coweta máhmā'yàgi, "tall or high Coweta;" Kasihta, Kasihta łáko, "Big Kasihta;" Tukabahchee, Tukabahchee spokogi; and Abihka, Abihka nàgi. The meaning of the Abihka title is unknown, but since Abihka was the frontier town against the Cherokee and Chickasaw, its people were also called "the door shutters." For, as Jackson Lewis explained, enemies encountered them first, and if they were conquered it was as if the enemy had opened the gates to enter the Creek country. Several different interpretations are given of the name Spokogi or Ispokogi. According to Jackson Lewis, it signified that Tukabahchee had an oversight of and care for the other towns much as a hen broods over her chickens. Another informant said that it meant "a great people," and a third "to hold everything strongly." It appears to have been given particularly to the beings who came to the Tukabahchee Indians from the world above (see p. 65). According to one story, the sacred copper and brass plates of the Tukabahchee were also sent down from above and given to the Shawnee who handed them over to the Ispokogi. This particular tradition perhaps furnishes a clue to the name, which may have been derived from that band of Shawnee known as Kispokoke. I shall show elsewhere that there is some reason to think the name Muskogee itself is of Shawnee origin, and there is as much reason to attribute this word to the same source. It may have been allowed to or conferred upon the Tukabahchee in ways common among Indians by the Kispokoke band of Shawnee and its origin afterwards forgotten.

In the rating of the four capital towns Abihka is always last, but the position of the other three appears to have changed from time to time. To-day Upper Creeks will generally tell you that Tukabahchee

[83] The Indian agent Mitchell gave the name of the fourth town as "Oseoches," but this can not be identified with any known Creek town. It may have been intended for Abihkatsi. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 95.)

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619 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta.
631 Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoüita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqùi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another."[54]

619 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the
631 early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugu-
642 rated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the
648 Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably
177 disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1715, Ms.

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619 town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little
631 Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was
referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the
642 state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that
648 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the
Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskuma-
177 muggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary.
It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the
Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the
nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta
town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the
upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for
the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known
that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had
had an interview.[55]

423 A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the
642 volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by
Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in conse-
648 quence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand,
539 the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola,
who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered
a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs,
Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta.
He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575. [56] Ibid., p. 788.

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423 missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same
•642 way, but not to sell the land."[57]

648 It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship
539 of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

649 But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native
631 traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe
642 Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

642 Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the
646 confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 592.

[58] French Ms. of 1755.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlocotcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Eikatcha, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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cabin made expressly for the purpose; each one places himself there in accordance with his rank, and has a right to speak in his turn according to his age, his capacity, his wisdom, and the service which he has rendered to the fatherland. 642 646

"The Grand Chief of the tribe opens the session in a speech which recounts the history or the tradition of their country; he recalls the military exploits of his ancestors who have signalized themselves in the defense of the fatherland, exhorting his subjects to imitate their virtues, by bearing patiently human wants and miseries, above everything in not murmuring at all against the Great Spirit, who is master of the life of all the beings here below; and in sustaining adversities with courage; finally in sacrificing all for love of the fatherland and liberty; it being a thousand times more glorious to die like a true man than to live as a vile slave.

"The chief having stopped speaking, the oldest noble old man rises, salutes his sovereign, and makes a speech, his body bare to the belt; the water runs from all parts of his body, on account of the heat and the action which he puts into his declamation, with natural gestures and metaphors which express his thought; he persuades his hearers to believe all that he says by the force and eloquence of his speech. Nothing is more instructive than these assemblies; one hears no chatter there, no indecency, no misplaced plaudits, nor immoderate laughter. The young people are very circumspect there, and attentive to listen with respect to the words of the old men, persuaded that it is for their good."[*]

Other evidence contradicts the statement that there was any one capital of the nation, and we know that the council house was nothing more than the tookofa of the town in which the assembly happened to take place. Nevertheless Coweta and Tukabahchee, particularly the former, seem to have been favorite meeting places, facts indicated by Milfort in several places. The following description by him has particular reference to an assembly in Coweta:

"The assemblies of the nation usually take place in the principal town. In the center of this town is outlined a perfect and very extensive square; in each angle of this square are constructed three cabins of different sizes, forming in all twelve cabins. This square has four openings by which its center may be reached, and all of the cabins are so close together that from one of them one can see into all of the others. Each of them may hold from forty to sixty persons. 642 342 646

"That of the grand chief of the nation faces the rising sun, to indicate that he ought always to watch over the interests of the nation. At one side of this cabin, and in the same angle, is that called the grand cabin, where the general assemblies of the nation are held.

[*] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 70-72.

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642 342 646

"In the angle opposite are three other cabins; these belong to the old men, and face the setting sun, to indicate that they are on the decline, and that they must no longer march to battle. In the two other angles are the cabins of the different chiefs of the nation; they are larger or smaller according to the services they have rendered.

"All these cabins are painted red with the exception of the three facing the setting sun, which are always white, symbol of virtue and age.

"The cabins painted red are, in time of war, ornamented with many pieces of wood by way of decoration, which support a kind of chain made of wooden rings. This is a sign of sadness, informing the warriors that the motherland has need of them, and that they must be prepared to march at the first signal. In time of peace these links are replaced with garlands of ivy leaves.

"The three cabins of the old men are at all times ornamented with these garlands, mingled with flowers."

He adds that the square was very large, and then proceeds as follows:

642 646

"I have already said that the chiefs of the nation must assemble every year in the month of May, and consider everything of importance to the nation, both internally and externally. When they are all at the rendezvous, called the grand cabin, of which I have just spoken, the assembly is called to order; and, when it is called to order (*formée*), none of those who compose it can go out from its compass until all of the business of the nation is concluded. The president alone may absent himself for some minutes; but he is obliged, like all of the others, to pass his days and nights in the assembly, and to be present at all of the deliberations.

"During the period of the assembly no one is allowed to approach the grand cabin nearer than twenty paces. Only the chiefs of the warriors are admitted there; the subordinate chiefs who are present are intended to serve the others, but they have no voice in the deliberations. The women are charged with the duty of preparing the necessary food and drink for the assembly; the subordinate chiefs go to fetch the provisions and place them in their turn in the grand cabin for the members of the assembly.

"In the center of the square formed by the cabin, a fire is lighted which burns continually. At sunset the young people of both sexes assemble, and come to dance around this fire until an appointed hour; during this time the assembly separates, and each member repairs, if he desires, to the cabin appropriate to the rank which he has received; or he remains in the grand cabin, and there enjoys the dance and the amusements of the young people; but without being allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, so long as the business is not entirely concluded. When the dances, which must

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last for a limited time only, are terminated, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, each of the members rests in the cabin which belongs to his class; but as soon as the sun appears above the horizon, a drum calls all of the chiefs to the assembly, which remains in session until sunset.[61]

In another place he makes certain amplifications regarding the time when such conventions took place. He says:

"These assemblies, which I have attended for twenty years, are held usually at the end of April or the beginning of May, as I have already said. To them are carried complaints and demands of all kinds, where the interests of the entire nation and its allies are discussed and regulated. They are held sometimes in the month of September, before they separate to go hunting, but then they are not general, few interesting things happen, and strangers are rarely present." [62]

Milfort is almost the only writer who gives a hint regarding the manner in which the chiefs and officials of the various towns were seated. It is probable that their individual merit often outweighed the numerical importance of the town.

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Speaking in these assemblies was a high art and was, next to success in war, the major means of social advancement. Religious sentiment was attached to it, and before a public speech the Creek speaker used to spit four times with deliberation and repeat a formula. The oratorical language was full of metaphorical allusions, and irony and satire were resorted to rather than denunciation. Says Adair:

[726]

"I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches—and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomohawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing; and, lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, 'Join the holy-ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.' They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoòp, and struck up the solemn, awful song, *Yó*, etc." [63]

And in another place:

"Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver

[61] Milfort, Mém., pp. 229-232.
[62] Ibid., pp. 234-235.
[63] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 64.

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537 a very pathetic, elaborate, allegorical, tragic oration, in the high praise, and for the great loss, of their great, judicious war-chieftain, *Shu-las-hum-mash-tà-be*, our daring, brave friend, *red shoes*. The orator compared him to the sun, that enlightens and enlivens the whole system of created beings: and having carried the metaphor to a considerable length, he expiated on the variety of evils, that necessarily result from the disappearance and absence of the sun; and, with a great deal of judgment, and propriety of expression, he concluded his oration with the same trope, with which he began."[64]

•642 Stiggins tells us that the confederate council was in reality without power. He says:

"The form of Government under which they live is a tyrannical oligarchy in its principles and practiced under that head to the full extent. At a slight view the most of people suppose and say that it is a democracy on republican principles but it is far different, for all public business whether of a national or private character is done by the chiefs. Though the nation is summoned in what is termed their grand council, when the state of the nation is supposed to be examined into, and their oral laws made, the assembly say not a word in the matter. For while in their sittings the assembled body of the nation sit as mutes, without being consulted in any manner until a few chiefs in their council house make the laws for their government without condescending to ask an opinion or approbation in any case, the national body being merely convened to hear what is done, for after a law is digested by the chiefs the national convention is informed of its tendency by the orator of the nation in a very exact and precise manner, who moreover informs them of all that has been transacted, which new law when they are made acquainted with its tendency, let it be as it may, they are the most obedient subjects under the sun to the penalties of it, be it oppressive or not. Should they infringe the law they will suffer beating, confiscation of their property or even death without a murmur or family resentment. Moreover, should an Indian be obstreperous in contending for his right of property or otherwise or obtrude on the right or even interests of a chief, the chiefs can so far tyrannize after a consultation as to have him beaten or slain, as a common disturber of the peace, without any other imputation of guilt than a law breaker as they term it.

642 648 177 "In former days in the time of their self importance and undisturbed government, before an agent was located in the nation by the U. S. to improve their morals and reform their customs, their ordained chiefs were more rude, active, and despotic and more frequent in their mandates of tyranny, and not near so uniform and circumspect in their deportment as now toward the common men. In later years the principal chiefs or great men of the nation have been

[64] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 11.

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increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."[65]

642 648 177

In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikâgi Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[66]

642 646 631

Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."[67]

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says:

642 631 643

"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

[65] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 13-15.
[66] Ibid., p. 15.
[67] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575.

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642 631 643 Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

642 631 622 "After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of $150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

642 646 "The general council for business is composed of the two principal chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them." [68]

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

[68] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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chiefs, and their legislature or council of about forty minor chiefs or captains, who are also, *ex officio*, justices of the peace." [69]

The economic causes operating to increase the number of chiefs, to which reference was made above, are indicated in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of September 15, 1851, by Philip H. Raiford, agent of the Creek Indians. He says:

"The rude and irresponsible form of government by chiefs still prevails among them. The chiefs all receive salaries in proportion to their grade and rank, or, in other words, a larger share of the common fund of the tribe than the great mass of the Indians. The result of this system has been a great increase in the number of chiefs, until they now amount to about eight hundred, or one to every twenty-five souls; and, as the moneys due from the Government to the tribe are now paid to the chiefs, and they have it in their power to fix their own salaries, a large portion of the funds of the nation is divided out among themselves, and but little left for the great mass. Great wrong and injustice are thus done to the common Indians; and, as they are beginning to perceive and become dissatisfied with the system, and the evil continues to increase by the increase of chiefs, the result before long will inevitably be serious—internal dissentions and difficulties, if not strife and bloodshed, between the chiefs and their partisans on the one hand, and the common Indians on the other, unless the Government interposes some remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs." [70]

The word "chief" as employed by Mr. Raiford evidently does not refer merely to the class of mikâgi. Apparently it included the principal mikos, the isti âtcagâgi, and the leading henihas and tâstânâgis. We are not to suppose that the great increase in the number of chiefs of which this agent speaks was due to a desire on the part of the chiefs to share their privileges; it was rather for the purpose of securing those privileges by taking into partnership all who might have been powerful enough to endanger them. Another Indian agent, James Logan, writing some years before, in 1845, speaks of the abuse as follows:

"The annuity, amounting to [$]34,500, is paid to the principal chiefs of both [Upper and Lower Creeks], and equally divided between them, and by them distributed. . .[71] The chiefs appropriate the whole of this large amount to the pay of themselves and their subordinates. This mode of distributing it is much complained of by the intelligent portion of the community, who are now far from being inconsiderable, and the right thus arrogated by the chiefs of doing what they please with the annuity much questioned. But they are vested with so much power, and have inspired so much awe and fear

[69] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.
[70] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851, p. 122.
[71] The writer refers here to an unpublished document for confirmation.

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•642 622 177 in the minds of the people generally, that they are restrained from making a public expression upon the subject. Indeed, I question very much whether there could be found many who would, before them, say that they objected to their acts in any particular. This I have sought for in regard to the annuity, and have failed to accomplish, owing to the preponderance of the chiefs and law makers, etc., and to the cause above stated."[72]

The abuse became so great that payments were finally made directly to the heads of families and the old privileges of the chiefs abolished. They suffered the same fate that betook the ringleaders in a certain conspiracy formed not long ago by some of the members and employees of a large corporation. In order to keep what was going on quiet, it was necessary to let more and more into the ring, which finally became so large that the secret leaked. The oligarchic 642 character of the Creek federal government as revealed by Stiggins and these Indian agents clashes rather oddly with what Adair says of its democratic character, but evidently the government of the confederacy was farther removed from the masses of the people than the government of the towns, and with the disappearance of war positions came to be held less on account of merit and more because of family connection and personal "pull." In the erection of a federal government over and above the former tribal governments the mass of the people had not succeeded in holding firmly to the reins of power; still such great abuses would probably not have arisen had it not been for the decline of the merit element in promotions and the cupidity excited by United States Government annuities.

646 622 The most complete account of the general council as it existed after the removal to Oklahoma was furnished Schoolcraft by Mr. D. W. Eakins, whom Schoolcraft describes as "for some time a resident of the Territory now occupied by them west of the State of Arkansas." These facts were "communicated in reply to printed inquiries issued in 1847, respecting the History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

The answers covering this subject may very well be run together.

"The general council of the Creek Indians consists of a representation from the whole tribe, as divided into towns. This council, composed of the chiefs, is vested with *plenary* power, to act for the whole tribe. Their *verbal summons* or decisions, have all the force of a written document; these decisions are announced in general council; and also recorded by the clerk. Their authority, (as among the principal chiefs,) is often assumed. Their authority is delegated to them, (in many cases,) by virtue of their standing and influence. They are at all times open to popular opinion, and are the mere

[72] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 514-517.

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person preach or hold religious meetings, whether white or red, he shall for the first offence receive fifty lashes on his bare back, and for the second offence one hundred lashes.' To maintain their authority, they support, out of the annuity, an immense number of subordinates, known as law-makers, light horse, etc. The people stand in much awe of them, and blindly pay them the obedience they exact; they have no voice in their appointment nor in their acts: when a vacancy occurs, the place is filled not by an election, but by the nomination made by some noted chief." [74]

Logan is decidedly too severe in his criticisms of the conservative party who were in the nature of things bound to be opposed to the spirit of innovation of which he was a part. While the nature and amount of the fines exacted from those who absented themselves from the busk were no doubt determined at the council of which he speaks, the principle was by no means new.

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The practical effect of the Confederate government on the bulk of the people was probably about as indicated in the following lines intended to apply to southern confederacies generally:

"Every town is independent of another. Their own friendly compact continues the union. An obstinate war leader will sometimes commit acts of hostility, or make peace for his own town, contrary to the good liking of the rest of the nation. But a few individuals are very cautious of commencing war on small occasions, without the general consent of the head men: for should it prove unsuccessful, the greater part would be apt to punish them as enemies, because they abused their power, which they had only to do good to the society.[75]

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Councils in which all of the towns, or as many of them as chose to do so, took part were certainly held at a period as early as an organization existed that could be called a Creek confederacy, but they seem to have been at irregular intervals and at no determined place. And as we have seen, the Lower Creeks and the Upper Creeks each had an independent council. It is likely that, if we could examine some of these old councils we should find a certain regular method of seating the different chiefs, and a certain procedure, but only the above scraps of information regarding them have come down to us. In Adair's time we learn that the French at Fort Toulouse in the forks of the Alabama River endeavored to foment civil war among the Muskogee especially through the hold they had on the small tribes other than Muskogee about their fort, but the Creek chiefs in council compelled them to desist.[76] In the Georgia colonial documents we read of a number of councils. One of these was represented by nine towns, of which two belonged to the Lower Creeks and seven to the Upper Creeks. Another was attended by 21 towns, of which 6 were Lower towns and the balance Upper. At a council of Lower

[74] James Logan in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 515-516.
[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 428.
[76] Ibid., pp. 326-329.

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Creeks 4 towns were represented. A conference at Savannah was attended by 16 Upper Creek towns. At Oglethorpe's first council with the Creeks 9 Lower Creek towns were represented and no Upper Creek towns. Another council was attended by 12 Upper Creek towns, and still another by 8 from the same section. There are two other notices of meetings held by the Upper Creeks alone and one held by the Lower Creeks. This brings out clearly the separation existing between the Upper and the Lower Creeks. We also find a note to the effect that the towns of Coweta, Hitchiti, Osochi, "Nipky," Chiaha, Kasihta, and Tuskegee had declared Coweta miko their chief, a statement which certainly shows the primacy of Coweta among the Lower Creeks. The Tuskegee, or part of them, were probably with the Lower Creeks at that time.[77] Two of these councils of which we have a record were held in Tulsa, one in Okchai, one in Apalachicola, and one in Chiaha. Whether accidentally or otherwise it thus happens that all but the last were in White towns.

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A Spanish document dating from 1793 or 1794 contains a list of chiefs, with the town to which each belonged, whom it was thought advisable to invite to a general conference at Pensacola. This list, which is as follows, gives an idea of the towns thought worthy of representation on such an occasion and in some degree the relative importance in which those invited were held:

Kellessechuppo, or Beard	of the Broken Arrow.
Cowabbe, or Little Prince	of the Broken Arrow.
Hycat, or Cussitaw King	of the Cussitaws.
Bird Tail King	of the Cussitaws.
Hollowing King	of the Cowitaws.
Young Lieutenant	of the Cowitaws.
Philatouchy	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
Cochmans Brother	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
George Cousins	of the Eauphallies.
John Kennard and his Uncle	of the Hitchetes.
Mad Dog	of the Tuckabatches.
Beaux Banter	of the Tuckabatches.
Half Breed	of the Ockfuskies.
McKay's Friend	of the Abacouchies.
Tallessey King	[of Tulsa?]
White King	of the Hicklawallies [Holiwahali].
Dog Warrior	of the Upper Towns.
Wockucoy King	[of Wakokai?].
Wiokee King	[of Wiwohka?].
Mawmouth	of the Keyalegies.
One head man	from James Leslie's Town [Natchez?].
Bryen Molton or One head man	from the Tuskeegy.
McPherson	Little Tallesseys.
Upoimico	Little Tallesseys.
Red Shoes	[of the Alabama and Koasati?].
One head man	from the Fussachees.
One ditto	from the Coolamy.
One ditto	from the White Ground.
One ditto	from the Ottosay.[78]

[77] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Eth., pp. 210-211.

[78] Copy of Ms. in the Ayer Library, Newberry Library, Chicago.

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Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [79]

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It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łałogalga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

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It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

[79] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

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others, such as the Utina, Potano, and Apalachee of Florida, and the Chiaha, Tali, Mobile, and many more farther north. It is even uncertain whether at that date any sort of confederacy existed. As time went on, however, the Florida tribes were destroyed or scattered, and the same fate overtook the Yamasee, the Indians of the Georgia coast, and the smaller tribes in the neighborhood of South Carolina. This served to increase the power of the Creeks proper, both by weakening that of their neighbors and by causing many fugitive tribes to unite with them and add to their fighting force. Leaving out of consideration the Hitchiti, Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, who were incorporated almost before the dawn of clear history, we have very exact information of the incorporation of the Yuchi, which had formerly been an independent and hostile tribe, of part of the Shawnee, and of the remnant of the Natchez. This system of adoption resulted in the strengthening of the confederacy about in proportion to the weakening of its neighbors, until finally but one tribe remained, the Choctaw, able to contend with it on anything like equal terms. This latter, it is to be noted, owed its strength not so much to incorporation of fugitive elements as to a location where it was for a long time protected against European encroachment, intensive cultivation of the soil, and an unwarlike disposition—all contributing to a steadily mounting population. The Choctaw government was very feebly centralized for the same reason until very late times when it was much strengthened as a result of constant attacks on the part of Chickasaw and Creek enemies. The Creeks, on the other hand, had adopted their federal union very early, probably in part as the result of pressure from without, and as this pressure was increased by the approach of white settlements the sense of danger tended to accelerate the centralization. It thus happened that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century conditions were ripe for the evolution of a still more closely knit state, and merely awaited the advent of the man who could bring it about. And such a man appeared.

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A critical life of Alexander McGillivray would be a distinct contribution to southern history, but it is not germane to our purpose. Doubtless much that has been written regarding him is inaccurate and I do not vouch for all the facts given in the following account by Swan, but of the revolution he accomplished in Creek government there can be no doubt. Swan says that his title was Steutsa'cco-Cho'ota' which is evidently a very bad attempt at isti àtcagàgi làko, "great honored or beloved man."[80] He goes on:

"The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks,

[80] His Indian name, however, is given by Pope as "Hippo ilk Meco, or the good Child King." In correct Creek this would be Hobol-hili miko, but there is reason to think that McGillivray did not belong to a clan which would entitle him to be called miko.

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Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings." [86]

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It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (tàstànàgi làko) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,[87] both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

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A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thuluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

[86] Pope, Tour, p. 65.

[87] In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. II, p. 786) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.

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"2d. Ki-a-li-jee and Eu-fau-lau. For these two towns, they appointed E-maut-lau Hut-ke.

"3d. Hill-au-bee, Woc-co-coie and Pochusehatche. For these three towns they appointed Cussetuh Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Hill-au-bee, and Thle-chum-me Tustunnigge ["Łidjâmi Tâstânâgi], of Woc-cocoie.

"4th. Au-bee-coo-che, Nau-che, Coosau and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. For these four towns, they appointed Olohtau Haujo [Holahta hâdjo].

"5th. Ho-ith-le-wau-le, Ecunhutke, Sauvanogee, Mook-lau-sau and Took-au-bat-che. For these five towns, they appointed O-poie E-maut-lau [Hobayi Imała], of Ho-ith-le-waule. . . .

"6th. Oc-fus-kee and its villages, Sooc-he-ah, New-yau-cau, Im-mook-fau, Took-au-bat-che Tal-lau-has-see, Took-to-cau-gee, Au-che-nau-ulgau, Oc-fus-coo-che, and E-pe-sau-gee. For this town and its villages, they appointed Hopoie Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Oc-fus-kee, and Tal-lo-wau-thlucco Tus-tun-nug-gee.

"7th. O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-kee-gee. For these two towns, they appointed Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie.

"8th. Tal-e-see, Aut-tos-see, Foose-hat-che and Coo-loo-me. For these four towns, they appointed Foose-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Tal-e-see, and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Foose-hat-che.

"9th. Hook-choie-oo-che, Coo-sau-dee, E-cun-cha-te, Too-wos-sau, Pau-woc-te, and At-tau-gee. For these towns and villages, they appointed Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc, of Hook-choie-oo-che." [88]

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To what extent this plan of government was put in force seems uncertain, but the primacy of Coweta and Tukabahchee continued, as is shown by numerous statements in the documents of the first half of the nineteenth century. We learn that in 1814 the "Little Prince" was head chief of the entire nation—though one writer refers to him as "the chief speaker." He belonged to Łikatcka, which, as we have seen, was a branch of Coweta. At the same time we are told that Tâstânâgi łâko, the "Big Warrior," a Tukabahchee, was "speaker for the Upper Creeks," Tâstânâgi hopai speaker for the Lower Creeks, and William McIntosh head chief of Coweta.[89] From what Hodgson says it is evident that in 1820 the Little Prince and the Big Warrior occupied the same positions, although they are both called "Chief Speakers of the Nation" as if their authority were coordinate. Hodgson adds, "The most popular and influential person, however, in the Nation, is Mackintosh, the Head Warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age; who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country." [90]

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[88] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.

[89] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, pp. 571, 575.

[90] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267. In one place (Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571) McIntosh is called "Speaker of the Nation."

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In a later document four chiefs are mentioned as having made a reply to the United States Commissioners at Łikatcka, on December 11, 1824, "Little Prince, O. Porthle Yoholo (Speaker of the Upper Creeks), William McIntosh (Speaker of the Nation), and Hopoy Hadgo." [91] In a letter written seven days after this, by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, Little Prince is referred to as the head of the nation, while the Big Warrior is called head chief of the Upper towns and McIntosh head chief of the Lower towns and also Speaker of the Nation.[92] The somewhat perplexing statements are reconciled when we understand that Little Prince was head chief of the entire nation by virtue of the fact that he was head of the Coweta group of towns, although actually he was premier chief only of the branch town of Łikatcka. McIntosh was chief of Coweta itself and also held the position of speaker for Little Prince, having apparently succeeded a man named Tàstànàgi hobayi, and because Little Prince was head chief of the Lower Creeks and premier chief of the nation McIntosh is also called "Speaker of the Nation." A formal error is probably made by Campbell in referring to him as "head chief of the Lower towns," while the nomenclature employed by Hodgson is inexact owing to the temporary nature of his visit among the Creeks. That Hodgson does not mean by "chief speakers" those who made announcements is shown by his explanation immediately following: "The Chief Speakers are by no means necessarily the principal *orators*, but may employ a fluent Chief to convey their sentiments. Their office is to carry into effect the decisions of the Great Council of the Nation; a deliberative body, composed of chiefs from the different towns." [93] It seems plain, in short, that during this period the Little Prince of Łikatcka was head chief of the Lower Creeks and of the nation, while the Big Warrior was head chief of the Upper Creeks. McIntosh appears to have been chief of Coweta in 1814 and to have risen to the position of speaker of the nation by 1824—that is, speaker for the Little Prince. Hoboi-hili yahola had risen to the position of speaker of the Upper Creeks by 1824. It seems evident that by this time all of the Upper towns recognized a head chief and all of the Lower towns another and that the latter enjoyed a primacy over the former, and that each of these had an assistant called a "speaker" who was a man of influence. After the removal there was a principal and second chief over all the towns and a principal and second chief for each of the two divisions. [94]

According to one of my informants the head chief of the Upper Creeks was elected by 30 men chosen from the towns of Tukabahchee, Kealedji, Atasi, and Hàtci tcàbà—i. e., from the Upper Creek towns

[91] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 871.
[92] Ibid., p. 873.
[93] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267.
[94] Eakins in Schoolcraft, vol. I, pp. 374-375.

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642 of the Tukabahchee group. This statement remains unsubstantiated. The same man also stated that the Lower Creeks had two chiefs, "one governing on each side of any stream," but this would seem to refer to the chiefs of the Kasihta and Coweta, the lands of which were separated by the Chattahoochee River.

Writing in 1839, when the removal to the west was not completed, Farnham says:

"The civil government of this tribe is less perfect than that of the Cherokees. There are two bands; the one under McIntosh, and the other under Little Doctor. That led by the former, brought with them from their old home written laws which they enforce as the laws of their band. That under the latter, made written laws after their arrival. Each party holds a general council. The members of each are hereditary chiefs, and a class of men called councillors. Each of these great bands is divided into lesser ones; which severally may hold courts, try civil and criminal causes, sentence, and execute, &c. Laws, however, are made by the general councils only; and it is becoming customary to entertain trials of cases before these bodies, and to detail some of their members for executioners. The legislative, judicial, and executive departments of their government are thus becoming strangely united in one."[94a]

Eakins says "every hundred persons has a right to elect a chief, who represents them in general council."[95]

642 From the time of their emigration until after the Civil War the
643 Lower and Upper Creeks remained aloof from each other. Roly McIntosh,[96] first chief of the former division in the west, was succeeded by Moty Kennard, and when the latter died his second chief, Yakinha miko, took his place. Tukabahchee miko, often spoken of as chief of the Upper Creeks, was in reality their principal medicine maker. His fields were cared for by the people of Tukabahchee and he was allowed a salary of $500 from the Creek treasury. In 1842–43 the Upper Creek chief was Tamali miko.[96a] When the Creek constitution was adopted Itco hadjo miko occupied the position.

642 As is well known the Creeks split into two factions on the outbreak
177 of the Civil War and became pretty thoroughly demoralized. After it was ended a great council was held near Okmulgee, a constitution was adopted and a new government set up, modeled to some extent on that of the United States. There were two deliberative and legislative bodies called the House of Kings and the House of Warriors chosen from the different districts and two head chiefs, a first and a second, elected every four years by the entire nation. He who received the highest number of votes was made first chief and he

[94a] Farnham's Travels, in Early Western Travels, vol. XXVIII, pp. 129–130.

[95] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 275.

[96] It appears from a writer in Schoolcraft (Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 267) that the second chief of the Lower Creeks under McIntosh was Benjamin Marshall.

[96a] See pp. 215–216; Stanley in Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 58, p. 12.

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who received the next highest second chief, no matter whether the two so chosen had run upon the same ticket or not.

The following first and second chiefs were elected after the adoption of this constitution:

HEAD CHIEF	SECOND CHIEF
Samuel Chicote of Sawokli (served three or four terms).	Itco hadjo miko.[97]
Lŏtca hadjo of Abihkutci (or Nuyaka) (served three months and was then impeached).	Ward Coachman, of Alabama.
Ward Coachman (filled out the rest of the term).	(Left vacant.)
Joseph M. Perryman, of Okmulgee (one term).	(Uncertain.)[98]
Legus Perryman of Okmulgee (two terms).	Hotàlgi imała of Okchai.
Ispahihtca of Kasihta (one term).	Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee.
Pleasant Porter of Okmulgee (one complete term and part of a second term).	Moty Tiger of Tukabahcee.
Moty Tiger (completes term).	(Left vacant.)

Pleasant Porter was the last chief regularly elected. Moty Tiger was succeeded by the late G. W. Grayson, of Coweta, mentioned so often in this report, who was appointed by President Wilson. Mr. Grayson died in office and his son Washington Grayson was appointed his successor. When he resigned the position was conferred upon George Hill, of Tulsa Canadian.

The chiefs elected after the adoption of the constitution were not necessarily heads of the towns from which they came, and it is said of Tukabahchee miko, before that time, that he was transferred by special agreement from the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee to that of the Warriors because he could not be withheld from making addresses, and the delivering of addresses on the part of the town chief himself was contrary to custom. Itco hadjo miko was a tàstànàgi or an imała. Samuel Chicote was only a tàsikaya, Hotàlgi imała was a great war speaker (holibonaia) and also an imała, and Moty Tiger a tàstànàgi. Miko hàtki, given by Cook as second chief under Chicote, was, however, chief of his town, Tulsa. It is worthy of note that the ablest leaders, after the adoption of the constitution, were from the non-Muskogee towns, Ward Coachman, of Alabama, Samuel Chicote, the Perrymans, and Pleasant Porter from the Hitchiti-speaking towns, and Roly McIntosh of Tuskegee. Mr. McCombs considers the last named, although he did not reach the position of head chief, the greatest Creek statesman of his time. He was named

[97] Mr. McCombs, my authority for the incumbent of this position, was in some doubt about his correctness and the second chief may have been Miko hàtki of Tulsa, as given by Cook.

[98] Zachariah Cook thought that Roly McIntosh was second chief under J. M. Perryman and Legus Perryman second chief under Ispahihtca, but Mr. McCombs is probably right.

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for the first Roly McIntosh, who is said to have conferred the title upon him himself, in anticipation of his future greatness.

As stated already, when the Creek chief was installed an installation speech was made to him by a man of the Bird clan of Otciapofa, who instructed him regarding his duties and in general as to what was expected of him.

The duties of sheriffs or constables were discharged by eight, or about eight, light horsemen (tcilàko ohgä'ga), four for the Upper Creeks and four for the Lower Creeks.

[171]
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The government of the Seminole nation was similar to that of the Creek nation proper. They had only two light horsemen.

The following general view of the condition of the Creeks in the middle of the nineteenth century furnishes an interesting picture of them in their western home in the middle period of their decline, a decline soon afterwards accelerated vastly by the Civil War and now brought to completion by their allotment and the practical abolishment of their national government:

"The Lower Towns, from their closer proximity and greater intercourse with the whites, exhibit a much greater advance in civilization and manner than their brethren of the Upper Towns. The old custom of settling together compactly and cultivating the town fields has been altogether abandoned, and they are no longer visible in this portion of the nation; the people are settled promiscuously throughout the country; many of their farms and residences would do credit to the States. Ornaments, silver plates, ear-rings, beads, and paint, are grown into disuse, and seldom or never seen except at their festivals or ball plays. The dress of the whites is becoming common, with the exception of the hunting shirt, which is generally of gay printed calico, and may be conceived quite picturesque. It is tenaciously adhered to, and is common to all Indians. Hats, vests, pantaloons, and shoes may almost be said to be the common habilaments of the males, and dresses of the richest materials of silks and muslins, made, too, in accordance with the latest fashions, are often to be seen upon the persons of the female classes. Gold and silver watches, rich and costly articles of jewelry, viz: chains, rings, brooches, etc., etc., are also used by the rich.

"The English language, though not generally spoken, is understood by many; and a strong desire is manifested by the community at large to throw off all their old superstitious ways and customs, and to adopt the ways of the whites. On the other hand, however, it can be said that the number of the indigent and needy is much greater here in this part of the nation. The use of whiskey, too, is more general, and its effects more visible. As before stated, there is no town, nor even a village, to be met with, yet the people are every year summoned, to their great dissatisfaction, to assist in

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building or repairing the town council houses, etc.; in many instances, to leave their crops and go a distance of 20 or 30 miles;—this service is enforced, too, under a penalty of a pecuniary fine. The settlements of the Lower Towns extend from the Verdigris river, on it and between it and the Arkansas, on both banks, to the Red fork, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of fifty. They are separated from the settlements of the Upper Towns by an uninterrupted prairie, extending from the bottoms of the Arkansas, south, to those of the north fork of the Canadian, a distance of about forty miles; they [the Upper Towns] extend from there, westward, between and on the Deep fork, North fork, and Main Canadian, to Little river, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of about sixty. From their peculiar location, they have less intercourse with the whites, and consequently do not exhibit so much improvement. Their dress, too, is more after the aboriginal form; they are forbidden to adopt that of the whites under penalty of lashes; they are, however, generally speaking, more enterprising and industrious; they grow cotton, and practise the domestic arts of spinning and weaving to a greater extent than the others. Cases of extreme poverty are more rarely to be met with. The chiefs are more generous, and their policy more liberal than those of the Lower Towns. In addition to the two blacksmiths' shops, furnished them by treaty stipulations, they have a public shop, which is supported out of their portion of the annuity; they have also devoted a portion of it to the erection of a water mill, and the support of a millwright; they have also a wheelwright, but he is paid by the government; they have not so much wealth as the Lower Town chiefs, generally speaking—(the McIntosh family are supposed to be worth $150,000 and B. Marshall some $50,000) yet *they* contribute nothing towards anything of this kind—alleviating the distresses of the poor, or to affecting any improvement in their country; however, it is reported that Opothleyoholo is by far the richest man in the whole nation." [*]

177

Hitchcock informs us that the Creek laws were compiled, or rather digested, in 1826 before the emigration and that an abstract of the digest was approved by a general council in 1840. Mr. N. L. Alexander, the Creek through whom Hitchcock obtained access to these, did not think that the first written laws antedated about the year 1822, but Hitchcock himself remarks that the year "1817" was entered opposite the law punishing murder. He adds:

642 671

"Most of the laws—there are but few altogether—relate to the punishment of the most prominent crimes, known as such among all men, and the regulation of property rights. They scarcely touch upon the ancient customs and usages of the Nation which are for the most part left in full force. Infanticide was formerly not uncom-

[*] James Logan, in Indian Affairs Report, 1845, pp. 314-317.

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642 mon; it is prohibited by the written laws. An attempt was made in 1840 to abolish a custom giving to the relations of a husband on his 671 death the power of keeping the widow secluded and forbidding her second marriage for a period of four years. They attempted to restrict the period to 12 months, but the people would not listen to it and the council yielded to the public voice and repealed the law in 1841." [1]

Property

421 So many old Creek customs, usages, and laws have become lost or obscured that it is difficult to reconstruct the primitive system with any certainty from what is remembered at the present day. With regard to property it is to be noted that two strong influences constantly operated to dilute the sense of individual ownership. These influences were the powerful kinship system and the abundance and accessibility of all of those things—or the raw materials of those things—necessary in aboriginal life. The value which we attach to things is dependent to a very considerable extent on the ease with which we can replace them.

[574] As was usual among primitive people, strangers were provided with food and a place to sleep gratis. This might be in the community hot house, or, after the clan of the visitor had been revealed, in the home of some man married into that clan. Regarding chattels we could wish the information from these Indians were more specific. Adair "observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them" but he immediately begins to speak of their hospitality in the matter of food and shelter which is quite a different matter.[2] Bartram says:

"Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.

426 "If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded 431 only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time . . ." [3]

If Bartram could have examined actual conditions more intimately he would probably have found that this exchange took place

[1] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.
[3] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 41.

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From what Adair tells us[14a] it would seem that the stones used in playing the chunkey game were town property. 422

The house, and probably the necessary household furniture, belonged to the wife, the tools made and used by the husband to him, and thus they were vested in different clan groups and some of them probably went to entirely different persons at the death of the owners. In early times such a large part of a man's personal property was buried with his corpse that not much was left for heirs to quarrel over. Bartram says that the first selection from whatever was left was made by the head wife of the deceased, the remainder being divided between his other wives and his children.[15] This may have been true in certain special cases but there is reason to doubt that it represented a custom common in earlier times. Says Eakins: [592] 428

"The descent of property is fixed. It is willed as the parents please. But if no will has been made, the property reverts to the children. But in case of a marriage with a widow, with children, her property reverts to her children by her first husband. The eldest son is entitled only to an equal portion with the rest. A written will is binding. A verbal will, established by two responsible persons, is valid also. If there has been no other disposition made of the medal, it goes to the eldest son. In former times, all relics were taken possession of by the deceased sister's eldest son. But now they are the subject of legacy as other property."[16]

This statement dates, of course, from a comparatively late period in the history of the Creek Indians, about the year 1850. The same authority states just above that anciently all property descended in the female line—indeed, he implies as much in the quotation just given—and there is every reason to believe that this is correct. It is confirmed by Gregg.[17]

As to the lands of the confederacy outside of these town areas we may probably rely upon the following statement, also by Bartram: 423 6420

"Every individual inhabitant has an equal right to the soil and to hunt and range over this region, except within the jurisdiction of each town or village, which I believe seldom extends beyond its habitations and planting grounds. Perhaps the *Uches* are to be excepted. They claim an exclusive property, by right of a contract; but though they sometimes put the Creeks in mind of this privilege, when their hunters make too free with their hunting grounds, yet the dispute seldom goes further, as the Confederacy are cautious of offending the Uches, and yield to their common interest and safety."[18]

14a See p. 488.
15 Bartram, Travels, p. 514.
16 Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 283.
17 Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Thwaites, Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 327.
18 Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. 10, p. 22.

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423 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their
642 ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

[727] Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to
land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on
423 original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19]
621 It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

177 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from
648 Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

674 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey
732 the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 240; cf. also p. 209.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

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721 country was engaged in fighting her, and of more recent dealings of the same kind. It shows also how the customs of a people react inevitably upon themselves for good or for evil.

•642 721 In the case of the confederacies above mentioned the very abolition of war between certain units increased the power of the aggregate body and at the same time their temptation to use this advantage in the exploitation of their less well-organized neighbors. And in the Creek confederacy, for instance, while its very existence depended on the fact that certain tribes had agreed to live without fighting, social advancement and the whole structure of the state was dependent on war to such a degree that a complete account of the institution involves an almost complete account of the Creek social system. This having already been given, we are now in a position to take up more particularly the method of waging war.

[302]

FIG. 103.—Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans)

726 The Creek warrior fought almost naked. He wore, of course, the breechclout and belt, also a pair of moccasins. His face and the upper part of his body were painted red and black. He carried a pack in which were an old blanket, some parched ground corn, cords, and leather with which to repair his moccasins. His weapons consisted in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt. Adair mentions a javelin which would be a short spear or throwing knife.[95] In later times the bow and arrow gave place to the gun, though the former were used along with the latter as late as Adair's time. The war club (ātasa) was, however, the principal symbol of the institution. Stiggins describes it as "shaped like a small gun about 2 feet long, and at the curve near where the lock would be is a thin square piece of iron or steel with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about 2 inches."[96] It is remembered at the present day as an implement like a combined hatchet and knife, which could either be retained in the hand or thrown. One form of headdress of a Creek warrior is shown in the accompanying illustration, taken from the work of Romans (fig. 103).

[411]

721 Intertribal warfare among the southern Indians was suppressed so long ago that not much is remembered regarding it. In this

[95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 396. [96] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 36.

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been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk. 726 622

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off." [33] 701

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says: 726

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanīdja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[34] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by [35] and Is-te-pau-pau,[36] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic." [37]

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which 726 177 642

[33] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

[34] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.

[35] This is intended for teito yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chicota told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.

[36] Isti papa, "person eater."

[37] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

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726 177 642

several towns joined. There was not before or after this time the same unity of action, not even in the Creek-American War. The general correctness of Milfort's account is indicated by numerous points of agreement with the facts recorded by Adair and the other writers quoted above; in particular the prominent position he gives the war club as a war symbol tallies exactly with every scrap of information derived from other sources. The war medicines spoken of by Hawkins and in Chekilli's migration legend do not appear here; they were probably carried only by the head chief, or perhaps only by the chief of Kasihta.

Milfort claims to have been instrumental in doing away with the custom of burning captives at the stake,[28] but from what Bartram says[28a] it is evident that it had begun to decline several years before. Milfort also says that he induced the Indians to rate the taking of a prisoner at three scalps which should belong to the captor.[29]

His account follows:

726

"When he [the head war chief] had made known the necessity of calling together the warriors, a club was immediately exposed in public, part of which was painted red; that signified that a part of the nation, that is the young men, must hold themselves in readiness to march; for if the club had been colored red all over the entire nation would have had to prepare itself, something which happens only under extraordinary circumstances. The manner of painting this club red also lets each particular chief know at the same time how many men he must bring with him to the appointed rendezvous, so that the head war chief is always certain of the number of soldiers he will have at his disposal, a number which he regulates according as circumstances demand, and which he is able to fix absolutely.

[211]

"When it is thus necessary to assemble the warriors at a common rendezvous, the head war chief has a club partly colored red given to each subordinate chief; it is usually accompanied by a certain number of little sticks, which serve to inform the warriors who carry them into the different cantons of the nation, of the day when they must be at the general rendezvous, with the number of young men needed for the march. Each day at sunrise a stick is thrown away, and the day on which they throw away the last must be that of their arrival at the place of meeting; there have been few cases of delay in this general muster. In order to provide against every slip of the memory, the bearers of the red club are obliged to give to each chief every day the watchword, which is usually the name of the place and the day of the meeting. I am going to give here a more detailed account of this red club, to say how it is given and what is its use.

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[28] Milfort, Mém., p. 219.

[28a] Bartram, Travels, p. 211.

[29] Milfort, op. cit.

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796 173 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 •642 621 619 182 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

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at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved. 000

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable: 796 614

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'[25b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikinobànga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others."[26]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atàsà, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[27] Atàsà posts 796 642 621 619

[25b] This is really the horned owl.

[26] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134-135.

[27] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atàsà sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

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796 are shown in Figure 5 of the preceding paper, from an early French
•642 sketch.[38] As in the reform movement of Hiawatha among the
621 Iroquois and similar reforms in other parts of the world, that perception of the injurious effects of war with which the confederacy started
619 was not carried on progressively toward its legitimate conclusion, the absolute extinction of warfare, but halted part way. In the relative benefits which the new union conferred by introducing local peace were lost to sight the very much greater benefits which would have been conferred by carrying out the project to its only logical end. The local well being and warlike effectiveness of a certain group of tribes was very much advanced as compared with that of many of their neighbors, and with this they remained content.

796 The busk was in reality the fourth of a series of ceremonials, the first three of which are called "stomp dances" and included only a minimum of ceremony, being in a way preparatory to the great busk proper. It is likely that in ancient times these were of more importance and perhaps deserved the name of busk also. The time of these ceremonies was formerly fixed by the period of the new moon and therefore varied somewhat. The first stomp dance was usually in April, but sometimes probably in May, while the busk proper was usually in July but with some towns as late as August. In ancient times the date of the busk was supposed to be governed by the first ripening of the large or flour corn,[39] and this will account for the fact that among the Florida Seminole it is said to occur as early as June.[40]

The Koasati observed one of the three first stomp dances with more than ordinary care. It was the one held in May and was when the mulberries were ripe. It will be remembered that Adair says of the Koasati that "they annually sanctify the mulberries by a public oblation,"[41] and I was told as much by David Cummings, probably the only Creek living in 1912 who could remember about the old busk ground of the main body of Koasati, known as Koasati No. 1. He said that they busked in May when the mulberries were ripe and again when the roasting ears were ripe. Stiggins states that the Koasati celebrated the coming of the new crop of beans in addition to the coming of the new corn, and this was probably identical with the mulberry feast.[41a]

The following feast mentioned by Adair was perhaps at the time of one of these stomp dances—at least it was at the same time of the year—although there are features reminding one of the "old peoples' dance" which the Creeks held in October. Adair says of this feast:

[38] Journ. Société des Amér. de Paris, 1922.

[39] Adair says it was anciently fixed by "the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full eared," but later by the time of harvest. (Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.)

[40] See MacCauley, Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

[41] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 267.

[41a] See p. 568.

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several actual cases of such assimilation in later times. However, so far as the tribes enumerated are concerned, this must always remain in doubt. 101 619

When the tribes of the Confederation first became known to white people, they were distributed geographically into two main sections to which the names Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks have become attached. The former were on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers and the upper course of Alabama River in the present state of Alabama, the latter on the lower and middle courses of the Chattahoochee, which now forms part of the boundary between Alabama and Georgia. It was this latter division principally which lived upon Ocmulgee River for a time and thus gave rise accidentally to the popular English name for the entire people. A minor division also existed between those Creeks living on the middle course of Coosa River and those centering about the lower Tallapoosa, the two being sometimes designated as Upper and Middle Creeks, respectively. In the distribution of the original Muskogee tribes, the Abihka and Coosa constituted the greater part of the Upper Creeks, while the Kasihta and Coweta were the dominating element among the Lower Creeks. The Okchai, Pakana, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, Łiwahali, Łapłáko, Kolomi, and a number of towns descended from the Coosa, including Otciapofa, the Tulsa towns, and the Okfuskee towns, besides several minor groups, formed the bulk of the Middle Creeks. The Eufaula had the distinction of being connected with all three. Their oldest seat seems to have been in the Upper Creek country; later they established themselves among the Middle Creeks and about the period of first white contact they formed a colony well down Chattahoochee River, among the Lower Creeks. To complete the story of their migrant habits, we may add that they seem to have furnished the first true Muskogee contingent to the Florida Seminole in the Red House or Tcuko Tcati Indians north of Tampa Bay.

Tradition seems to be borne out by circumstantial evidence in pointing to the Lower Creek country as that region in which the tribes in question began their federation. According to the story this had to do on the one hand with the division of the Muskogee into the Kasihta and Coweta and on the other with the relations between them and the non-Muskogee elements, particularly the Apalachicola. The relations of the Kasihta and Coweta to each other are somewhat uncertain, for while it is at times implied that they resulted from the fission of a single body of people, the most popular traditions speak of them as having come from the west 101 619 642

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as two distinct tribes and it is possible that the one-tribe idea may be the result of later rationalizing. The story goes that, having defeated all of their enemies, the Kasihta and Coweta instituted periodical ball games as a kind of "moral equivalent for war," and afterwards, when either of them established relations of friendship with other Indians, whether Muskogee or not, these Indians entered on the same side as their friends so that this dual system soon became general.

One of these sides, that of Kasihta, came to be known as the White or Peace side, though it did not receive that specific name; while the side of Coweta was the Red or War side.

At the same early period the Muskogee entered into intimate relations with the Apalachicola Indians, who spoke a dialect related to Hitchiti. This was the outgrowth of a treaty of peace following upon hostilities, or to avert threatened hostilities. The Apalachicola were then taken into the Confederation on the same side as Kasihta. In some particulars, however, they are held to have been more representative of the White towns than Kasihta and for that reason their settlement came to be called Tâlwa Łâko, "Big Town." Indeed, the migration legend related to Oglethorpe by Tchikilli implies that Kasihta was at least partly Red, their hearts being "red on one side and white on the other." However, in all later times Kasihta assumes the leadership of the White towns among the Lower Creeks, as does Coweta the leadership of the Red towns. Four having been the sacred number—the sacred formulae being gone through four times, four arbors or beds constituting the ceremonial buildings in the square ground and four sticks the number employed in the ceremonial fires—it is not surprising that the Creeks should select two towns from the Upper Creeks, taken collectively, to add to these two leading Lower Creek towns. The White towns of the Upper Creeks were represented by Abihka, the Red towns by Tukabahchee, the second being from that group I have called Middle Creeks, the other from the northernmost bounds of the Nation. These four towns were the "back sticks" of the Confederation, and each had a special ceremonial name, viz., Kasihta Łâko ("Big Kasihta"), Coweta Mahmayi ("Tall Coweta"), Tukabahchee Ispokogi, and Abihka Nâgi. Ispokogi was the name of the culture heroes of the Tukabahchee and it may be a Shawnee term. It bears a suspicious resemblance to that of the Kispokotha band of Shawnee. I do not know the meaning of Nâgi. The Abihka were also called specifically "the door-shutters" because they protected the northern frontier of the Confederation.

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In course of time the non-Muskogee element represented by the Apalachicola Indians was increased, first by other groups related to the last mentioned—such as the Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, and Tamali—who spoke closely related languages and called themselves Atcik-hata, a term said to have some reference to the ashes of the ceremonial fire in the square grounds. These Indians formed the greater part of the first Creek invaders of Florida who presently constituted the Seminole nation. The leading town in this southward movement was Oconee, almost certainly affiliated with the Atcik-hata, and the titular leadership among the Seminole remained with them until after the Seminole War. However, the complexion of the Seminole as a whole was changed from Atcik-hata or Hitchiti, to Muskogee by the multitudes of refugees which fled to Florida after the Creek War of 1813-14. The later removal to Oklahoma seems to have reversed the situation since more than two-thirds of the Indians now in Florida speak a language of the Hitchiti group.

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There is strong evidence that the Chiaha Indians originally spoke Hitchiti and that the Mikasuki of Florida branched off from them, but some early event in their history separated them from the other Atcik-hata and made them allies of the Coweta. This friendship they shared with the Osotci who seem originally to have belonged to the Timucua linguistic group of Florida. To the Upper Creeks were added the distinct but dialectically related Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, while bands of Yamasi and Apalachee were temporarily connected with both Upper and Lower Creeks. The Alabama town of Tawasa seems to have had an origin similar to that of the Osotci. At a very late date the wholly alien Yuchi population was admitted into the Confederation, most of them making their home among the Lower Creeks though there was a small body also among the Upper Creeks. And more divergent still were the Shawnee, from among whom two towns made their homes in Creek territory for several decades during the eighteenth century. One of these probably continued on into the early years of the nineteenth century.

It may be added that towns are known to have changed from one side to the other. Alabama was once a White town closely associated with the Okchai, but later they were affiliated with the Tukabahchee and came to be reckoned as Red. Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Wiwohka are also said to have shifted from one side to the other. In the case of the two last this may be partially explained by the fact that, if we may trust native tradition, they were built up of refugees from other settlements.

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increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."[65]

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In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikâgi Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[66]

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Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."[67]

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says:

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"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

[65] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 13-15.
[66] Ibid., p. 15.
[67] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. ii, p. 575.

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642 Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal
631 chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh
•643 takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

642 "After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may
631 be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King
622 and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of $150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

642 "The general council for business is composed of the two principal
646 chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them." [68]

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

[68] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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others, such as the Utina, Potano, and Apalachee of Florida, and the Chiaha, Tali, Mobile, and many more farther north. It is even uncertain whether at that date any sort of confederacy existed. As time went on, however, the Florida tribes were destroyed or scattered, and the same fate overtook the Yamasee, the Indians of the Georgia coast, and the smaller tribes in the neighborhood of South Carolina. This served to increase the power of the Creeks proper, both by weakening that of their neighbors and by causing many fugitive tribes to unite with them and add to their fighting force. Leaving out of consideration the Hitchiti, Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, who were incorporated almost before the dawn of clear history, we have very exact information of the incorporation of the Yuchi, which had formerly been an independent and hostile tribe, of part of the Shawnee, and of the remnant of the Natchez. This system of adoption resulted in the strengthening of the confederacy about in proportion to the weakening of its neighbors, until finally but one tribe remained, the Choctaw, able to contend with it on anything like equal terms. This latter, it is to be noted, owed its strength not so much to incorporation of fugitive elements as to a location where it was for a long time protected against European encroachment, intensive cultivation of the soil, and an unwarlike disposition—all contributing to a steadily mounting population. The Choctaw government was very feebly centralized for the same reason until very late times when it was much strengthened as a result of constant attacks on the part of Chickasaw and Creek enemies. The Creeks, on the other hand, had adopted their federal union very early, probably in part as the result of pressure from without, and as this pressure was increased by the approach of white settlements the sense of danger tended to accelerate the centralization. It thus happened that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century conditions were ripe for the evolution of a still more closely knit state, and merely awaited the advent of the man who could bring it about. And such a man appeared.

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A critical life of Alexander McGillivray would be a distinct contribution to southern history, but it is not germane to our purpose. Doubtless much that has been written regarding him is inaccurate and I do not vouch for all the facts given in the following account by Swan, but of the revolution he accomplished in Creek government there can be no doubt. Swan says that his title was Steutsa'cco-Cho'ota' which is evidently a very bad attempt at isti àtcagàgi làko, "great honored or beloved man."[80] He goes on:

"The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks,

[80] His Indian name, however, is given by Pope as "Hippo ilk Meco, or the good Child King." In correct Creek this would be Hobot-hili mìko, but there is reason to think that McGillivray did not belong to a clan which would entitle him to be called mìko.

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where he was born, by the advice of his father immediately set about placing himself at the head of the nation. His kindred and family connexion in the country, and his evident abilities, soon gave him such influence among them that the British made him their commissary, with the rank and pay of Lieutenant-Colonel, under Colonel Brown, then superintendent.

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"After the English had abandoned the nation, in 1782, this beloved man found it necessary, in order to carry on the war with success against the Georgians, to undertake a reform in the policy of the nation, which had for a long time been divided by faction.

"He effected a total revolution in one of their most ancient customs, by placing the warriors in all cases over the micos or kings, who, though not active as warriors, were always considered as important counsellors. The micos resisted this measure for some time; and the struggle became at last so serious, that the beloved chief had one Sullivan and two others, partizans of the micos, put to death in the public squares. They were all three white men who had undertaken to lead the faction against him; but he finally crushed the insurgents, and effected his purposes.

"The spirit of opposition still remained against him in the old Tallassie king, Opilth Mico, who, with his clan, pronounced M'Gillivray a boy and an usurper, taking steps that must be derogatory to his family and consequence. And under these circumstances he undertook to treat separately with the Georgians. The consequences were, his houses were burnt in his absence, and his corn and cattle destroyed. Notwithstanding, he remained refractory for a long time, as well as some of the most important of the lower towns, until, finding the Georgians aimed at them indiscriminately, and a Mr. Alexander had killed twelve of their real friends (the Cussutahs), they dropped their internal disputes, and united all their efforts, under the great chief, against the frontiers."[81]

Swan adds some interesting particulars regarding the means resorted to by McGillivray to secure his authority. He kept the several towns in obedience by threatening to remove the white traders from among them. He encouraged the presentation of complaints by all parties but put off judgment so long that the parties usually settled the matter between themselves, thereby relieving him of the necessity of delivering a verdict unfavorable to one of them and attracting personal enmity in consequence. Another device, as old as tyranny, was to collect about himself a body of retainers. Swan says:

"Some young men of his relations, and several active warriors living about Little Tallassie, whom the chief keeps continually attached to him by frequent and profuse presents, serve him as a

[81] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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kind of watch, and often in the capacity of constables—pursue, take up, and punish, such characters as he may direct; and on some occasions have acted as executioners.

"It is a maxim of his policy to give protection to outlaws, debtors, thieves, and murderers from all parts of the country, who have fled in great numbers from the hands of justice, and found an asylum in the Creek nation. The whites living among the Indians (with very few exceptions), are the most abandoned wretches that can be found, perhaps, on this side of Botany Bay; there is scarcely a crime but some of them has been guilty of. Most of the traders and all their hirelings and pack-horse-men, are of the above description."[82]

McGillivray's father, Lachlan McGillivray, was a Scotchman loyal to the crown, and from him and his sojourn among the whites Alexander had gained sufficient astuteness to know how to deal with the colonists, along with a prejudice against their cause. His government, it will be seen, resembled rather a Greek tyranny than the military democracy to which Swan likens it. It must be added, however, that McGillivray's power was due rather to his shrewdness and his understanding of the Indian mind than to the exercise of autocratic authority, though, as we have seen, he could use the iron glove on occasion. McGillivray belonged to the Wind clan,[83] and although this clan held an exalted position in the tribe, none of the officials of Otciapofa, his proper town and that which he made his capital, were Wind people. This explains in part his adoption of the term "great beloved man," one which could be held by a member of any clan. The government as I have described it also explains the appellation of "grand chief" which Milfort applies to McGillivray.[84] Milfort was probably one of those outsiders whom McGillivray gathered about him. That he was made a tástánągi is probable, but, as has been stated above, the name did not carry the significance which Milfort attaches to it of "head war chief" of the nation.

Milfort and Pope both confirm Swan's statement regarding the internal revolution effected by McGillivray, except that where the former says "nation" we must substitute "town," or "towns." His words are:

"The Tastanégy or grand war chief formerly had no part in the internal administration, his authority lasted only as long as the war: but now, he is the first civil as well as the first military chief of the nation."[85]

Says Pope:

"M'Gillivray who is perpetual dictator, in Time of War subdelegates a Number of Chieftains for the Direction of all military

[82] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.
[83] Milfort, Mém., p. 323; Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 269.
[84] Ibid., pp. 40-41 et seq.
[85] Milfort, op. cit., p. 237.

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Operations; and when the War concludes, they, in Compensation for their martial Achievements, are invested by the Dictator with civil Authority which supersedes the hereditary Powers of their Demi-Kings." [56]

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It is hardly likely that the Indians would have suffered a violent injection of outside officials into their local governments, and it is therefore probable that the men elevated to positions of control in this manner were the "big warriors" (tástánągi łáko) in their respective towns. During a period of almost perpetual war the influence of the war leaders was certain to be enhanced in any event; McGillivray simply took advantage of this and continued their war powers into times of peace.

After McGillivray's death, February 17, 1793, no man appeared of sufficient force and tact to take his place and the government seems to have slipped back, at least in part, into the ancient channels.

Some hints have already been given regarding this government, particularly its council of chiefs and national assembly, as well as the leadership of certain towns. The primacy of Coweta,[57] both over the Lower Creek towns and over the whole nation, appears to have been reasserted, Tukabahchee assuming the headship of the Upper Creeks and the secondary position in the confederacy.

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A few years after the death of McGillivray, Benjamin Hawkins, United States agent in charge of the southern Indians, attempted to introduce certain innovations into the Creek government, and indeed he asserts that before the adoption of his plan they had been without a national government of any sort. In the light of other facts such a sweeping statement can not be accepted. His innovations merely tended to make systematic and stable an authority which had before been relatively loose and casual. He thus recounts the results of his efforts:

"At a meeting of the national council, convened by order of the agent for Indian affairs [i. e., Hawkins himself], at Tookaubatche, the 27th November, 1799, the chiefs, after a long and solemn deliberation, on the affairs of the nation, which were laid before them by the agent for Indian affairs, came to a resolution to adopt the plan of the agent, "to class all the towns, and to appoint a warrior over each class, denominated the warrior of the nation."

"The towns thus classed, with the warriors for the nation, are:

"1st. Hook-choie, We-wo-cau, Puc-cun-tal-lau-has-see, O-pil-thuluc-co and Thlot-lo-gul-gau. For these five towns they appointed Sim-mo-me-jee ["Doing-it-for-them"] of Wewocau.

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[56] Pope, Tour, p. 65.

[57] In the American State Papers (Indian Affairs, vol. II, p. 780) is a long historical account of the relations between the whites and the Creek Indians, compiled by Joseph Vallance Bevan for the State of Georgia. His object is to show that the sanction of Coweta to a treaty ceding land rendered the treaty valid, and this prejudiced viewpoint must be allowed for, although, as we have seen, the primacy of Coweta among Creek towns at one period was certainly a fact.

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642 "2d. Ki-a-li-jee and Eu-fau-lau. For these two towns, they appointed E-maut-lau Hut-ke.

631 "3d. Hill-au-bee, Woc-co-coie and Pochusehatche. For these three towns they appointed Cussetuh Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Hill-au-bee, and Thle-chum-me Tustunnigge ["Łidjámi Tástánągi], of Woc-cocoie.

177 "4th. Au-bee-coo-che, Nau-che, Coosau and Eu-fau-lau-hat-che. For these four towns, they appointed Olohtau Haujo [Holahta hadjo].

"5th. Ho-ith-le-wau-le, Ecunhutke, Sauvanogee, Mook-lau-sau and Took-au-bat-che. For these five towns, they appointed O-poie E-maut-lau [Hobayi Imała], of Ho-ith-le-waule. . . .

"6th. Oc-fus-kee and its villages, Sooc-he-ah, New-yau-cau, Im-mook-fau, Took-au-bat-che Tal-lau-has-see, Took-to-cau-gee, Au-che-nau-ulgau, Oc-fus-coo-che, and E-pe-sau-gee. For this town and its villages, they appointed Hopoie Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Oc-fus-kee, and Tal-lo-wau-thlucco Tus-tun-nug-gee.

"7th. O-che-au-po-fau and Tus-kee-gee. For these two towns, they appointed Ho-po-ithle Ho-poie.

"8th. Tal-e-see, Aut-tos-see, Foose-hat-che and Coo-loo-me. For these four towns, they appointed Foose-hat-che Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Tal-e-see, and Eu-fau-lau Tus-tun-nug-gee, of Foose-hat-che.

"9th. Hook-choie-oo-che, Coo-sau-dee, E-cun-cha-te, Too-wos-sau, Pau-woc-te, and At-tau-gee. For these towns and villages, they appointed Ho-ith-le-poie Hau-jo and Tus-tun-nuc, of Hook-choie-oo-che." [88]

642 To what extent this plan of government was put in force seems uncertain, but the primacy of Coweta and Tukabahchee continued, as is shown by numerous statements in the documents of the first half of the nineteenth century. We learn that in 1814 the "Little Prince" was head chief of the entire nation—though one writer refers to him as "the chief speaker." He belonged to Łikatcka, which, as we have seen, was a branch of Coweta. At the same time we are told that Tástánągi łáko, the "Big Warrior," a Tukabahchee, was "speaker for the Upper Creeks," Tástánągi hopai speaker for the Lower Creeks, and William McIntosh head chief of Coweta.[89] From what Hodgson says it is evident that in 1820 the Little Prince and the Big Warrior occupied the same positions, although they are both called "Chief Speakers of the Nation" as if their authority were coordinate. Hodgson adds, "The most popular and influential person, however, in the Nation, is Mackintosh, the Head Warrior, a half-breed, under forty years of age; who is consulted on every occasion, and who, in a great measure, directs the affairs of his country." [90]

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[88] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.
[89] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, pp. 571, 575.
[90] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267. In one place (Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571) McIntosh is called "Speaker of the Nation."

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In a later document four chiefs are mentioned as having made a reply to the United States Commissioners at Łikatcka, on December 11, 1824, "Little Prince, O. Porthle Yoholo (Speaker of the Upper Creeks), William McIntosh (Speaker of the Nation), and Hopoy Hadgo." [91] In a letter written seven days after this, by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, Little Prince is referred to as the head of the nation, while the Big Warrior is called head chief of the Upper towns and McIntosh head chief of the Lower towns and also Speaker of the Nation.[92] The somewhat perplexing statements are reconciled when we understand that Little Prince was head chief of the entire nation by virtue of the fact that he was head of the Coweta group of towns, although actually he was premier chief only of the branch town of Łikatcka. McIntosh was chief of Coweta itself and also held the position of speaker for Little Prince, having apparently succeeded a man named Tástánągi hobayi, and because Little Prince was head chief of the Lower Creeks and premier chief of the nation McIntosh is also called "Speaker of the Nation." A formal error is probably made by Campbell in referring to him as "head chief of the Lower towns," while the nomenclature employed by Hodgson is inexact owing to the temporary nature of his visit among the Creeks. That Hodgson does not mean by "chief speakers" those who made announcements is shown by his explanation immediately following: "The Chief Speakers are by no means necessarily the principal *orators*, but may employ a fluent Chief to convey their sentiments. Their office is to carry into effect the decisions of the Great Council of the Nation; a deliberative body, composed of chiefs from the different towns." [93] It seems plain, in short, that during this period the Little Prince of Łikatcka was head chief of the Lower Creeks and of the nation, while the Big Warrior was head chief of the Upper Creeks. McIntosh appears to have been chief of Coweta in 1814 and to have risen to the position of speaker of the nation by 1824—that is, speaker for the Little Prince. Hoboi-hili yahola had risen to the position of speaker of the Upper Creeks by 1824. It seems evident that by this time all of the Upper towns recognized a head chief and all of the Lower towns another and that the latter enjoyed a primacy over the former, and that each of these had an assistant called a "speaker" who was a man of influence. After the removal there was a principal and second chief over all the towns and a principal and second chief for each of the two divisions. [94]

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According to one of my informants the head chief of the Upper Creeks was elected by 30 men chosen from the towns of Tukabahchee, Kealedji, Atasi, and Hátci tcábá—i. e., from the Upper Creek towns

[91] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 571.
[92] Ibid., p. 575.
[93] Hodgson, Jour., p. 267.
[94] Eakins in Schoolcraft, vol. I, pp. 274-275.

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642 of the Tukabahchee group. This statement remains unsubstantiated. The same man also stated that the Lower Creeks had two chiefs, "one governing on each side of any stream," but this would seem to refer to the chiefs of the Kasihta and Coweta, the lands of which were separated by the Chattahoochee River.

Writing in 1839, when the removal to the west was not completed, Farnham says:

"The civil government of this tribe is less perfect than that of the Cherokees. There are two bands; the one under McIntosh, and the other under Little Doctor. That led by the former, brought with them from their old home written laws which they enforce as the laws of their band. That under the latter, made written laws after their arrival. Each party holds a general council. The members of each are hereditary chiefs, and a class of men called councillors. Each of these great bands is divided into lesser ones; which severally may hold courts, try civil and criminal causes, sentence, and execute, &c. Laws, however, are made by the general councils only; and it is becoming customary to entertain trials of cases before these bodies, and to detail some of their members for executioners. The legislative, judicial, and executive departments of their government are thus becoming strangely united in one."[94a]

Eakins says "every hundred persons has a right to elect a chief, who represents them in general council."[95]

642 From the time of their emigration until after the Civil War the
●643 Lower and Upper Creeks remained aloof from each other. Roly McIntosh,[96] first chief of the former division in the west, was succeeded by Moty Kennard, and when the latter died his second chief, Yakinha miko, took his place. Tukabahchee miko, often spoken of as chief of the Upper Creeks, was in reality their principal medicine maker. His fields were cared for by the people of Tukabahchee and he was allowed a salary of $500 from the Creek treasury. In 1842–43 the Upper Creek chief was Tamali miko.[96a] When the Creek constitution was adopted Itco hadjo miko occupied the position.

642 As is well known the Creeks split into two factions on the outbreak
177 of the Civil War and became pretty thoroughly demoralized. After it was ended a great council was held near Okmulgee, a constitution was adopted and a new government set up, modeled to some extent on that of the United States. There were two deliberative and legislative bodies called the House of Kings and the House of Warriors chosen from the different districts and two head chiefs, a first and a second, elected every four years by the entire nation. He who received the highest number of votes was made first chief and he

[94a] Farnham's Travels, in Early Western Travels, vol. XXVIII, pp. 129-130.

[95] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 275.

[96] It appears from a writer in Schoolcraft (Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 267) that the second chief of the Lower Creeks under McIntosh was Benjamin Marshall.

[96a] See pp. 215-216; Stanley in Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 33, p. 12.

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423 missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same
642 way, but not to sell the land."[57]

648 It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship
539 of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

649 But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native
631 traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe
642 Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

642 Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the
646 confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

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[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 892.

[58] French Ms. of 1755.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlococtcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Lîkatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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cabin made expressly for the purpose; each one places himself there in accordance with his rank, and has a right to speak in his turn according to his age, his capacity, his wisdom, and the service which he has rendered to the fatherland.

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"The Grand Chief of the tribe opens the session in a speech which recounts the history or the tradition of their country; he recalls the military exploits of his ancestors who have signalized themselves in the defense of the fatherland, exhorting his subjects to imitate their virtues, by bearing patiently human wants and miseries, above everything in not murmuring at all against the Great Spirit, who is master of the life of all the beings here below; and in sustaining adversities with courage; finally in sacrificing all for love of the fatherland and liberty; it being a thousand times more glorious to die like a true man than to live as a vile slave.

"The chief having stopped speaking, the oldest noble old man rises, salutes his sovereign, and makes a speech, his body bare to the belt; the water runs from all parts of his body, on account of the heat and the action which he puts into his declamation, with natural gestures and metaphors which express his thought; he persuades his hearers to believe all that he says by the force and eloquence of his speech. Nothing is more instructive than these assemblies; one hears no chatter there, no indecency, no misplaced plaudits, nor immoderate laughter. The young people are very circumspect there, and attentive to listen with respect to the words of the old men, persuaded that it is for their good."[a]

Other evidence contradicts the statement that there was any one capital of the nation, and we know that the council house was nothing more than the tcokofa of the town in which the assembly happened to take place. Nevertheless Coweta and Tukabahchee, particularly the former, seem to have been favorite meeting places, facts indicated by Milfort in several places. The following description by him has particular reference to an assembly in Coweta:

"The assemblies of the nation usually take place in the principal town. In the center of this town is outlined a perfect and very extensive square; in each angle of this square are constructed three cabins of different sizes, forming in all twelve cabins. This square has four openings by which its center may be reached, and all of the cabins are so close together that from one of them one can see into all of the others. Each of them may hold from forty to sixty persons.

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"That of the grand chief of the nation faces the rising sun, to indicate that he ought always to watch over the interests of the nation. At one side of this cabin, and in the same angle, is that called the grand cabin, where the general assemblies of the nation are held.

[a] Rossi, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 70-72.

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642 "In the angle opposite are three other cabins; these belong to the
342 old men, and face the setting sun, to indicate that they are on the
646 decline, and that they must no longer march to battle. In the two other angles are the cabins of the different chiefs of the nation; they are larger or smaller according to the services they have rendered.

"All these cabins are painted red with the exception of the three facing the setting sun, which are always white, symbol of virtue and age.

"The cabins painted red are, in time of war, ornamented with many pieces of wood by way of decoration, which support a kind of chain made of wooden rings. This is a sign of sadness, informing the warriors that the motherland has need of them, and that they must be prepared to march at the first signal. In time of peace these links are replaced with garlands of ivy leaves.

"The three cabins of the old men are at all times ornamented with these garlands, mingled with flowers."

He adds that the square was very large, and then proceeds as follows:

642 "I have already said that the chiefs of the nation must assemble
646 every year in the month of May, and consider everything of importance to the nation, both internally and externally. When they are all at the rendezvous, called the grand cabin, of which I have just spoken, the assembly is called to order; and, when it is called to order (*formée*), none of those who compose it can go out from its compass until all of the business of the nation is concluded. The president alone may absent himself for some minutes; but he is obliged, like all of the others, to pass his days and nights in the assembly, and to be present at all of the deliberations.

"During the period of the assembly no one is allowed to approach the grand cabin nearer than twenty paces. Only the chiefs of the warriors are admitted there; the subordinate chiefs who are present are intended to serve the others, but they have no voice in the deliberations. The women are charged with the duty of preparing the necessary food and drink for the assembly; the subordinate chiefs go to fetch the provisions and place them in their turn in the grand cabin for the members of the assembly.

"In the center of the square formed by the cabin, a fire is lighted which burns continually. At sunset the young people of both sexes assemble, and come to dance around this fire until an appointed hour; during this time the assembly separates, and each member repairs, if he desires, to the cabin appropriate to the rank which he has received; or he remains in the grand cabin, and there enjoys the dance and the amusements of the young people; but without being allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, so long as the business is not entirely concluded. When the dances, which must

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last for a limited time only, are terminated, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, each of the members rests in the cabin which belongs to his class; but as soon as the sun appears above the horizon, a drum calls all of the chiefs to the assembly, which remains in session until sunset.[81]

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In another place he makes certain amplifications regarding the time when such conventions took place. He says:

"These assemblies, which I have attended for twenty years, are held usually at the end of April or the beginning of May, as I have already said. To them are carried complaints and demands of all kinds, where the interests of the entire nation and its allies are discussed and regulated. They are held sometimes in the month of September, before they separate to go hunting, but then they are not general, few interesting things happen, and strangers are rarely present."[82]

Milfort is almost the only writer who gives a hint regarding the manner in which the chiefs and officials of the various towns were seated. It is probable that their individual merit often outweighed the numerical importance of the town.

Speaking in these assemblies was a high art and was, next to success in war, the major means of social advancement. Religious sentiment was attached to it, and before a public speech the Creek speaker used to spit four times with deliberation and repeat a formula. The oratorical language was full of metaphorical allusions, and irony and satire were resorted to rather than denunciation. Says Adair:

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"I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches—and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomahawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing; and, lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, 'Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.' They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoòp, and struck up the solemn, awful song, *Yó*, etc."[83]

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And in another place:

"Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver

[81] Milfort, Mém., pp. 289-298.
[82] Ibid., pp. 284-288.
[83] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 64.

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increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."[65]

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In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikâgi Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[66]

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Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."[67]

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says:

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"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

[65] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 13-15.
[66] Ibid., p. 15.
[67] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575.

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642 Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal
631 chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh
643 takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

642 "After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may
631 be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King
622 and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of $150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

642 "The general council for business is composed of the two principal
•646 chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them." [66]

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

[66] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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chiefs, and their legislature or council of about forty minor chiefs or captains, who are also, *ex officio*, justices of the peace." [69]

The economic causes operating to increase the number of chiefs, to which reference was made above, are indicated in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of September 15, 1851, by Philip H. Raiford, agent of the Creek Indians. He says:

"The rude and irresponsible form of government by chiefs still prevails among them. The chiefs all receive salaries in proportion to their grade and rank, or, in other words, a larger share of the common fund of the tribe than the great mass of the Indians. The result of this system has been a great increase in the number of chiefs, until they now amount to about eight hundred, or one to every twenty-five souls; and, as the moneys due from the Government to the tribe are now paid to the chiefs, and they have it in their power to fix their own salaries, a large portion of the funds of the nation is divided out among themselves, and but little left for the great mass. Great wrong and injustice are thus done to the common Indians; and, as they are beginning to perceive and become dissatisfied with the system, and the evil continues to increase by the increase of chiefs, the result before long will inevitably be serious—internal dissentions and difficulties, if not strife and bloodshed, between the chiefs and their partisans on the one hand, and the common Indians on the other, unless the Government interposes some remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs." [70]

The word "chief" as employed by Mr. Raiford evidently does not refer merely to the class of mikàgi. Apparently it included the principal mikos, the isti àtcagàgi, and the leading henihas and tàstànàgis. We are not to suppose that the great increase in the number of chiefs of which this agent speaks was due to a desire on the part of the chiefs to share their privileges; it was rather for the purpose of securing those privileges by taking into partnership all who might have been powerful enough to endanger them. Another Indian agent, James Logan, writing some years before, in 1845, speaks of the abuse as follows:

"The annuity, amounting to [$]34,500, is paid to the principal chiefs of both [Upper and Lower Creeks], and equally divided between them, and by them distributed. . .[71] The chiefs appropriate the whole of this large amount to the pay of themselves and their subordinates. This mode of distributing it is much complained of by the intelligent portion of the community, who are now far from being inconsiderable, and the right thus arrogated by the chiefs of doing what they please with the annuity much questioned. But they are vested with so much power, and have inspired so much awe and fear

[69] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.
[70] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851, p. 122.
[71] The writer refers here to an unpublished document for confirmation.

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642 in the minds of the people generally, that they are restrained from
622 making a public expression upon the subject. Indeed, I question
177 very much whether there could be found many who would, before them, say that they objected to their acts in any particular. This I have sought for in regard to the annuity, and have failed to accomplish, owing to the preponderance of the chiefs and law makers, etc., and to the cause above stated."[72]

The abuse became so great that payments were finally made directly to the heads of families and the old privileges of the chiefs abolished. They suffered the same fate that betook the ringleaders in a certain conspiracy formed not long ago by some of the members and employees of a large corporation. In order to keep what was going on quiet, it was necessary to let more and more into the ring,
642 which finally became so large that the secret leaked. The oligarchic character of the Creek federal government as revealed by Stiggins and these Indian agents clashes rather oddly with what Adair says of its democratic character, but evidently the government of the confederacy was farther removed from the masses of the people than the government of the towns, and with the disappearance of war positions came to be held less on account of merit and more because of family connection and personal "pull." In the erection of a federal government over and above the former tribal governments the mass of the people had not succeeded in holding firmly to the reins of power; still such great abuses would probably not have arisen had it not been for the decline of the merit element in promotions and the cupidity excited by United States Government annuities.

•646 The most complete account of the general council as it existed after
622 the removal to Oklahoma was furnished Schoolcraft by Mr. D. W. Eakins, whom Schoolcraft describes as "for some time a resident of the Territory now occupied by them west of the State of Arkansas." These facts were "communicated in reply to printed inquiries issued in 1847, respecting the History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

The answers covering this subject may very well be run together.

"The general council of the Creek Indians consists of a representation from the whole tribe, as divided into towns. This council, composed of the chiefs, is vested with *plenary* power, to act for the whole tribe. Their *verbal summons* or decisions, have all the force of a written document; these decisions are announced in general council; and also recorded by the clerk. Their authority, (as among the principal chiefs,) is often assumed. Their authority is delegated to them, (in many cases,) by virtue of their standing and influence. They are at all times open to popular opinion, and are the mere

[72] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1848, pp. 514-517.

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exponents of it. The power of the chiefs in council is unlimited. Their decisions are absolute.

"The principal chiefs are chosen by the general council; and now, are not chosen so much for their renowned deeds, as their civil and popular qualifications. Their term of office continues during good behavior. The disapproval of the body of the people is an effective bar to the exercise of their powers and functions.

"The chiefs, in public council, speak the opinions and sentiments of the warriors. They consult the priests, old men, and young men composing the tribe, in local matters. Sometimes they are subject to be influenced by extraneous opinions. In many cases they pursue the interests of the people with shrewdness and intensity. In their councils, their decisions are generally determined by the opinions of the leading chiefs; their *dictum* generally influences the mass. The right to sit in council, is, nominally, equivalent to giving a *vote*. The *ayes* and *noes*, if counted, would be by the clerk. Casting the vote, however, has not been introduced among the Creeks. The opinions of the leading chiefs generally regulate the decisions of the council. Powers are sometimes exercised by the chiefs, in advance of public opinion; but anything gross or outrageous would be indignantly repelled.

"The public or general councils are opened with a good deal of ceremony. The principal chiefs first enter and take their seats. The next in order then enter, and addressing themselves to the whole body, ask: 'Are you all present, my friends?' They then take their seats. The principal chief, rising from his seat, presents to the second chief, his tobacco; and this interchange takes place throughout the whole assembly. These interchanges having been gone through with, they next speak about their domestic affairs. Then local matters; after which they proceed to business. Their business is conducted irregularly, daily, and generally, by the position of the sun. The principal chief adjourns the council to the appointed time next day. Before the close of their deliberations, the two bodies agree upon a day of adjournment. At the appointed time for adjournment, the two bodies come together. The second chiefs, rising first, address themselves to the first chiefs, telling them 'they are going to leave them.' They then seat themselves, the whole council following in regular order, according to their grade. The principal chiefs, then rising, say, 'We return home.' There is still some respect paid to ancient ceremonies. Regard is paid to the weather in their deliberations. They have two national clerks and one United States, and one national interpreter. All questions are considered with more or less deliberation. Decisions are sometimes made upon the principle of majorities, and sometimes forced by the opinions of the leading chiefs. There are no cases that require absolute unanimity. There may be cases in which the voice of a leading chief might be taken as the will of the tribe.

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"Decisions made by the chiefs in council are carried into effect implicitly. In cases of capital punishment, the executioner is selected from a body of men called 'the Light Horse.' He uses neither tomahawk, club, nor arrow. The gun is generally selected as the instrument of execution. If the culprit has no choice of place for execution, the executioner may appoint the place, which is generally selected with reference to a convenience for burial. In case of the restoration of property, a messenger is sent to the parties. There is, however, no regularity on this subject.

"In case of a vacancy by death or otherwise, the office is filled by the selection of the General Council. Sometimes the vacancy is filled by the town to which the chief belonged, and then brought before the General Council for sanction. In case of a vacancy among the leading chiefs, the vacancy is filled by the General Council. The chiefs may be deposed from office for gross outrage." [73]

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Logan, the agent quoted above, furnishes the following additional information about the Creek government of his time:

"Each party [i. e., both the Upper and Lower Creeks] has its own head chief, etc. Roly McIntosh, the chief of the Lower Towns, is also vested with the dignity of head chief of the nation, and he presides as such in the general council of the nation, which generally convenes once a year, but at no particular period. Its deliberations are confined to subjects exclusively national, and which affect both parties in common. Those subjects having reference to their own party concerns meet the action of their own councils, which are held separate and distinct, and in which neither interferes with the other. They are conducted precisely similar, and are composed of the chiefs and law-makers of the different towns (or more properly clans) adhering to each party. These chiefs are generally selected from the older citizens. In point of intelligence, they cannot compare with private individuals, who generally do not desire such dignities. Generally speaking they are extremely ignorant, are noted for their superstitious bigotry, for their old customs and ceremonies, and most bitter prejudices against all measures calculated to reform the condition or enlighten the minds of their people. There are, however, a few honorable exceptions, but they are far in the minority, and their councils have but little weight. They are opposed to [the Christian] religion and education, more particularly the former, conceiving very justly that it has a tendency to lessen their authority, and to abolish their old rites and ceremonies, of which they are particularly tenacious. They have gone so far this year as to exact a fine of from two dollars to three and a half dollars a head upon all non-attendants at their 'busks,' green corn dances, etc., or who do not drink the physic, a most nauseous compound of poisonous weeds. Their authority is often exerted arbitrarily, and their laws are unjust and unnecessarily severe. It is a standing law of the nation, 'if any

[73] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, pp. 275-277.

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person preach or hold religious meetings, whether white or red, he shall for the first offence receive fifty lashes on his bare back, and for the second offence one hundred lashes.' To maintain their authority, they support, out of the annuity, an immense number of subordinates, known as law-makers, light horse, etc. The people stand in much awe of them, and blindly pay them the obedience they exact; they have no voice in their appointment nor in their acts: when a vacancy occurs, the place is filled not by an election, but by the nomination made by some noted chief." [74]

Logan is decidedly too severe in his criticisms of the conservative party who were in the nature of things bound to be opposed to the spirit of innovation of which he was a part. While the nature and amount of the fines exacted from those who absented themselves from the busk were no doubt determined at the council of which he speaks, the principle was by no means new.

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The practical effect of the Confederate government on the bulk of the people was probably about as indicated in the following lines intended to apply to southern confederacies generally:

"Every town is independent of another. Their own friendly compact continues the union. An obstinate war leader will sometimes commit acts of hostility, or make peace for his own town, contrary to the good liking of the rest of the nation. But a few individuals are very cautious of commencing war on small occasions, without the general consent of the head men: for should it prove unsuccessful, the greater part would be apt to punish them as enemies, because they abused their power, which they had only to do good to the society.[75]

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Councils in which all of the towns, or as many of them as chose to do so, took part were certainly held at a period as early as an organization existed that could be called a Creek confederacy, but they seem to have been at irregular intervals and at no determined place. And as we have seen, the Lower Creeks and the Upper Creeks each had an independent council. It is likely that, if we could examine some of these old councils we should find a certain regular method of seating the different chiefs, and a certain procedure, but only the above scraps of information regarding them have come down to us. In Adair's time we learn that the French at Fort Toulouse in the forks of the Alabama River endeavored to foment civil war among the Muskogee especially through the hold they had on the small tribes other than Muskogee about their fort, but the Creek chiefs in council compelled them to desist.[76] In the Georgia colonial documents we read of a number of councils. One of these was represented by nine towns, of which two belonged to the Lower Creeks and seven to the Upper Creeks. Another was attended by 21 towns, of which 6 were Lower towns and the balance Upper. At a council of Lower

[74] James Logan in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 515-516.
[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 428.
[76] Ibid., pp. 328-329.

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642 Creeks 4 towns were represented. A conference at Savannah was
•646 attended by 16 Upper Creek towns. At Oglethorpe's first council with the Creeks 9 Lower Creek towns were represented and no Upper Creek towns. Another council was attended by 12 Upper Creek towns, and still another by 8 from the same section. There are two other notices of meetings held by the Upper Creeks alone and one held by the Lower Creeks. This brings out clearly the separation existing between the Upper and the Lower Creeks. We also find a note to the effect that the towns of Coweta, Hitchiti, Osochi, "Nipky," Chiaha, Kasihta, and Tuskegee had declared Coweta miko their chief, a statement which certainly shows the primacy of Coweta among the Lower Creeks. The Tuskegee, or part of them, were probably with the Lower Creeks at that time.[77] Two of these councils of which we have a record were held in Tulsa, one in Okchai, one in Apalachicola, and one in Chiaha. Whether accidentally or otherwise it thus happens that all but the last were in White towns.

642 A Spanish document dating from 1793 or 1794 contains a list of
631 chiefs, with the town to which each belonged, whom it was thought
622 advisable to invite to a general conference at Pensacola. This list, which is as follows, gives an idea of the towns thought worthy of representation on such an occasion and in some degree the relative importance in which those invited were held:

Kellessechuppo, or Beard	of the Broken Arrow.
Cowabbe, or Little Prince	of the Broken Arrow.
Hycat, or Cussitaw King	of the Cussitaws.
Bird Tail King	of the Cussitaws.
Hollowing King	of the Cowitaws.
Young Lieutenant	of the Cowitaws.
Philatouchy	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
Cochmans Brother	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
George Cousins	of the Eauphallies.
John Kennard and his Uncle	of the Hitchetes.
Mad Dog	of the Tuckabatches.
Beaux Banter	of the Tuckabatches.
Half Breed	of the Ockfuskies.
McKay's Friend	of the Abacouchies.
Tallessey King	[of Tulsa?]
White King	of the Hicklawallies [Holiwahali].
Dog Warrior	of the Upper Towns.
Wockucoy King	[of Wakokai?].
Wiokee King	[of Wiwohka?].
Mawmouth	of the Keyalegies.
One head man	from James Leslie's Town [Natchez?].
Bryen Molton or One head man	from the Tuskeegy.
McPherson	Little Tallesseys.
Upoimico	Little Tallesseys.
Red Shoes	[of the Alabama and Koasati?].
One head man	from the Fussachees.
One ditto	from the Coolamy.
One ditto	from the White Ground.
One ditto	from the Ottossy.[78]

[77] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 210-211.

[78] Copy of Ms. in the Ayer Library, Newberry Library, Chicago.

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anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.[1] 173 539

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death." [178

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Łapłáko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis- 173 177 609 648

[1] [Cf. cat. 11b, p. 74 -- Analyst]

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possessed by these newcomers. Another informant said that the Indians were believed to have come out of the earth, and therefore they own it and are to go back into it. The white people, on the other hand, were created later out of the foam of the sea. They first begged to put one foot on shore to rest themselves a little, and the Indians consented, but afterward the newcomers complained that it was tiresome to stand on but one foot and they asked to be allowed to set the other ashore. This also was granted. Next, the whites wanted to buy from the Indians as much land as could be covered with a hide, and when the Indians agreed they cut the hide into strips and made it surround a large area. In this way the Indians were gradually dispossessed. The Indians were also given a prophecy at that time to the effect that the whites would come and preach to them and the preaching would move westward.

Here we have the famous "cowhide purchase" myth, which dates back as far at least as Virgil, reinjected into Indian thought, apparently from a modern schoolbook. The most remarkable interweaving of schoolbook and other latter-day elements into a kind of Indian neo-philosophy is, however, the following from a decidedly reactionary Creek of Hilibi town:

"When Columbus reached America the first thing he saw was an eagle with a bunch of arrows in one claw and some leaves in the other. The arrows had been shot by the Indians and the eagle had caught them. Then Columbus and his people landed, but, being at first unable to open communication with the natives on account of their shyness, they resorted to a stratagem. They set a barrel of whisky ashore, laid a cane by it, and then withdrew. Afterward the Indians found the barrel and got drunk so that the white people were enabled to capture one of them. The rest managed to get away. They took the man they had captured and taught him "English" and through him they gradually became acquainted with the rest. Then they began to make treaties. To illustrate the gradual encroachments of the newcomers and how they dispossessed the Indians the following parable is told. Seventy Indian chiefs sat on a log which had fallen toward the west, and every time the whites came to make a treaty with them they would move up on it a little. They kept hitching up until at last the end man was shoved off. Then he said: 'There it is. I told you that is what you would do with me.' The white people induced them to make a treaty granting them as much ground as could be covered with a cowhide, and afterward they cut the hide into strips and treated them in the way already related. More white people kept coming and trouble arose, so that part had to go back. The remainder, however, promised that they would treat the Indians right as long as the streams ran and the water lasted."

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This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say:

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"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.' "

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

Prophecies Regarding the Fate of the Indians

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse

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Muskogee

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At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opilłáko, and Łałogálga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

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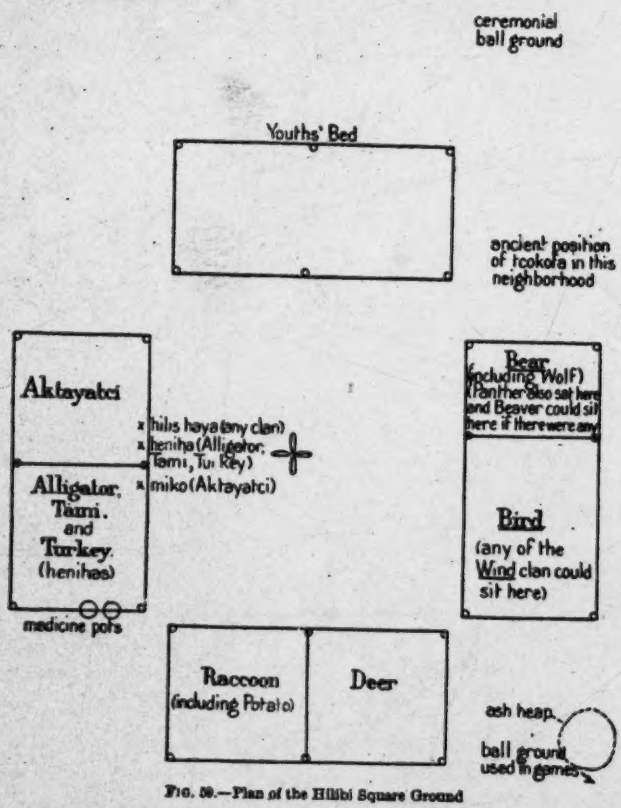

FIG. 59.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Holiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

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619 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta.
631 Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[53]

622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoüita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqùi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another."[54]

619 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the
631 early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugu-
642 rated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the
648 Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably
177 disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[53] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[54] French Memoir of 1756, Ms.

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619 town.' The like proof was contained in an observation of the Little
631 Prince during the negotiation. In argument, an old treaty was
642 referred to, which had been concluded between the Creeks and the
648 state of Georgia. Its authenticity was denied, on the ground that
177 'no Coweta chief had signed it.' Coweta is on both sides of the Chattahoochie; contains McIntosh, the Little Prince, Tome Tuskumuggee; and extends from Broken Arrow to the Cherokee boundary. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty of 1821, concluded at the Indian Springs, is signed by but two chiefs on the Alabama side of the nation. The fact is, that McIntosh maintains the right of the Coweta town alone to dispose of the whole country. It would seem that the upper towns conceded this authority, and dreaded its exercise; for the utmost consternation was discoverable whenever it was known that the commission (the Commissioners) and the Coweta chiefs had had an interview.[55]

423 A much longer brief for the supremacy of Coweta is given in the
642 volume from which the above is quoted. This was compiled by
648 Joseph Vallence Bevan for the State of Georgia,[56] and is in consequence an ex parte document like the one quoted. On the other hand,
539 the speaker for the Tukabahchee chief, the famous Hoboi-hil yahola, who represented the sentiments of most of the Upper Creeks, delivered a "talk" to the United States commissioners at Indian Springs, Friday, February 11, 1825, opposing some of the claims of Coweta. He said in part:

"We met you at Broken Arrow, and then told you we had no land to sell; I then heard of no claims against the nation, nor have I since. We have met you here at a very short notice, and do not think that the chiefs who are here have any authority to treat. General McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square, in general council, is not binding on the nation. I am, therefore, under the necessity of repeating the same answer as given at Broken Arrow, that we have no land to sell. I know that there are but few from the upper towns here, and many are absent from the lower towns.

"General McIntosh knows that no part of the land can be sold without a full council, and without the consent of all the nation; and, if a part of the nation choose to leave the country, they can not sell the land they have, but it belongs to the nation. From what you told us yesterday, I am induced to believe that it may be best for us to remove, but we must have time to think of it; and, should the chiefs who are here sell the land now, it might create dissentions and ill blood among the Indians. I have received a message from my head chief, the Big Warrior, directing me to listen to what the com-

[55] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 573. [56] Ibid., p. 788.

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423 missioners have to say; to meet them friendly, and part in the same way, but not to sell the land."[57]

642 It is noteworthy that Hoboi-hil yahola does not deny the headship
648 of Coweta; he merely denies that Coweta had the right to dispose of
539 Creek territory, holding that such a right was vested solely in the full council of the confederacy.

619 But if we explore still farther into the past, by means of native
631 traditions, we find priority claimed by Kasihta, and in fact I believe
642 Kasihta to have been originally the leading town. This would receive abundant confirmation if, as I have supposed, Kasihta was the ancient Cofitachequi. There is some reason to think that the foundation of the confederacy had been laid in De Soto's time, the principal parties to the alliance being Cofitachequi (Kasihta), Coosa, and probably Coweta, though this last is not mentioned in the De Soto narratives under a recognizable name. The importance which we find later attached to Otciapofa was probably inherited in the first instance from Coosa and later strengthened by the dictatorship of McGillivray.

One of our sources affirms an ancient headship of Atasi among the Tallapoosa towns. It says:

"The nation of Talapouches live under a republican form of government. There were formerly princes over it whose authority was absolute. In many places are to be seen mounds of earth more than half a league in length which they conducted from one mountain to another. The grand chief lived in the village of the Atachés and bore the same name. After the death of the last of these princes there was no longer a particular chief in this village, but the war chief commands. They say that the [last grand] chief went to the sky to see his relatives, and that he has assured them that he will return."[58]

The only corroboration this receives, and that only by inference, is from the wooden figure of a man which Adair states the people of this town had set up in their square.

Leadership in the confederacy was evidently due for the most part to size, power, and prestige, and its workings were probably based on a body of precedent.[59]

642 Unfortunately no satisfactory study of the organization of the
646 confederate Creek council has come down to us, and we must form an estimate of it by piecing together information from several sources. The most specific statement is furnished by Bossu, who says:

"These peoples (the Creeks) hold a general assembly annually in the principal village or the chief place of the nation; there is a great

[57] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 582.

[58] French Ms. of 1735.

[59] Gallatin, on the authority of Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly, gives "Thlococtcho" as the name of "the general seat of government" of the Creeks. This is probably intended for Likatcka, the residence of the "Little Prince," at one time head chief of the nation. It was a branch of Coweta. (See Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 112.)

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537 a very pathetic, elaborate, allegorical, tragic oration, in the high praise, and for the great loss, of their great, judicious war-chieftain, *Shu-las-hum-mash-tà-be*, our daring, brave friend, *red shoes*. The orator compared him to the sun, that enlightens and enlivens the whole system of created beings: and having carried the metaphor to a considerable length, he expiated on the variety of evils, that necessarily result from the disappearance and absence of the sun; and, with a great deal of judgment, and propriety of expression, he concluded his oration with the same trope, with which he began."[84]

642 Stiggins tells us that the confederate council was in reality without power. He says:

"The form of Government under which they live is a tyrannical oligarchy in its principles and practiced under that head to the full extent. At a slight view the most of people suppose and say that it is a democracy on republican principles but it is far different, for all public business whether of a national or private character is done by the chiefs. Though the nation is summoned in what is termed their grand council, when the state of the nation is supposed to be examined into, and their oral laws made, the assembly say not a word in the matter. For while in their sittings the assembled body of the nation sit as mutes, without being consulted in any manner until a few chiefs in their council house make the laws for their government without condescending to ask an opinion or approbation in any case, the national body being merely convened to hear what is done, for after a law is digested by the chiefs the national convention is informed of its tendency by the orator of the nation in a very exact and precise manner, who moreover informs them of all that has been transacted, which new law when they are made acquainted with its tendency, let it be as it may, they are the most obedient subjects under the sun to the penalties of it, be it oppressive or not. Should they infringe the law they will suffer beating, confiscation of their property or even death without a murmur or family resentment. Moreover, should an Indian be obstreperous in contending for his right of property or otherwise or obtrude on the right or even interests of a chief, the chiefs can so far tyrannise after a consultation as to have him beaten or slain, as a common disturber of the peace, without any other imputation of guilt than a law breaker as they term it.

642 "In former days in the time of their self importance and undis-
●648 turbed government, before an agent was located in the nation by the
177 U. S. to improve their morals and reform their customs, their ordained chiefs were more rude, active, and despotic and more frequent in their mandates of tyranny, and not near so uniform and circumspect in their deportment as now toward the common men. In later years the principal chiefs or great men of the nation have been

[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 11.

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increased to about fifteen in number. Their nomination has been approved as such by the agent of the Government and recognized as such by all the tribes. They are invested with power and authority to superintend the affairs of their national Government with the incumbent duties annexed, such as receiving the national salary from the agent of the U. S. and paying their public debts, which they seemingly do with a national concurrence. For they never undertake or do any important business without a national convention when the chiefs deliberate and through their orator inform the assembled body of the nation, of what they have determined and dismiss them."[66]

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In speaking of the lesser members of the class called mikàgi Stiggins says farther on: "They attend the appointed national calls only as mutes, for in the national assembly none have a voice but such as are appointed to national purposes."[66]

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Duncan G. Campbell, in his letter to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, written December 18, 1824, and cited above, says:

"Upon the subject of the government of the Creeks, we could not acquire information of a definite and satisfactory character. Their council is composed of a great number of chiefs, of various grades of authority. The Big Warrior is head chief of the upper towns, and McIntosh of the lower; he is also speaker of the nation. The Little Prince is highest in authority, being head chief of the nation; and has been uniformly the friend and adherent of McIntosh."[67]

It is not entirely plain whether the "council" here mentioned was the council of chiefs or the general assembly. The "great number of chiefs" would seem to suggest something more impressive than the body of 15 described by Stiggins, but we shall see presently that certain economic causes operated to increase the membership of the higher assembly very rapidly, at least after the removal of the tribe beyond the Mississippi.

Valuable additional information regarding the entire government of the nation in the early part of the nineteenth century, after it had emigrated to the west, is given us by Hitchcock, who says:

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"The whole Creek Nation is composed of two parties, which were designated in the old Nation east of the Mississippi River, as the Upper and Lower Towns, sometimes called Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks. They are still to a considerable extent distinct. The Upper Creeks are principally on the Canadian and the Lower Creeks are on the Arkansas.

"These parties have separate Head Chiefs. At present the Principal Chief of the Lower Creeks is Roly McIntosh, as Tommarthle

[66] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 13-15.
[67] Am. State Papers, Ind. Aff., vol. II, p. 575.
[66] Ibid., p. 15.

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Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [70]

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It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łałogalga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

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It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

[70] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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others, such as the Utina, Potano, and Apalachee of Florida, and the Chiaha, Tali, Mobile, and many more farther north. It is even uncertain whether at that date any sort of confederacy existed. As time went on, however, the Florida tribes were destroyed or scattered, and the same fate overtook the Yamasee, the Indians of the Georgia coast, and the smaller tribes in the neighborhood of South Carolina. This served to increase the power of the Creeks proper, both by weakening that of their neighbors and by causing many fugitive tribes to unite with them and add to their fighting force. Leaving out of consideration the Hitchiti, Alabama, Koasati, and Tuskegee, who were incorporated almost before the dawn of clear history, we have very exact information of the incorporation of the Yuchi, which had formerly been an independent and hostile tribe, of part of the Shawnee, and of the remnant of the Natchez. This system of adoption resulted in the strengthening of the confederacy about in proportion to the weakening of its neighbors, until finally but one tribe remained, the Choctaw, able to contend with it on anything like equal terms. This latter, it is to be noted, owed its strength not so much to incorporation of fugitive elements as to a location where it was for a long time protected against European encroachment, intensive cultivation of the soil, and an unwarlike disposition—all contributing to a steadily mounting population. The Choctaw government was very feebly centralized for the same reason until very late times when it was much strengthened as a result of constant attacks on the part of Chickasaw and Creek enemies. The Creeks, on the other hand, had adopted their federal union very early, probably in part as the result of pressure from without, and as this pressure was increased by the approach of white settlements the sense of danger tended to accelerate the centralization. It thus happened that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century conditions were ripe for the evolution of a still more closely knit state, and merely awaited the advent of the man who could bring it about. And such a man appeared.

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A critical life of Alexander McGillivray would be a distinct contribution to southern history, but it is not germane to our purpose. Doubtless much that has been written regarding him is inaccurate and I do not vouch for all the facts given in the following account by Swan, but of the revolution he accomplished in Creek government there can be no doubt. Swan says that his title was Steutsa'cco-Cho'ota' which is evidently a very bad attempt at isti átcagági láko, "great honored or beloved man."[80] He goes on:

"The present great beloved man, who left Georgia in disgust about the year 1776, and attached himself to the upper Creeks,

[80] His Indian name, however, is given by Pope as "Hippo ilk Meco, or the good Child King." In correct Creek this would be Hobai-hili mico, but there is reason to think that McGillivray did not belong to a clan which would entitle him to be called mico.

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423 642 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

[727] Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on 423 original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19] It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as 621 it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

177 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from •648 Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

674 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey 732 the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 240; cf. also p. 209.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

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has the following to say regarding murder in the stricter sense of that term: 628 682

"If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitely. When the tribe may be affected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

"This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid."[20] 727 648

In view of these facts the following law which Hawkins induced the Creek council to adopt becomes significant: 682 177

"To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation."[20]

Nevertheless it was with great difficulty that the Indian agent was enabled to secure the punishment of certain thieves and mischief-makers, some of whom had insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States,[21] so strong was the sense of obligation to retaliate for injuries received by a fellow clansman and so great the fear of awaking it. Adair mentions several occasions on which an offender was protected by his family.[22] By 1820, however, Hodgson reports,

[20] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 74-75.
[20] Ibid., p. 68.
[21] Ibid., p. 67.
[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 262, 264.

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There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,[13] but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son. 727 703 562

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English."[14] 727 648

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection: 727 796

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop*. When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable Yo, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred[15] notes, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

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[13] For one such see Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 42.

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 318.

[15] Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these meaningless syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

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sippi tribes by those on the eastern side. When Bartram was on the Suwanee River, Fla., he learned that the Indians of that region went trading and hunting in their cypress canoes all along the coast as far as the southern end of Florida and even to Havana. He himself encountered a party which had just returned from the latter place. He states that they carried thither in trade "deer skins, furs, dry fish, bees-wax, honey, bear's oil, and some other articles."[1] Elsewhere he notes that the same articles, minus the dry fish, were traded to the American settlers and several Indians had become very well to do in consequence of this industry.[2] The following from Swan shows how and where they obtained their firearms at the end of the eighteenth century.

"The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The chief has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

"If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting: a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or $50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country."[3]

That some of the Indians of this tribe readily took to trading is reiterated by Romans, who says: "There are few towns in this nation where there is not some savage residing, who either trades of his own flock, or is employed as a factor."[4]

Counting

The Muskhogean systems of numeration are all decimal. In Adair's time the Chickasaw figured out mercantile transactions on the ground, a system which they called yakâ-ne Tlápha,[5] or "scoring on the ground."[6] They made single marks for each unit and a cross for 10. Adair believed that this latter mark was borrowed from the whites, but I have seen computations by the northwest coast peoples in which straight marks are used for units and a cross inserted to mark off every 20 units, the system of notation being vigesimal with them. The cross in the south may have been used for the same purpose in marking off tens. It is to be added that Adair's statements are confirmed by Eakins.[7] Eakins also says that they used

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 225.
[2] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 39.
[3] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 263.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 92-93.
[5] Yakni lapa, "ground spread out."
[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 77.
[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 273.

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building or repairing the town council houses, etc.; in many instances, to leave their crops and go a distance of 20 or 30 miles;—this service is enforced, too, under a penalty of a pecuniary fine. The settlements of the Lower Towns extend from the Verdigris river, on it and between it and the Arkansas, on both banks, to the Red fork, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of fifty. They are separated from the settlements of the Upper Towns by an uninterrupted prairie, extending from the bottoms of the Arkansas, south, to those of the north fork of the Canadian, a distance of about forty miles; they [the Upper Towns] extend from there, westward, between and on the Deep fork, North fork, and Main Canadian, to Little river, a distance of about eighty miles, and an average breadth of about sixty. From their peculiar location, they have less intercourse with the whites, and consequently do not exhibit so much improvement. Their dress, too, is more after the aboriginal form; they are forbidden to adopt that of the whites under penalty of lashes; they are, however, generally speaking, more enterprising and industrious; they grow cotton, and practise the domestic arts of spinning and weaving to a greater extent than the others. Cases of extreme poverty are more rarely to be met with. The chiefs are more generous, and their policy more liberal than those of the Lower Towns. In addition to the two blacksmiths' shops, furnished them by treaty stipulations, they have a public shop, which is supported out of their portion of the annuity; they have also devoted a portion of it to the erection of a water mill, and the support of a millwright; they have also a wheelwright, but he is paid by the government; they have not so much wealth as the Lower Town chiefs, generally speaking—(the McIntosh family are supposed to be worth $150,000 and B. Marshall some $50,000) yet *they* contribute nothing towards anything of this kind—alleviating the distresses of the poor, or to affecting any improvement in their country; however, it is reported that Opothleyoholo is by far the richest man in the whole nation." [99]

Hitchcock informs us that the Creek laws were compiled, or rather digested, in 1826 before the emigration and that an abstract of the digest was approved by a general council in 1840. Mr. N. L. Alexander, the Creek through whom Hitchcock obtained access to these, did not think that the first written laws antedated about the year 1822, but Hitchcock himself remarks that the year "1817" was entered opposite the law punishing murder. He adds:

"Most of the laws—there are but few altogether—relate to the punishment of the most prominent crimes, known as such among all men, and the regulation of property rights. They scarcely touch upon the ancient customs and usages of the Nation which are for the most part left in full force. Infanticide was formerly not uncom-

[99] James Logan, in Indian Affairs Report, 1845, pp. 516-517.

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642 mon; it is prohibited by the written laws. An attempt was made in
671 1840 to abolish a custom giving to the relations of a husband on his death the power of keeping the widow secluded and forbidding her second marriage for a period of four years. They attempted to restrict the period to 12 months, but the people would not listen to it and the council yielded to the public voice and repealed the law in 1841." [1]

Property

421 So many old Creek customs, usages, and laws have become lost or obscured that it is difficult to reconstruct the primitive system with any certainty from what is remembered at the present day. With regard to property it is to be noted that two strong influences constantly operated to dilute the sense of individual ownership. These influences were the powerful kinship system and the abundance and accessibility of all of those things—or the raw materials of those things—necessary in aboriginal life. The value which we attach to things is dependent to a very considerable extent on the ease with which we can replace them.

[574] As was usual among primitive people, strangers were provided with food and a place to sleep gratis. This might be in the community hot house, or, after the clan of the visitor had been revealed, in the home of some man married into that clan. Regarding chattels we could wish the information from these Indians were more specific. Adair "observed with much inward satisfaction the community of goods that prevailed among them" but he immediately begins to speak of their hospitality in the matter of food and shelter which is quite a different matter.[2] Bartram says:

"Now, although it appears that these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and have laws, usages, and customs, which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice, and equality, the whole tribe seems as one family or community, and, in fact, all their possessions are in common; for they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe; indeed, throughout the Confederacy, they seem as one great family, perfectly known and acquainted with each other whenever they meet.

426 "If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary that he or she sees, and says, I have need of such a thing, it is regarded
431 only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion; for he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return at any time . . ." [3]

If Bartram could have examined actual conditions more intimately he would probably have found that this exchange took place

[1] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [3] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 41.
[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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Crime and Punishment

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"deaf," but it has come to signify "drunken," "roguish," "wicked," "sinful," etc.

Institutional killing will be treated under its proper head. It was based on the principle of retaliation, or, as more popularly expressed, "getting even," and was considered necessary in order to placate the souls of the departed. I have already remarked that the victim was sometimes devoted to death in advance, and Bartram mentions a case in which he was selected by lot. The following quotation from Adair shows what happened when murder was committed within the tribe, as well as the Indian attitude toward man killing generally:

"The Indians transmit from father to son, the memory of the loss of their relation, or of one of their own tribe or family, though it were an old woman if she was either killed by the enemy, or by any of their own people. If indeed the murder be committed by a kinsman, the eldest can redeem: however, if the circumstances attending the facts be peculiar and shocking to nature, the murderer is condemned to die the death of a sinner, 'without anyone to mourn for him,' as in the case of suicide; contrary to their usage toward the rest of their dead.

"In the late Cheerake War, at the earnest persuasions of the trading people, several of the Muskohge warriors came down to the barrier-settlements of Georgia, to go against the Cheerake, and revenge English crying blood: but the main body of the nation sent a running embassy to the merchants there, requesting them immediately to forbear their unfriendly proceedings, otherwise, they should be forced by disagreeable necessity to revenge their relations' blood if it should chance to be spilt contrary to their ancient laws: . . . If an unruly horse belonging to a white man, should chance to be tied at a trading house and kill one of the Indians, either the owner of the house, or the person who tied the beast there, is responsible for it, by their lex talionis; . . . If the Indians have a dislike to a person, who by any casualty was the death of one of their people, he stands accountable, and will certainly suffer for it, unless he takes sanctuary.

"I knew an under trader, who being intrusted by his employer with a cargo of goods for the country of the Muskohge, was forced by the common law of good faith, to oppose some of those savages in the remote woods, to prevent their robbing the camp: the chieftain being much intoxicated with spirituous liquors, and becoming outrageous in proportion to the resistance he met with, the trader like a brave man, opposed lawless force by force: some time after, the lawless bacchanal was attacked with a pleurisy, of which he died. Then the heads of the family of the deceased convened the lesser judicatory, and condemned the trader to be shot to death for the supposed murder of their kinsman; which they easily effected, as he was off his guard, and knew nothing of their murdering design.

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682 177 on the authority of a trader who had been in the Creek country 15 years, that the murderer was publicly executed and the law of private retaliation had gradually become obsolete.[33] And, about 20 years later, Eakins says:

"Among the Creeks, now, however, the murderer undergoes a regular trial before some of the leading chiefs of the nation, and is dealt with according to their decision. If an Indian should murder a negro, the law is satisfied with the value of the negro being paid to the owner. The intervention of time and the fleeing of the murderer, generally allay resentment and lead to compromises. After the annual "busk," all offences are cancelled.[34] There is no distinction made in the estimate of life between the male and female."[35]

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696 The administration of justice was, however, far from being Europeanized. Thus Gregg contradicts Eakins in part when he tells us that—

"They have no trial by jury, and their judicial proceedings are exceedingly summary—frequently without witnesses; for the warriors are generally too proud to deny a charge, lest it be construed into cowardice. Executions sometimes take place within an hour after the commencement of trial. Murder, rape, and a third conviction of stealing are punished with death, usually by shooting; but, in case of homicide, if claimed by the relatives of the deceased, the criminal is executed with the same kind of weapon, or, if possible, the very same, with which he committed the murder."[36]

And he adds:

"Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are for the most part rigorously enforced; though a commutation satisfactory to the aggrieved is still permitted to release the offender. Their laws, in cases of accidental homicide, are still more barbariously rigid than those of the other nations."[37]

•681 The information which I have myself obtained corroborates in all particulars that furnished by these earlier writers. The peculiar function of the White towns in protecting escaped criminals seems, however, to have well-nigh disappeared even before the migration to Oklahoma, as my oldest informants knew nothing about it. Jackson Lewis merely stated that a man who had committed an offense in one town frequently fled to another and kept out of sight as much as possible until a considerable period had elapsed. Then the chief of the town where he had sought refuge would say to the chief of the other town: "I have made a townsman of this friend of yours and I

[33] Hodgson, Journey through N. A., p. 267.

[34] This agrees with the statement of one of Speck's informants (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 115), but anciently murder was one crime excepted from the general amnesty.

[35] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[36] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 215.

[37] Ibid., pp. 215-216.

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desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment. 681

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment. 628 682 614

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[39a] 888

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows: 847

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[40]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[41]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed 754 683

[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 497.
[39] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 25-28.
[39a] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 98.
[40] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 272.
[41] Milfort, Mém., p. 281.

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the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them." [72] 687

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching.[72a] 689

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGillivray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order. 681

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable." [73]

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.[74] 685

Escaped murderers and adulterers, and those who had committed lesser offenses and had withdrawn from their people to avoid the ridicule and contempt of their fellow townsmen, formed a class from which, says Bartram, generally came the ruffians who committed depredations and murders on the frontiers.[75] The foundation of new towns may sometimes be traced to them, as indeed is frankly admitted by members of those towns themselves. It is said that the town of Wiwohka had such an origin, and it is also claimed for others like Hilibi on less satisfactory grounds. In later times many such people swelled the population of the Florida Seminole. 167 [626] [579] 621

Adair is the only writer to say anything about oaths used in adjuring a witness to give true evidence, and in this connection he does not mention the Creeks, only the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The Chickasaw and Choctaw oath he gives as *Chikllooska ke-e-u Chua*,[76] which he interprets "Do not you lie? Do you not, of a certain 695

[72] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[72a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 126; see p. 366.

[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 281-282.

[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 513.

[76] *Lashke* is a Chickasaw word meaning "to lie"; *chillashke* signifies "you do not lie"; *ke-e-u* (or *keyu*) is the negative. The form used here is a strengthened one.

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"deaf," but it has come to signify "drunken," "roguish," "wicked," "sinful," etc.

Institutional killing will be treated under its proper head. It was based on the principle of retaliation, or, as more popularly expressed, "getting even," and was considered necessary in order to placate the souls of the departed. I have already remarked that the victim was sometimes devoted to death in advance, and Bartram mentions a case in which he was selected by lot. The following quotation from Adair shows what happened when murder was committed within the tribe, as well as the Indian attitude toward man killing generally:

"The Indians transmit from father to son, the memory of the loss of their relation, or of one of their own tribe or family, though it were an old woman if she was either killed by the enemy, or by any of their own people. If indeed the murder be committed by a kinsman, the eldest can redeem: however, if the circumstances attending the facts be peculiar and shocking to nature, the murderer is condemned to die the death of a sinner 'without anyone to mourn for him,' as in the case of suicide; contrary to their usage toward the rest of their dead.

"In the late Cheerake War, at the earnest persuasions of the trading people, several of the Muskohge warriors came down to the barrier-settlements of Georgia, to go against the Cheerake, and revenge English crying blood: but the main body of the nation sent a running embassy to the merchants there, requesting them immediately to forbear their unfriendly proceedings, otherwise, they should be forced by disagreeable necessity to revenge their relations' blood if it should chance to be spilt contrary to their ancient laws: . . . If an unruly horse belonging to a white man, should chance to be tied at a trading house and kill one of the Indians, either the owner of the house, or the person who tied the beast there, is responsible for it, by their lex talionis; . . . If the Indians have a dislike to a person, who by any casualty was the death of one of their people, he stands accountable, and will certainly suffer for it, unless he takes sanctuary.

"I knew an under trader, who being intrusted by his employer with a cargo of goods for the country of the Muskohge, was forced by the common law of good faith, to oppose some of those savages in the remote woods, to prevent their robbing the camp: the chieftain being much intoxicated with spirituous liquors, and becoming outrageous in proportion to the resistance he met with, the trader like a brave man, opposed lawless force by force: some time after, the lawless bacchanal was attacked with a pleurisy, of which he died. Then the heads of the family of the deceased convened the lesser judicatory, and condemned the trader to be shot to death for the supposed murder of their kinsman; which they easily effected, as he was off his guard, and knew nothing of their murdering design.

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628 His employer, however, had such a friendly intercourse with them, as
682 to gain timely notice of any thing that might affect his person or interest; but he was so far from assisting the unfortunate brave man, as the laws of humanity and common honour obliged him, that as a confederate, he not only concealed their bloody intentions, but went basely to the next town, while the savages painted themselves red and black, and gave them an opportunity of perpetrating the horrid murder. The poor victim could have easily escaped to the English settlements if forewarned, and got the affair accommodated by the mediation of the government. In acts of blood, if the supposed murderer escapes, his nearest kinsman either real or adopted, or if he has none there, his friend stands according to their rigorous law, answerable for the fact. . . . .

181 "There never was any set of people, who pursued the Mosaic law
628 of *retaliation* with such a fixt eagerness as these Americans. They
682 are so determined in this point, that formerly a little boy shooting birds in the high and thick corn-fields, unfortunately chanced slightly to wound another with his childish arrow; the young vindictive fox, was excited by custom to watch his ways with the utmost earnestness, till the wound was returned in as equal a manner as could be expected. Then, 'all was straight,' according to their phrase. Their hearts were at rest, by having executed that strong law of nature, and they sported together as before. This observation though small in itself, is great in its combined circumstances, as it is contrary to the usage of the old heathen world. They forgive all crimes at the annual atonement of sins, except murder, which is always punished with death. The Indians constantly upbraid us in their bacchanals, for inattention to this maxim of theirs; they say, that all nations of people who are not utterly sunk in cowardice, take revenge of blood before they can have rest, cost what it will. The Indian Americans are more eager to revenge blood, than any other people on the whole face of the earth. . . .

"I have known the Indians to go a thousand miles, for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods; over hills and mountains; through large cane swamps, full of grape-vines and briars; over broad lakes, rapid rivers, and deep creeks; and all the way endangered by poisonous snakes, if not with the rambling and lurking enemy, while at the same time they were exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitude of the seasons; to hunger and thirst, both by chance, and their religious scanty method of living when at war, to fatigue, and other difficulties. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly condemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer, or enemy, to satisfy the supposed craving ghosts of their deceased relations. Though they imagine the report of guns will send off the ghosts of

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their kindred that died at home, to their quiet place, yet they firmly believe, that the spirits of those who are killed by the enemy, without equal revenge of blood, find no rest, and at night haunt the houses of the tribe to which they belonged; but, when that kindred duty of retaliation is justly executed, they immediately get ease and power to fly away: This opinion, and their method of burying and mourning for the dead, of which we shall speak presently, occasion them to retaliate in so earnest and fierce a manner. . . . When any casual thing draws them into a war, it grows every year more spiteful till it advances to a bitter enmity, so as to excite them to an implacable hatred to one another's very national names. Then they must go abroad to spill the enemy's blood, and to revenge crying blood. We must also consider, it is by scalps they get all their war-titles, which distinguish them among the brave: and these they hold in as high esteem, as the most ambitious Roman general ever did a great triumph. [33]

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Says Stiggins:

"When one of another clan if even by chance should kill one of their blood relations on the mother's side of the family, their customary law in this is similar to the law of the Jewish legislator in reference to the manslayer excepting the city of refuge, for their law is literally whoso sheddeth man's blood by man his blood must be shed. Time nor distance can not palliate their revenge for should the perpetrator make his escape one of his brothers or cousins on his mother's side is taken. One of his blood kindred or himself must atone for the one lost, male for male and female for female. Even accidents are frequently made a matter of atonement, as far for instance as to be on business for another person and be killed by their horse the employer or one of the brothers or cousins must atone with his life for the death; for this reason they say that had it not been for him and his business the death would not have happened." [34]

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To illustrate this point Stiggins describes at length an event which occurred in the year 1808 when a Creek named the Singer, described as head chief of the Creek Nation, was on an expedition to the west of the Mississippi River, accompanied by his brothers. They were frightened back to the east side by enemies, and while there one of the Singer's brothers killed another Indian belonging to Kasihta, whom he mistook for an enemy. The comrades of the man who had been slain came to the Singer's camp and found the Singer alone, his brothers having set out to visit the Kasihta and explain to them the accidental nature of what had happened. This the Singer himself then proceeded to do, and at first the explanation was accepted as satisfactory. On their way home, however, the Kasihta Indians

[33] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 148-151.
[34] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28; cf. also Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol ii, p. 111.

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reasoned that inasmuch as their brother had been killed it would be only just to kill the brother of the murderer, and accordingly they went back to the camp of the Singer and killed him in spite of his prominent position in the nation.[35]

According to Eakins, the proper "avenger of blood" was the own brother of the deceased, or, failing him, the nearest male blood and clan relative.[36]

Bossu says that "the law is that the one who has killed must be killed; except in case of a mischance, as in drunkenness, in a transport, or in games,"[37] but, as we have seen, such excuses did not always serve to protect the offender. The same writer also states that the French of Fort Toulouse and the Alabama had a standing agreement that if a Frenchman killed an Indian he must lose his life and vice versa, and an actual example is cited.

The following illustrates the Indian attitude still further. On being asked by Hawkins regarding the native Muskogee custom of punishing in cases of accidental death with the same severity as where there had been a manifest intention to kill, Ifa hadjo, the great medal chief of Tukabahchee and speaker of the nation in the national council, replied:

"This custom of ours is a bad one, blood for blood; but I do not believe it came from E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-see, but proceeded from ourselves. Of a case of this sort, I will give you my opinion, by my conduct. Lately, in Tookaubatche, two promising boys were playing and slinging stones. One of them let slip his sling, the stone flew back and killed his companion. The family of the deceased took the two boys, and were preparing to bury them in the same grave. The uncles, who have the right to decide in such cases, were sent for, and I was sent for. We arrived at the same time. I ordered the people to leave the house, and the two boys to remain together. I took the uncles to my house, raised their spirits with a little rum, and told them, the boy was a fine boy, and would be useful to us in our town, when he became a man; that he had no ill will against the dead one; the act was purely accidental; that it had been the will of E-sau-ge-tuh E-mis-se to end his days, and I thought that the living one should remain, as taking away his life would not give it to the other. The two uncles, after some reflection, told me, as you have advised us, so we will act; he shall not die, it was an accident."[38]

The permanent conversion of the Indians may well be doubted, but the ancient law is well illustrated by the circumstance. Hawkins

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[35] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 29-31.
[36] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 227.
[37] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 44, footnote.
[38] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, p. 81.

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has the following to say regarding murder in the stricter sense of that term: 628 682

"If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitely. When the tribe may be affected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

"This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid." [29] 727 648

In view of these facts the following law which Hawkins induced the Creek council to adopt becomes significant: 682 177

"To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation." [30]

Nevertheless it was with great difficulty that the Indian agent was enabled to secure the punishment of certain thieves and mischief-makers, some of whom had insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States,[31] so strong was the sense of obligation to retaliate for injuries received by a fellow clansman and so great the fear of awaking it. Adair mentions several occasions on which an offender was protected by his family.[32] By 1820, however, Hodgson reports,

[29] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, pp. 74-75.
[30] Ibid., p. 66.
[31] Ibid., p. 67.
[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. [illegible], [illegible].

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682 on the authority of a trader who had been in the Creek country 15 years, that the murderer was publicly executed and the law of private 177 retaliation had gradually become obsolete.[33] And, about 20 years later, Eakins says:

"Among the Creeks, now, however, the murderer undergoes a regular trial before some of the leading chiefs of the nation, and is dealt with according to their decision. If an Indian should murder a [563] negro, the law is satisfied with the value of the negro being paid to the owner. The intervention of time and the fleeing of the murderer, generally allay resentment and lead to compromises. After the annual "busk," all offences are cancelled.[34] There is no distinction made in the estimate of life between the male and female."[35]

64b The administration of justice was, however, far from being Europeanized. Thus Gregg contradicts Eakins in part when he tells us that—

"They have no trial by jury, and their judicial proceedings are exceedingly summary—frequently without witnesses; for the warriors are generally too proud to deny a charge, lest it be construed into cowardice. Executions sometimes take place within an hour after the commencement of trial. Murder, rape, and a third conviction of stealing are punished with death, usually by shooting; but, in case of homicide, if claimed by the relatives of the deceased, the criminal is executed with the same kind of weapon, or, if possible, the very same, with which he committed the murder."[36]

And he adds:

"Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are for the most part rigorously enforced; though a commutation satisfactory to the aggrieved is still permitted to release the offender. Their laws, in cases of accidental homicide, are still more barbariously rigid than those of the other nations."[37]

681 The information which I have myself obtained corroborates in all particulars that furnished by these earlier writers. The peculiar function of the White towns in protecting escaped criminals seems, however, to have well-nigh disappeared even before the migration to Oklahoma, as my oldest informants knew nothing about it. Jackson Lewis merely stated that a man who had committed an offense in one town frequently fled to another and kept out of sight as much as possible until a considerable period had elapsed. Then the chief of the town where he had sought refuge would say to the chief of the other town: "I have made a townman of this friend of yours and I

[33] Hodgson, Journey through N. A., p. 367.

[34] This agrees with the statement of one of Speck's informants (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. 2, p. 115), but anciently murder was one crime excepted from the general amnesty.

[35] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 377.

[36] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 215.

[37] Ibid., pp. 215-216.

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desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment. 681

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment. 628 682 614

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[39a] 888

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows: 847

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[40]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[41]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed 754 683

[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 497.
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[39a] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
[40] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
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•683 but because it was thought he had used his art to kill or seriously injure someone else. Thus the wizard (or witch) was not punished for being a wizard, according to the understanding of the people themselves, but for being a murderer.

684 Adultery was punished among the Creeks and other southern tribes in such a striking manner that almost every traveler in that section has recorded something about the custom. The first report of it was given by Garcilasso from information furnished by two old soldiers of De Soto's army and is as follows:

"Before leaving the province of Tuscaluça, it is proper to relate the manner in which the laws of this country and of that of Coça, punish adulteresses. There is, in this last province, a law which decrees, upon penalty of death, that if any one has sufficient indications to believe that a woman is an adulteress, he has to inquire into it and impeach her before the cacique, or, in his absence, before the local judges. These judges upon the report that is made to them, secretly hold an inquest against the person accused, and arrest her if they find her guilty. Afterwards, at the first festival, they order to be published that the inhabitants, on going out from their dinner repair to a certain place outside of the village, and that there they all arrange themselves in a row. Then come the judges, of whom two place themselves at one end of this file, and two at the other. They first decree that they bring to them the adulteress, and then they say to her husband who is present, that she is convicted of a lewd life, and that he must deal with her according to the rigor of the law. The husband strips her entirely naked, and shaves her with a kind of razor of flint; a disgraceful punishment and common among the Indians of the new world. Then to show that he repudiates her, he leaves with the clothes of his wife, and abandons her to the power of the judges. Two immediately command the criminal to pass in front of the persons who are in a row, and to go and declare her crime to the other two officers. She obeys, and as soon as she draws near to them she tells them that she is convicted of adultery and condemned to the penalty with which the law punishes that crime; that she is sent to them in order that they may do with her what it shall please them for the welfare of the province. The judges immediately send her back with this answer: that it is just that the laws that are made with a view to the preservation of public virtue should be inviolably observed; that therefore they confirm the sentence which they have rendered against her, and order her in the future not to relapse again into her crime. Thereupon she returns to the first judges, and the people who are in a row hiss her, and endeavor by means of insults, to increase her shame. In the mean time the people who come in a crowd and see her naked, yell at her. Some

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cast clods of earth at her, and others straw, and others old rags and pieces of mats and other like things, the law ordering it so, and they regard this poor woman only as the disgrace of her sex. After all these inflictions, the judge banishes her from the country and places her in the hands of her parents, with orders, upon pain of exemplary punishment, not to permit her to enter into any place of the province. The parents receive her, and as soon as they cover her with a mantle they lead her away into a place where she is never seen by any Indian of the country; and at the same time the judges permit the husband to take another wife. Thus they punish, in Coça, the Indian women who violate the faith which they owe to those whom they marry. But in the province of Tuscaluça they punish them with still greater rigor. The law of this country decrees that if, at an unseasonable hour, they see any one enter and leave three or four times a house, and that they suspect the mistress of the lodge of adultery, they are obliged, by the religion of the country, to inform the husband of the conduct of his wife, and to prove, by three or four witnesses, that they assert nothing but the truth. The husband, at the same time, assembles the witnesses, and interrogates them one after another, with horrible imprecations against him who lies, and great benedictions in favor of him who discloses the truth.

"Afterwards, if he finds his wife sufficiently convicted of having violated her faith, he leads her out of the village, ties her to a tree or to a post which he fixes in the ground, and shoots her to death with arrows. Then he goes to the cacique, or, in his absence, to the justice of the place. He tells them that, in such a place outside of the village, he has just killed his wife, upon information that she had committed adultery; that he petitions them to summon the accusers, in order that, if the crime of which they charge her is true, he might be formally acquitted, and, if the contrary, he might receive the punishment decreed by the law of the province. In the latter case, the law commands the parents of the wife to shoot the husband to death with arrows; that he be the prey of dogs and birds, and that his wife, as a mark of her innocence, be honorably interred; that if the witnesses persisted in their evidence and did not contradict themselves, in a word, if they verified by good proofs the crime in question, they acquitted the husband, with the liberty to take a wife, and forbid, upon pain of death, the parents of the criminal from drawing a single arrow from her body, or even interring it, because it was necessary that she should serve as an example and be devoured by beasts. We see by this that, in all Florida they punished very rigorously adulteresses. But we do not know in what manner they punished the men who debauched the wives of others." [49]

[49] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 282-283.

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The Coça were represented in later years by part of the Upper Creeks and the Tuscaluça by the Mobile Indians, and the customs recorded here do not accord with the later customs known to have been in vogue among either. Nevertheless, as we shall presently see, Adair mentions the custom of shooting adulteresses to death as one formerly in vogue in the very region from which Garcilasso reports it. He does not say what tribe was addicted to this, but it would seem to have been one of those near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. The Mobile do not appear to have preserved this usage, as none of the French writers mentions it. This may have been due to the enormous losses they had suffered from the Spaniards and from other tribes of Indians. Hawkins says that the Creek punishment for adultery was unknown among the Alabama.[43] but he is contradicted by Bossu who describes it in some detail.[44] Regarding the ordeal which Garcilasso attributes to the Coça there are two possible explanations: either his informants had obtained only an imperfect account of the custom or the usage changed between the time of De Soto and the later English and French settlements. There is some reason to believe that the latter explanation is partly correct, because Hakwins, writing near the end of the eighteenth century, says that the law regarding adultery, along with many other usages, originated with the Abihka Indians.[45] These people are nowhere mentioned in the De Soto narratives and may not have been in the country in De Soto's time.

Adair, as usual, gives a very complete account, containing information not found elsewhere. He says:[46]

"The middle aged people of a place, which lies about half-way to Mobile, and the Illinois (from Carolina), assure us, that they remember when adultery was punished among them with death, by shooting the offender with barbed arrows, as there are no stones there. But what with the losses of their people at war with the French and their savage confederates, and the constitutional wantonness of their young men and women, they have through a political desire of continuing, or increasing their numbers, moderated the severity of that law, and reduced it to the present standard of punishment; which is in the following manner. If a married woman is detected in adultery by one person, the evidence is deemed good in judgment against her; the evidence of a well grown boy or girl, they even reckon sufficient, because of the heinousness of the crime, and

[43] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 37.

[44] See p. 351.

[45] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 42.

[46] As Adair's account is somewhat confused it should be explained that, after speaking of the people who formerly punished adultery by shooting the offender with arrows, he proceeds to describe the Chickasaw method of punishment. Then he takes up the Muskogee customs and reverts to the Chickasaw in the next to the last paragraph of the quotation, concluding with a final paragraph on the Muskogee.

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the difficulty of discovering it in their thick forests. . . . When the crime is proved against the woman, the enraged husband accompanied by some of his relations, surprises and beats her most barbarously, and then cuts off her hair and nose, or one of her lips. There are many of that sort of disfigured females among the Chikkasah, and they are commonly the best featured, and the most tempting of any of their country-women, which exposed them to the snares of young men. But their fellow-criminals, who probably first tempted them, are partially exempted from any kind of corporal punishment.

"With the Muskohge Indians, it was formerly reckoned adultery, if a man took a pitcher of water off a married woman's head, and drank of it. But their law said, if he was a few steps apart, and she at his request set it down, and retired a little way off, he might then drink without exposing her to any danger. . . .

"Among those Indians, when adultery is discovered, the offending parties commonly set off speedily for the distant woods, to secure themselves from the shameful badge of the sharp penal law, which they inevitably get, if they can be taken before the yearly offering for the atonement of sin; afterward, every crime except murder is forgiven. But they are always pursued, and frequently overtaken; though perhaps, three or four moons absent, and two hundred miles off, over hills and mountains, up and down many creeks and rivers on contrary courses, and by intricate windings—the pursuers are eager, and their hearts burn within them for revenge. When the husband has the chilling news first whispered in his ear, he steals off with his witness to some of his kinsmen, to get them to assist him in revenging his injury; they are soon joined by a sufficient number of the same family, if the criminal was not of the same tribe [town]; otherwise, he chuses to confide in his nearest relations. When the witness has asserted to them the truth of his evidence by a strong asseveration, they separate to avoid suspicion, and meet commonly in the dusk of the evening, near the town of the adulterer, where each of them provides a small hoop-pole, tapering to the point, with knobs half an inch long, (allowed by ancient custom) with which they correct the sinners; for as their law in this case doth not allow partiality, if they punished one of them and either excused or let the other escape from justice, like the Illinois, they would become liable to such punishment as they had inflicted upon either of the parties.[47]

"They commonly begin with the adulterer, because of the two, he is the more capable of making his escape: They generally attack him at night, by surprise, lest he should make a desperate resistance, and blood be shed to cry for blood. They fall on eager and merciless,

[47] If the male offender escaped punishment could be inflicted on a relative. See Hawkins (p. 88) and Claiborne (p. 88).

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whooping their revengeful noise, and thrashing their captive, with their long-knobbed hoop-flails; some over his head and face; others on his shoulders and back. His belly, sides, legs, and arms, are gashed all over, and at last, he happily seems to be insensible of pain: then they cut off his ears. . . .

"They observe, however, a graduation of punishment, according to the criminality of the adulteress. For the first breach of the marriage faith they crop her ears and hair, if the husband is spiteful: either of those badges proclaims her to be a whore, or *Hakse Kaneha*. . . . for the hair of their head is their ornament: when loose it completely reaches below their back; and when tied, it stands below the crown of the head, about four inches long, and two broad. As the offender cuts a comical figure among the rest of the women, by being trimmed so sharp, she always keeps her dark winter hot house, till by keeping the hair moistened with grease, it grows so long as to bear tying. Then she accustoms herself to the light by degrees; and soon some worthless fellow, according to their standard, buys her for his *Aná;* which term hath been already explained.

"The adulterer's ears are flashed off close to his head, for the first act of adultery, because he is the chief in fault. If the criminals repeat the crime with any other married persons, their noses and upper lips are cut off. But the third crime of the like nature, is attended with more danger; for the law says, that for public heinous crimes, satisfaction should be made visible to the people, and adequate to the injuries of the virtuous—to set their aggrieved hearts at ease, and prevent others from following such a dangerous crooked copy. As they will not comply with their mitigated law of adultery nor be terrified, nor shamed from their ill course of life; that the one may not frighten and abuse their wives, nor the other seduce their husbands and be a lasting plague and shame to the whole society, they are ordered by their ruling magi and war-chieftains, to be shot to death, which is accordingly executed; but this seldom happens.

"When I asked the Chikkasah the reason of the inequality of their marriage-law, in punishing the weaker passive party, and exempting the stronger, contrary to reason and justice; they told me, it had been so a considerable time—because their land being a continual seat of war, and the lurking enemy for ever pelting them without, and the women decoying them within, if they put such old cross laws of marriage in force, all their beloved brisk warriors would soon be spoiled, and their habitations turned to a wild waste. . . .

"The Muskohge Indians . . . oblige the adulteress under the penalty of the severest law not to be free with any man, (unless she is inclined to favour her fellow sufferer) during the space of four moons, after the broken moon in which they suffered for each other, according to the custom of the Maldivians. But her husband

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exposes himself to the utmost severity of the marriage law, if he is known to hold a familiar intercourse with her after the time of her punishment."[48]

Hodgson, on the authority of an old Creek trader, says that a husband who connived at the return of an adulterous wife from exile was liable to suffer the very penalties that had been inflicted upon her.[49]

Bossu's account, already alluded to, of the method in which punishment was inflicted among the Alabama, is as follows:

"It is first necessary that the husband be satisfied with his own eyes, and then the delinquent woman is spied upon by the relatives of the husband and by her own. It would be vain for the husband to wish to keep the unfaithful wife, he is no longer master of the situation: here is the reason for this, it is that the savages regard it as scandalous for a true man to live with a woman who has failed him so signally. In such a conjuncture the husband goes to find the chief, and lays the case before him. The chief then orders people to cut sticks; great secrecy is preserved. The chief then appoints a dance, at which everyone is obliged to be present, men, women, girls, and boys; if one is absent he pays a penalty; but no one ordinarily absents himself; at the moment when the dance is at its height they seize the adulteress, throw her on the ground, and then beat her on her back and on the front part of her body without sparing her. The one who seduced her receives the same treatment.

"When these unfortunates have been well castigated a relative belonging to each side approaches and puts a rod between the beaters and the beaten. Instantly all blows cease; but the woman is not yet free; her husband comes and cuts off her hair close to her head, and then he reproaches her in the presence of the assembly; that is to say he depicts to her how wrongly she has treated him, he never having let her want for anything, and that since it is so she can go with her seducer. They cut off his plaited hair all about, which falls in part over the foreheads of these people; after that they say to him, pointing to the unfaithful woman, 'There is your wife.' He is allowed to marry her on the spot but he is obliged to change his village.

"When it happens that a woman debauches the husband of another, the women assemble with rods as long as their arms, and go to seek for the culprit whom they beat unmercifully, which makes the young people laugh very much; if they did not finally snatch the rods from the hands of these furies they would kill the unfortunate culprit."[50]

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[48] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 143-146.
[49] Hodgson, Jour. through N. Am., pp. 287-288.
[50] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 32-34.

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The accounts of Hawkins and Pope regarding this punishment also deserve insertion. Hawkins states that adultery "is punished by the family or tribe of the husband. They collect, consult and decree. If the proof is clear, and they determine to punish the offenders, they divide and proceed to apprehend them. One half goes to the house of the woman, the remainder to the family house of the adulterer; or they go together, as they have decreed. They apprehend the offenders, beat them severely with sticks, and then crop them. They cut off the hair of the woman, which they carry to the square in triumph. If they apprehend but one of the offenders, and the other escapes, they then go and take satisfaction from the nearest relation.[50a] If both the offenders escape, and the tribe or family return home, and lay down the sticks, the crime is satisfied. There is one family only, the 'Wind,' (Ho-tul-ul-gee), that can take up the sticks a second time. This crime is satisfied in another way, if the parties offending absent themselves till the Boos-ke-tuh is over. Then all crimes are done away except murder. And the bare mention of them, or any occurrence which brings them in recollection, is forbidden." [51]

Pope says:

"Upon a detection of the crime, about 50 or 60 persons of each sex, repair to a thicket, and supply themselves with hickory clubs; this done, the men determine upon the measure of punishment to be inflicted on the woman and permit the women to decide upon the man's. They then separate, brandishing their clubs; the men in quest of the woman, the women in quest of the man. The adulteress when found, is seized upon, and ignominiously dragged into a circle formed by the men, who beat her with their clubs till she can no longer stand; and whilst extended on the ground, the avengers proceed to dock her hair, crop her ears, and slit her nostrils; of all this her inamorato, is made an unwilling spectator, and sometimes an agent; who, in turn, suffers a similar disgrace in the circle of the women, his fair Dulcinea looking on. What I have here mentioned are the highest punishments they ever inflict, even upon the most atrocious offenders. Sometimes they dispense with cropping their ears and slitting the nostrils, and content themselves, with giving the offender a sound drubbing with a short dock. . . .

"If the club bearers ever relinquish, or lay down their clubs through any mishap or necessity; before they encircle the object of their vengeance, they dare not resume them again, as it is presumed, that it was so ordered by their God, in tender mercy to the delinquents, who are accordingly acquitted of that offense." [52]

[50a] There is an apparent contradiction with Adair here but it is reconciled by Claiborne (p. 353).

[51] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 74.

[52] Pope, Tour, pp. 55-58.

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In stating that punishment was inflicted on the male offender by the women and on the female offender by the men Pope differs from all other writers.

Claiborne is also brief:

"If the woman violates her fidelity before the green-corn dance [among the Creeks] she is whipped severely, her ears cut off and tied to the sticks with which she was beaten and the sticks set up in the town square for the people to look at. They serve the man who seduced her in the same way. If the man clears out, and cannot be caught, the clansmen of the injured husband punish his nearest relation in his stead. If the woman be punished and not her seducer, or his relation, the clan of the woman inflict upon the leader of the party that punished her, the same punishment which she had endured, and there the thing ends."[53]

Romans dismisses the matter shortly:

"Adultery is punished by severe flagellations and loss of hair, nose, and ears, in both parties, if they are taken; sometimes they spare the nose of the man, and I have known some instances of white men having this misfortune and being obliged to apply to the Commissary, or the nearest Governor for a certificate to secure them from the imputation of the pillory."[54]

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Stiggins informs us that a man could take a second wife or concubine only with the consent of his first wife, and if he did not obtain it he was treated as an adulterer and punished as such by his wife's family,[55] and also that a widow or widower who married before the expiration of the prescribed period of mourning was so treated.[56] In this he is confirmed by Swan.[57]

The prerogative of the Wind clan mentioned by Hawkins is confirmed by Swan,[58] Stiggins,[59] and my informant Jackson Lewis. According to another authority the Wind clan could take up the clubs four times and the Bear clan could take them up twice,[60] but this may have been the case in some one town. Stiggins adds that the same privilege was enjoyed by members of the Wind clan in the case of minor offenses such as stealing.[61] There were no doubt many variations in the procedure, several of which are indicated in the accounts already given. In later times the penalty was probably softened. Mr. McCombs told me that for the first commission of adultery the man and woman were both beaten and the soft lobes

[53] Claiborne, Mir. vol. I, p. 402.
[54] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 96.
[55] See p. 373.
[56] See pp. 378-379.
[57] See p. 378.
[58] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 269.
[59] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[60] The agent Mitchell as reported by Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. II, p. 111, 1836.
[61] Stiggins, Ms., p. 28.

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of their ears where the earrings were commonly worn were cut off; for the second offense the whole ear was cut off; and for the third offense they cut off the nose, saying to the culprit "You have not sense enough to smell anything." He added that if a man had a wife and children and some other woman began running about with him, the women inflicted the punishment. They would rush upon their victim, foaming at the mouth like mad tigers, tear off her clothing and leave her all covered with blood. Meantime the men related to the woman's husband would gather round and, if they saw matters were likely to be carried to extremes, pull the woman away.

As the evidence of a single person was admitted, frequently a very young one at that, the innocent sometimes suffered, and the attentions of the Indians were often extended to white traders among them, in many cases no doubt on the most ample grounds.

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If we were to accept Swan's testimony we should have to suppose that sexual looseness before marriage was not punished nor indeed curtailed in the smallest degree. He says:

"Simple fornication is no crime or reproach among the Creeks; the sexes indulge their propensities with each other promiscuously, unrestrained by law or custom, and without secrecy or shame. If a young woman becomes pregnant before she is married, which most of them do, the child is maintained in her clan without the least murmuring." [62]

Hodgson also declares that "female licentiousness before marriage is not attended with loss of character," [63] and Romans that "they will never scruple to sell the use of their bodies when they can do it in private" and "the savages think a young woman nothing the worse for making use of her body, as they term it." [64]

Bossu and Hitchcock testify to the same effect,[65] the latter attributing the abuse to the influence of polygamy.[66]

Nevertheless, from what may be gathered from other sources, it is evident that there were limits beyond which a young person could not go without being made to suffer in consequence.

At the meetings of the clan to which the offender belonged he (or she) would probably be reprimanded by the oldest clan uncle and perhaps "dry scratched" or whipped. The former punishment was inflicted by means of an implement made of gar teeth, or in later times needles. One person grasped the arms of the victim and held them about the ball-post while the scratching was done, and the latter usually bore it in stoical silence for fear of the ridicule of his companions. Another punishment was sarcasm, in which the Indians are

[62] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[63] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.
[64] Romans, Nat. Hist. of E. and W. Fla., p. 97
[65] See p. 370.
[66] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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adepts. They would praise the culprit in the highest manner, reviewing with the most circumstantial details his assumed virtuous actions, the exact opposite, of course, of the things he had really done, until he was only too glad to flee from the general ridicule.

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The punishment usually meted out to those members of different but linked clans who had carnal intercourse with each other was "the long scratch" (sàpka tcàpko), performed by inserting a gar tooth or needle in the skin at the back of the neck and making a shallow cut along the spine and then on down to the heel. The pain was, of course, intense, but the public shame attending the performance, which took place in the presence of all of the people, was very much worse. As one man put it, it was to show that the offenders were no better than brutes and placed a stigma for life upon the parties undergoing it. According to another informant, instead of being dry scratched, the culprits were flogged very severely. At Chiaha the scratching took place at the northeast corner of the square ground. Mr. William McCombs, of this town, remembered that during the Civil War a Potato man and a Raccoon woman were in danger of a thrashing for having consorted together.

If the offenders belonged to the same clan the punishment was worse—often death. An Abihka Indian told me that he remembered a case in which a woman of the Wind clan was beaten to death for an offense of the kind. Another informant stated that for the first offense in such cases the long scratch was the sole punishment, but flogging for the second. Still another claimed that flogging was the penalty for the first offense, the nose and ears also being cut off. In later times they omitted cutting off the nose. Flogging was also the punishment among the Texas Alabama, but in more ancient times it is though that the penalty was more severe. At any rate, this crime was considered so dreadful by the Alabama that it was believed "the earth might burn up" in consequence of it, and the sentiment is so strong down to the present day that there are only three instances of endogamous marriages, while far more marriages take place outside of linked clans among all the people of the Creek confederacy. For instance, one of my interpreters belonged to the Panther clan, his father was an Alligator, and his wife a Bear. Another belonged to the Aktayatci, his father was a Bear, and his father's father a Panther. Still another belonged to the Deer, his father to the Raccoon, and his father's father to the Potato. The last lived at Tukabahchee where marriage between the Potato and Raccoon was allowed.

Related to these crimes was one mentioned by Adair when he says that the Muskogee came near putting some white traders to death because, when "in their cups," they forcibly viewed the nakedness of a woman who was reputed to be a hermaphrodite, and he states

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684 that this was "according to one of their old laws against crimes of that kind." [67]

In another place Adair speaks of the nonobservance of the separation of a woman during her menstrual periods as a crime on a par with murder and adultery. "Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity," he says, "they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people." [68]

685 Punishments similar to those described above were resorted to in cases of theft, which anciently do not appear to have been common within the tribe. Hodgson, relying on an Indian trader of 15 years' experience, says of this:

"Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death—the amount stolen being disregarded. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing; the crime itself being almost unknown—when the Indians would go hunting, or 'frolicking,' for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighborhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts. Confidence and generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity has taught them suspicion and deceit." [69]

[177] It is to be feared that this is in part another case of "the good old days" which do not appear as good on close examination, but, for economic reasons, it is certain that stealing was not one of those sins characteristic of the southeastern Indians before white contact.

As to the penalties inflicted for theft, Hodgson's informant is substantially confirmed by Gregg. "Most inferior crimes," he says, "are punished by whipping; for the first offence of stealing, fifty lashes; for the second, a hundred and ears cropped," and he has already stated that death was the penalty for the third.[70]

Swan says that McGillivray introduced the law that "if an Indian steals a horse, he is liable . . . to return him, or another of equal value, and pay a fine of thirty chalks, or fifteen dollars; if he is unable to do so, he may be tied and whipped thirty lashes by the injured party. But," he adds, "as in other cases, the infliction of punishment depends, at last, on the superior force of the injured clan." [71]

687 Failure to attend the busk was penalized by the imposition of fines or confiscation of property, and similar punishments were resorted to for other derelictions in duty to the community. Thus,

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[67] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 23.
[68] See p. 359.
[69] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.
[70] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, pp. 315, 316.
[71] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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[67] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 98.
[68] See p. 360.
[69] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.
[70] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, pp. 315, 316.
[71] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 261.

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the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them." [73] 687

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching.[73a] 689

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGillivray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order. 681

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable." [73]

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.[74] 685

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[73] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[73a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 139; see p. 362.

[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 261-262.

[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 512.

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684 that this was "according to one of their old laws against crimes of that kind." [67]

In another place Adair speaks of the nonobservance of the separation of a woman during her menstrual periods as a crime on a par with murder and adultery. "Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity," he says, "they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people." [68]

685 Punishments similar to those described above were resorted to in cases of theft, which anciently do not appear to have been common within the tribe. Hodgson, relying on an Indian trader of 15 years' experience, says of this:

"Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death—the amount stolen being disregarded. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing; the crime itself being almost unknown—when the Indians would go hunting, or 'frolicking,' for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighborhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts. Confidence and generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity has taught them suspicion and deceit." [69]

[177] It is to be feared that this is in part another case of "the good old days" which do not appear as good on close examination, but, for economic reasons, it is certain that stealing was not one of those sins characteristic of the southeastern Indians before white contact.

As to the penalties inflicted for theft, Hodgson's informant is substantially confirmed by Gregg. "Most inferior crimes," he says, "are punished by whipping; for the first offence of stealing, fifty lashes; for the second, a hundred and ears cropped," and he has already stated that death was the penalty for the third.[70]

Swan says that McGillivray introduced the law that "if an Indian steals a horse, he is liable . . . to return him, or another of equal value, and pay a fine of thirty chalks, or fifteen dollars; if he is unable to do so, he may be tied and whipped thirty lashes by the injured party. But," he adds, "as in other cases, the infliction of punishment depends, at last, on the superior force of the injured clan." [71]

•687 Failure to attend the busk was penalized by the imposition of fines or confiscation of property, and similar punishments were resorted to for other derelictions in duty to the community. Thus,

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[67] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 22.
[68] See p. 359.
[69] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.
[70] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, pp. 315, 316.
[71] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. [illegible], p. 261.

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[73] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[73a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 130; see p. 366.

[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 261-262.

[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 513.

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602 614 Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based opon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

614 825 688 A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[56a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[57]

[522] Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[58] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

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[56a] See p. 112. [57] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.
[58] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

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[73] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[73a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 120; see p. 366.

[74] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 281-282.

[75] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 513.

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515 From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice: "However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin.[91]

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He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them."[92] This is somewhat at variance with the information I myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.[93]

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721 554 Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair."[94]

703 554 Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

[91] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 130.
[92] Ibid., p. 131.
[93] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 25.
[94] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 260; cf. p. 434.

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[72] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
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[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 261-262.
[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277.
[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 512.
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*695 truth?" And the answer is *Aklooska Ke-e-u-que-Ho*, "I do not lie; I do not, of a certain truth."[77] Regarding epithets he says, "the sharpest and most lasting affront, the most opprobrious, indelible epithet, with which one Indian can possibly brand another, is to call him in public company, *Hoobuk Waske*, Eunuchus, praeputio detecto."[78]

GENERAL CUSTOMS

000 In treating of the general customs of the Creeks it will be well to keep in mind certain cycles. Thus there were customs that concerned the cycle of human life itself, including the important events incident to existence, such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. There were certain others determined by the annual cycle of the seasons, and still others by the shorter cycle of day and night. Beyond these there were still other customs independent of changes in life or nature. It will be as well to take up the customs concerned with events incident to human life in the first place, and then proceed to the rest.

THE VITAL CYCLE

PUBERTY AND CHILDBIRTH

841 [846] The regulations imposed upon a woman at the time of her monthly periods and at childbirth resembled each other in many particulars and may be conveniently treated together. Adair's account is the oldest. It applies primarily to the Chickasaw, but there was little difference between their usages and those of the Creeks. He says:

". . . They oblige their women in their *lunar retreats*, to build small huts, at as considerable a distance from their dwelling-houses, as they imagine may be out of the enemies reach; where, during the space of that period, they are obliged to stay at the risque of their lives. Should they be known to violate that ancient law, they must answer for every misfortune that befalls any of the people, as a certain effect of the divine fire; though the lurking enemy sometimes kills them in their religious retirement. Notwithstanding they reckon it conveys a most horrid and dangerous pollution to those who touch or go near them, or walk anywhere within the circle of their retreats; and are in fear of thereby spoiling the supposed purity and power of their holy ark, which they always carry to war; yet the enemy believe they can so cleanse themselves with the consecrated herbs, roots, etc. which the chieftain carries in the beloved war-ark, as to secure them in this point from bodily danger, because it was done against their enemies.

"The non-observance of this separation, a breach of the marriage-law, and murder, they esteem the most capital crimes. When the time of the women's separation is ended, they always purify them-

[77] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 51. [78] Ibid., p. 186.

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682 177 on the authority of a trader who had been in the Creek country 15 years, that the murderer was publicly executed and the law of private retaliation had gradually become obsolete.[33] And, about 20 years later, Eakins says:

"Among the Creeks, now, however, the murderer undergoes a regular trial before some of the leading chiefs of the nation, and is dealt with according to their decision. If an Indian should murder a [563] negro, the law is satisfied with the value of the negro being paid to the owner. The intervention of time and the fleeing of the murderer, generally allay resentment and lead to compromises. After the annual "busk," all offences are cancelled.[34] There is no distinction made in the estimate of life between the male and female."[35]

.691 The administration of justice was, however, far from being Europeanized. Thus Gregg contradicts Eakins in part when he tells us that—

"They have no trial by jury, and their judicial proceedings are exceedingly summary—frequently without witnesses; for the warriors are generally too proud to deny a charge, lest it be construed into cowardice. Executions sometimes take place within an hour after the commencement of trial. Murder, rape, and a third conviction of stealing are punished with death, usually by shooting; but, in case of homicide, if claimed by the relatives of the deceased, the criminal is executed with the same kind of weapon, or, if possible, the very same, with which he committed the murder."[36]

And he adds:

"Notwithstanding the severity of these laws, they are for the most part rigorously enforced; though a commutation satisfactory to the aggrieved is still permitted to release the offender. Their laws, in cases of accidental homicide, are still more barbariously rigid than those of the other nations."[37]

681 The information which I have myself obtained corroborates in all particulars that furnished by these earlier writers. The peculiar function of the White towns in protecting escaped criminals seems, however, to have well-nigh disappeared even before the migration to Oklahoma, as my oldest informants knew nothing about it. Jackson Lewis merely stated that a man who had committed an offense in one town frequently fled to another and kept out of sight as much as possible until a considerable period had elapsed. Then the chief of the town where he had sought refuge would say to the chief of the other town: "I have made a townsman of this friend of yours and I

[33] Hodgson, Journey through N. A., p. 267.

[34] This agrees with the statement of one of Speck's informants (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. ii, p. 113), but anciently murder was one crime excepted from the general amnesty.

[35] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277.

[36] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.

[37] Ibid., pp. 315-316.

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"the best speaker in the town." The two offices may sometimes have been combined, but it is evident that they were usually distinct.

In Tukabahchee and all of those towns of which the ancient organization has been preserved, either in the memories of the Indians or in fact, there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the tàstânàgàlgi, the next in rank the imała łàkà'lgi, or "big imałas," and the third the imała łàbotskàlgi or "little imałas." At Tukabahchee, and probably in the greater number of towns, the tàstânàgis sat at the western end of the north bed, but, as I have shown elsewhere, their position varied, and sometimes the tàstânàgis and imałas were seated in different beds. The Tukabahchee arrangement is given by Hawkins as that in Kasihta in his time. He does not indeed give the Indian names of the various grades of warriors but he states that there were three of them and that promotion was regular from lowest to highest. In most towns the tàstânàgis and imałas received their positions on account of warlike feats, not because of ancestry or clan connection. One of my informants said that a tàstânàgi was a man who "carried out the determinations of the town." The leader of the tàstânàgis was usually known as the tàstânàgi łàko, "big warrior," and Hawkins states that he was selected from among the tàstânàgis by the miko and isti àtcagàgi.[26] According to the same writer the highest title to which a warrior could aspire was that of "Great Leader" (Is-te-puc-cau-chau thlucco [isti pàkatca łàko]), which required "a long course of years and great and numerous successes in war." The head warrior of Tukabahchee was known as the Tàstânàgi simiabaiya.[26] He was privileged to call the whole town together. According to a Coweta informant, in his town the tàstânàgis were elected by the head men of the town from the Red clans, but, although it is probable that, on account of the theory regarding them, more warriors would arise from the Red than from the White clans, they were certainly not drawn exclusively from such clans. These officials all had to do with war and with the ball game which is called "the brother of the war." War, while decided upon in council, was announced by the Big Warrior. According to a Coweta informant ball games were arranged by the Big Warriors of the towns concerned, each taking such assistants as he desired, but in Kasihta there was a special official, the hałisi tàstânàgi, who attended to such matters. The Tàstânàgis were also the native police, the Big Warrior being "chief of police"; they carried out the decisions of the miko and the isti àtcagàgis, and they punished any one who

FIG. 102.—Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green

[26] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

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624 failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to
625 attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the henihas, the functions of the tàstànàgis became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one tàstànàgi, who took the places of the old yatika and chief's heniha. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate mikos and the isti àtcagàgi as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes.[38] They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

624 Milfort speaks of the "tastanégy" as if he were the head war chief
701 of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the tàstànàgi làko of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity."[39]

624 Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he
701 was subjected when he was made tàstànàgi is also worth reproducing.
796 As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary tàstànàgi, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

[38] Speck, in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112. [39] Milfort, Voy., pp. 286-288.

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ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.[60]

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

[60] Evidently the dol.

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entered, the six priests or medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all repaired there together. The old man who had placed me on the litter, came at once to help me descend, and placed me on a bison skin which had been prepared for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank the cassine or the tea-like drink, and for twenty-four hours they took nothing but the war medicine.

"I had not yet drunk this medicine although I had been made a little war chief and I had commanded in the place of the grand chief, because I had taken care to make for myself a particular medicine; for it is indispensable to have one in order to be assured of the confidence of the savages; but this time it was necessary to imitate the assembly, and drink the general medicine. I was not long in experiencing a strong feeling of sickness, which forced me to eject all of the medicine I had taken, and to imitate the assembly in that. This very disgusting ceremony lasted until sunrise next day. Then the entire assembly undressed, and we went, absolutely naked, into a circular cabin where the priests had gone to await us. Each of them had brought thither a brass kettle, in which they had had the war medicine boiled. Shortly afterward the subordinate chiefs brought stones which they had heated red hot in the fire in the center; and the priests, while singing, threw upon them the water which was contained in the two gourds of which I have already sopken which occasioned a dreadful heat and steam. The entire assembly was in a very profuse perspiration, and it was so great on all parts of my body that, although I was very healthy, I thought that it would be impossible to resist it. We remained in this condition about half an hour, and then part of the chiefs went out of the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all left and went immediately to throw ourselves into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without much fear that I decided to imitate the entire assembly in that; it appeared to me very dangerous in the perspiring condition in which I then was to throw myself at once into the cold water; but it was impossible for me to do otherwise, and I suffered nothing more than the fear (j'en fus quitte pour la peur). I think, however, that the purgation which I had undergone in drinking the war medicine, prevented the ill effects of such a bath. On going out of the water, where we remained only a short time, each one dressed himself, and we returned to the grand cabin, in which a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to enter the square in the grand cabin, to dance around the fire, which burned continually during the entire period of this ceremony, lasting three days, during which no member of the assembly was allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, or to sleep. I was so much the more under obligations to remain there with the assembly, as it was for me alone that the ceremony took place.

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"I was seated in a distinguished place, and I had priests on both sides; if I happened to get drowsy, one threw fresh water in my face, and the other rubbed it with little stones, which he had taken care to put into some water beside me for this purpose. 624 7010 796

"The three days having elapsed I was conducted home in the same manner as had been observed in bringing me to the grand cabin. When we arrived there the oldest chief proclaimed my appointment, and informed me that I was now the first sentinel of the nation, at whose voice all of the young warriors were prepared to march; that the ordeals through which I had just passed, had for their object to make me understand that nothing must cause my zeal to relax, and that I must bear with equal courage cold, heat, and hunger, in order to defend the interests of the nation. When the old man had finished the assembly broke up, and each person returned to his home."[a]

The imałas were of course of less importance; in the progressive decline of Creek institutions few towns have retained them, and many people have forgotten there ever was such a class of officials. By one informant an imała was described as "a man whose advice was worth receiving anywhere." I was told that at Tukabahchee the big imałas were called into council by the Chiefs along with the tástánągis on rare occasions, but this was never done in the case of the little imałas. Nevertheless a question might be referred from the town council to the tástánągis to be considered by them and all of the imałas in a separate council. The imałas acted in general as assistants and messengers for the tástánągis, and performed the smaller services. 624

Below the imałas were the tásikayągi. This word is now used in the general sense of "citizens" but it means "warriors" and originally designated the common warriors, those who had received busk names but as yet had done nothing to merit further promotion. Hawkins says of them: "The second class of warriors [he treats the tástánągis and imałas as one class] is the Tusse-ki-ul-gee. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co, or *war name*."[b] It would seem, therefore, that the name tásikayągi applied to all those in the fourth bed and that tásikayągi intupa might very well be a synonym for tcibánągągi intupa, "youths' bed," the term usually given to it nowadays. As a matter of fact I find it used for that very bed by the Nuyaka Indians. 624 701

There is one other class of officials to be noted and this an important one, but a class which has fallen so much into abeyance 624

[a] Milfort, Voy., pp. 220-223. [b] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

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726 final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of the chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy. On a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red, black, and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders, their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt. . . . They all take their seats as they come. When assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square where he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other; in a very little time their singing and dancing, is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns. When they are assembled on their way to their enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above.

"'I will try to return to the former subject. After a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man, woman, and child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relations, let them be far or near. After they have collected all their kindred, they are ready to commence hositlities on the enemy. Then if one of the other nation is seen by them he is certainly destroyed; their petty wars are wars of extermination. They commence by small parties on venture, not man against man but tribe against tribe. It is a praiseworthy action for a man or a party of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man, who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he [the slayer] was not afraid to go into his enemy's country but achieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped." [22]

726 The following statement from Hawkins gives an excellent idea of
622 the voluntary character of war parties, and the relation of the war
701 to the civil chiefs. War "is always determined on by the Great Warrior [i. e. the Tâstânâgi lâko]. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have

[22] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 34-35.

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been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk. 726 622

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off." [33] 701

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says: 726

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hōyanīdja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[34] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by [35] and Is-te-pau-pau,[36] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic." [37]

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which 726 177 642

[33] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

[34] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.

[35] This is intended for teito yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chicota told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.

[36] Istî papa, "person eater."

[37] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

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726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it." [43]

727 554 703 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

• 701 726 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

[43] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217-219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 426-427.

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combat. A cry, repeated to left and right, informs all of the warriors of the danger to which their chief is exposed. Immediately all of the bodies of reserves unite and march to the place where the head chief is in order to compel the enemy to leave him; if he is dead they would all die rather than abandon his body to the enemy without having carried off his scalp. They attach such honour to the loss of this scalp that, when the danger is too great, and they are unable, in spite of all their efforts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, the warrior who is nearest to the chief kills him himself, removes his scalp, and takes to flight uttering a cry which is known only to savages, and repairs at once to the place which had been indicated by this same chief whither they should retire in case they were beaten. All of the under chiefs, informed by this cry of the death of the head chief, prepare to retreat; and as soon as it [the retreat] is brought about, before taking any other measure, they proceed to the nomination of a new head war chief in order that the enemy may not perceive the loss of the first which they have suffered.[45]

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Bartram speaks of a "royal standard" made of the tail feathers of the *Vultur sacra*, "which is called by a name signifying the eagle's tail." "This," he goes on to say, "they carry with them when they go to battle, but then it is painted with a zone of red within the brown tips; and in peaceable negotiations it is displayed new, clean, and white; this standard is held most sacred by them on all occasions, and is constructed and ornamented with great ingenuity. These birds seldom appear but when the deserts [i. e., uninhabited areas] are set on fire (which happens almost every day throughout the year, in some part or other, by the Indians, for the purpose of rousing the game, as also by lightning)."[46]

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This can only have been the calumet, which was often detached from the pipe and borne about separately. It is not mentioned by the other writers as an article carried along by a war party, unless Adair has it in mind when he says that the Muskogee "had exchanged their bloody tomohawks, and red and black painted swans wings, a strong emblem of blood and death, in confirmation of their offensive and defensive treaty."[47] It may be that their swan-feather crowns were painted and worn in war but he nowhere so says. He mentions the war pipes, however, to which the tribal beaus used to fasten fawns' trotters, small pieces of tinkling metal, or wild turkey-cock spurs "with the addition of a piece of an enemy's scalp with a tuft of long hair hanging down from the middle of the stem, each of them painted red: and they still observe that old custom, only they choose bell-buttons, to give a greater sound."[48]

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[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 249-254.
[46] Bartram, Travels, pp. 149-150.
[47] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 282.
[48] Ibid., pp. 6-7

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726 302 Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war[49] but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

726 789 Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To conteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as ina hĭta, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

701 Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.[49a] They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called hobayi mi'ko, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as tăstănăgi lăko. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the hobayutci, "little-far-away." Third came the tăstănăk hobayi, "far-away-warrior," fourth the tăstănăkutci, "little warrior," fifth the lihomăhti or "trailer," and sixth the lĭhomahtŭtci, or "little trailer." These two last were

[49] Milfort, Mém., pp. 22-24.

[49a] See p. 367 and also pp. 617-620 in the second paper of this volume.

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scouts whose duties were to determine whither the enemy had gone. Seventh and lastly there was an officer known as the minkiso or inki'su, who looked after the supplies—i. e., he was the head of the commissary department. If another tribe had committed some depredation the sufferers would send runners out who uttered a peculiar whoop, and when this was heard the people would meet at some designated spot and these officers would put themselves at their head. Or if some young men desired to go out after scalps they would signify their desire and these officers would head them. 701

As it seems unlikely that so many officers would go out at the same time in order to satisfy the thirst for glory of one or two youths, we are probably to understand that this represents the complete quota of officers for a party of some size. That the leader of every party was ordinarily called hobayi seems to be established by the testimony of Adair[50] and Jackson Lewis. Adair states that he was a kind of temporary war priest, and Jackson Lewis, as above stated, declared that he was always selected from among those men who had received the training of a doctor.[51] Doctor Speck's informant, it will be noticed, distinguishes the hobayi or "hobáya" from the war leader ("*imíssi*"), and lays particular emphasis on the religious functions of the former. He is described as "a shaman and prophet," as "a busy man in battle," who "besides carrying the fetishes and administering the emetic . . . had to sing and shout certain songs and formulas which would frighten and confuse the enemy."[52] It is possible that, while the war leader was normally a hobayi, one who had received a doctor's training, there were exceptions, and that, in such cases, for reasons that we can well appreciate, it was thought necessary that a hobayi accompany the expedition. This would account very satisfactorily for the discrepancies between Doctor Speck's description of a war party and the others. 701 791

It will be remembered that Bartram, in his account of the chunkey yard, speaks of two "slave posts" to which captives were tied when they were to be tortured and burned to death.[53] It is doubtful whether the number and position of these was very definite. They are still faintly remembered by some of the old Indians and are said to have been in the shape of war clubs (atasa). It is also recalled that they tied grass about the bodies of the captives and set it on fire. As in the case of the Chickasaw, older captives were usually burned at the stake, and the younger ones adopted unless they had been devoted in advance. 727

[50] See p. 411. Mr. McCombs says that only the mikko ranked higher.
[51] See p. 436.
[52] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.
[53] See p. 175.

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[For the seating of warriors in square grounds, see category 621]

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515 From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice: "However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin.[91]

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He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them." [92] This is somewhat at variance with the information I myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.[93]

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721 554 Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair." [94]

703 554 Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

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[91] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 120.
[92] Ibid., p. 121.
[93] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 25.
[94] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 280; cf. p. 434.

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men who had obtained eagle feathers,[25] and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer. 703 554

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kila), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mystories were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries. 756 538 791

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation: 177 888

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[26]

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[25] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 30.

[26] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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Next comes the disposition of the scalps, rejoicing over their victory, and the conferring of new war titles: 727

"When the Indians have finished their captive tragedies, they return to the neighboring town in triumph, with the wild shrieking oise of destroying demons: there, they cut the scalps into several pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houses of their deceased relations—whose deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they esteem not revenged till then, and thus their ghosts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of rest, till, after a certain time, they return again to live for ever in that tract of land which pleased them best, when in their former state.[118] They perform this supposed religious duty with great solemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with soft voices, their grateful song of triumph to *Yo He Wah;* while the favoured warriors echo their praises of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine presence, for their victory; and the happiness of sending the spirits of their killed relations from the eaves of their houses which they haunted, mourning with such painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo*, like the suffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they represent all the wild-cat movements they made in crawling to surprise the enemy, and their wolfish conduct in killing with safety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by surprise. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down slowly on tip-toe in a bent posture, looking sharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the supposed enemy be either defeated by stratagem, or open battle. Then they strut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have rushed on with his eyes shut, improvident of danger; but having wisely considered that his bare breast was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himself from tree to tree, and by his skilful conduct vanquished the hateful enemy, without exposing his own valuable life to danger. All people praise, or blame another's conduct, in proportion to the parity or disparity it bears to their own standard, and notion of virtue.

"In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound or easy, under an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wished for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody 727 703 796

[118] See succeeding article, p. 511.

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727 colours are displayed, and most of the young people are dancing and
• 703 rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return
796 and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant warrior on that joyful day wears deer-skin maccaseenes, painted red, his body is anointed with bear's oil, a young softened otter-skin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine swan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with the various streaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a standing posture, they alternately deliver a long oration, with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors, who died nobly in defence of their country. At the conclusion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the scepter, or wand. He then gladly answers, and runs whooping to, and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head, and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner, they proceed with the rest of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this strong caution, 'Remember what you are (such a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved speech.' This is equal to the bold virtuous lessons of the honest Romans, and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of the honourable station, that they should always aspire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itself. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a swan, at the lower end, where it surrounds his temples, and it is curiously weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it sit easy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the skilful artist warps close together, a ringlet of the longest feathers of the swan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform position, he, in the exactest manner, ties them together with deer's sinews, so as the bandage will not appear to the sharpest eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top, and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they use in constituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which causes them to be three or four inches higher than the former." [2]

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 397-398.]

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There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,[13] but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son. 727 703 562

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English."[14] 727 648

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection: 727 796

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opde*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop*. When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable Yo, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred[15] notes, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

[13] For one such see Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42.

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 310.

[15] Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these meaningless syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

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726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it." [43]

727 554 703 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

701 726 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

[43] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217-219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 426-427.

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721 775 From Adair's account it will be seen that killing and scalping had a religious as well as a social basis, the former being the necessity the people felt themselves under—in this respect like the ancient Greeks—of placating the souls of the dead. There is every reason to think that ancient Creek belief was practically the same, but this side of the institution appears to have died first, the social advancement to be won through scalps being a more persistent motive.

361 712 In the most ancient times stockades, in which natural features were taken advantage of and which sometimes had moats, played a great part in warfare, especially in regions often harried by war parties. It is significant that the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition do not mention such structures until they reached the tribes near Tennessee River—i. e., the frontiers of the Muskhogean peoples toward the north.[54] In this quarter they were probably subject to incursions of Cherokee, Iroquois, and Shawnee and other Algonkian peoples. Stockades were again found along Alabama River, and from thence to the Mississippi—i. e., on the western Creek boundary. Ulibahali and a deserted town near it were stockaded, also Mabila, Chickasaw, and Alibamo.[55] The following description of a stockade is given by Ranjel:

"Three days march southeast of Tuasi (Tawasa) and two days before they came to Talisi (Tulsa) the Spaniards "came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong."[56]

Similar to this is Elvas's account of the stockade of Ulibahali. "The fence," he says, "which was like that to other towns seen afterwards, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles of the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loopholes for archery." [57]

Methods of constructing fences of this character were well known throughout the Southeast, and Le Moyne gives what purports to be a picture of one seen in Florida, though it appears to be utterly unreliable.[58]

411 When De Soto and his companions entered the temple, or rather ossuary, of Talimeco they found there "breastplates like corselets

[54] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 15, 108.
[55] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 85, 90, 104, 105; vol. II, pp. 18, 24, 115, 123, 125, 136.
[56] Ibid., vol. II, p. 115.
[57] Ibid., vol. I, p. 85.
[58] This description is given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 379-380. Cf. also Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 133-134.

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Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [79]

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It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łálogálga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

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It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

[79] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

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their kindred that died at home, to their quiet place, yet they firmly believe, that the spirits of those who are killed by the enemy, without equal revenge of blood, find no rest, and at night haunt the houses of the tribe to which they belonged; but, when that kindred duty of retaliation is justly executed, they immediately get ease and power to fly away: This opinion, and their method of burying and mourning for the dead, of which we shall speak presently, occasion them to retaliate in so earnest and fierce a manner. . . . When any casual thing draws them into a war, it grows every year more spiteful till it advances to a bitter enmity, so as to excite them to an implacable hatred to one another's very national names. Then they must go abroad to spill the enemy's blood, and to revenge crying blood. We must also consider, it is by scalps they get all their war-titles, which distinguish them among the brave: and these they hold in as high esteem, as the most ambitious Roman general ever did a great triumph.[33]

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Says Stiggins:

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"When one of another clan if even by chance should kill one of their blood relations on the mother's side of the family, their customary law in this is similar to the law of the Jewish legislator in reference to the manslayer excepting the city of refuge, for their law is literally whoso sheddeth man's blood by man his blood must be shed. Time nor distance can not palliate their revenge for should the perpetrator make his escape one of his brothers or cousins on his mother's side is taken. One of his blood kindred or himself must atone for the one lost, male for male and female for female. Even accidents are frequently made a matter of atonement, as far for instance as to be on business for another person and be killed by their horse the employer or one of the brothers or cousins must atone with his life for the death; for this reason they say that had it not been for him and his business the death would not have happened."[34]

To illustrate this point Stiggins describes at length an event which occurred in the year 1808 when a Creek named the Singer, described as head chief of the Creek Nation, was on an expedition to the west of the Mississippi River, accompanied by his brothers. They were frightened back to the east side by enemies, and while there one of the Singer's brothers killed another Indian belonging to Kasihta, whom he mistook for an enemy. The comrades of the man who had been slain came to the Singer's camp and found the Singer alone, his brothers having set out to visit the Kasihta and explain to them the accidental nature of what had happened. This the Singer himself then proceeded to do, and at first the explanation was accepted as satisfactory. On their way home, however, the Kasihta Indians

[33] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 149-151.
[34] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 29; cf. also Gallatin in Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol ii, p. 111.

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515 From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice: "However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin.[91]

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He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them."[92] This is somewhat at variance with the information I myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.[93]

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•721 554 Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair."[94]

703 554 Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

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[91] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 120.
[92] Ibid., p. 121.
[93] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 25.
[94] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 260; cf. p. 434.

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the old people usually remained in the camps during that time. 221
Bossu says:

"The savages usually set out on the hunt at the end of October. [224]
The Allibamons go to a distance of 60, 80, and even 100 leagues from their village, and they carry along with them in their pirogues their entire family; they return only in March which is the season for sowing their fields. They bring back many skins and much smoked meat. When they have returned to their villages, they feast their friends, and make presents to the old people who have been unable to follow them, and who have protected the cabins of the village during this hunting period."[92]

War parties were usually started as soon as the weather began to warm up a little. The labor of planting was, as we shall see, [244]
interspersed with ball playing and dancing. Right afterwards the men went out again on a hunt. According to one of my informants they thought if they did not do this the crows would eat the corn and the weevil would get into the beans. Then their summer duties began once more, taking care of the harvest occupying first place. War, ball games, riding, horse racing, and dancing also consumed a great deal of the time. Women naturally made their pots and most of their baskets during this period of the year.

War

Out of consideration for standard classifications of customs I retain the name "war" for this section, but it might rather be called 721
"institutional killing," if not "institutional murder." For while the occasions of war were various and "retaliation" for past offenses by the hostile tribe and the necessity of placating the souls of the slain were always the professed objects, the truth of the matter was that war among the southern Indians was a social institution and warlike exploits necessary means of social advancement.[93] This being the case it is easy to see that the score between most tribes was certain never to be evened permanently and that only a social revolution could abolish the custom in spite of the alliances by which certain single units agreed to settle their differences on other grounds. Ambition for scalps was carried so far, Adair assures us, that "sometimes a small party of warriors, on failing of success in their campaign, have been detected in murdering some of their own people, for the sake of their scalps."[94] This result of economic or rather social determinism reminds us of that canny Scotch captain caught in the Baltic Sea in the act of supplying Russia with the sinews of war when his own

[92] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 51-52.

[93] Bossu gives the abduction of women as one of the most important causes of war. If this happened to the wife of a chief he says that the entire nation was obliged to avenge the insult.—Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 51. I confess to have read for myself of wars started in this manner.

[94] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 392.

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721 country was engaged in fighting her, and of more recent dealings of the same kind. It shows also how the customs of a people react inevitably upon themselves for good or for evil.

642 721 In the case of the confederacies above mentioned the very abolition of war between certain units increased the power of the aggregate body and at the same time their temptation to use this advantage in the exploitation of their less well-organized neighbors. And in the Creek confederacy, for instance, while its very existence depended on the fact that certain tribes had agreed to live without fighting, social advancement and the whole structure of the state was dependent on war to such a degree that a complete account of the institution involves an almost complete account of the Creek social system. This having already been given, we are now in a position to take up more particularly the method of waging war.

[302]

FIG. 103.—Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans)

726 The Creek warrior fought almost naked. He wore, of course, the breechclout and belt, also a pair of moccasins. His face and the upper part of his body were painted red and black. He carried a pack in which were an old blanket, some parched ground corn, cords, and leather with which to repair his moccasins. His weapons consisted in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt. Adair mentions a javelin which would be a short spear or throwing knife.[55] In later times the bow and arrow gave place to the gun, though the former were used along with the latter as late as Adair's time. The war club (ātasa) was, however, the principal symbol of the institution. Stiggins describes it as "shaped like a small gun about 2 feet long, and at the curve near where the lock would be is a thin square piece of iron or steel with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about 2 inches."[56] It is remembered at the present day as an implement like a combined hatchet and knife, which could either be retained in the hand or thrown. One form of headdress of a Creek warrior is shown in the accompanying illustration, taken from the work of Romans (fig. 103).

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721 Intertribal warfare among the southern Indians was suppressed so long ago that not much is remembered regarding it. In this

[55] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 398. [56] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 38.

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particular the earlier writers were at a better advantage even than in other matters connected with the customs of the aborigines. Perhaps no account of native Indian warfare ever published excels that given by James Adair. We have frequently had to remark on the excellence of his information and have often quoted him, but in this place he surpasses himself. 721

War expeditions were undertaken as early in spring as possible and lasted through the summer. Adair remarks "in our Indian-trading way, we say that, when the heat of the new year enables the snakes to crawl out of their lurking holes, the savages are equally moved to turn out to do mischief."[97] He gives the following account of the disturbances leading up to wars and the method of raising and conducting a war party: 726

"Should any of the young warriors through forwardness, or passion, violate the treaty of peace, the aggressing party usually send by some neutral Indians, a friendly embassy to the other, praying them to accept of equal retribution, and to continue their friendship, assuring them that the rash unfriendly action did not meet with the approbation, but was highly condemned by the head-men of the whole nation.[98] If the proposal be accepted the damage is made up, either by sacrificing one of the aggressors, of a weak family, or by the death of some unfortunate captive, who had been ingrafted in a wasted tribe. If a person of note was killed, the offended party take immediate satisfaction of their own accord, and send back the like embassy, acquainting them, that as crying blood is quenched with equal blood, and their beloved relation's spirit is allowed to go to rest, they are fond of continuing the friend-knot, and keeping the chain of friendship clear of rust, according to the old beloved speech: but, if they are determined for war, they say *Mattle*, *Mattle*, 'it is finished, they are weighed, and found light.'[98a] In that case, they proceed in the following manner.

"A war captain announces his intention of going to invade the common enemy, which he, by consent of the whole nation, declares to be such: he then beats a drum three times round his winter house, with the bloody colours flying, marked with large strokes of black,—the grand war signal of blood and death. On this, a sufficient number of warriors and others, commonly of the family of the murdered person, immediately arm themselves, and each gets a small bag of parched corn-flour, for his war stores. They then go to the aforesaid winter house, and there drink a warm decoction of their supposed 726 796

[97] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 347.

[98] Says Bossu: "When there is among them a reviver or disturber of the public peace, the old people speak to him thus: 'You can go, but remember, that if you are killed, you will be disavowed by the nation, that we will not weep for you at all, and that we will not exact vengeance for your death.' Such a disorderly life is branded among these people, as everywhere else, with the last degree of contempt."—Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 50-51.

[98a] Chickasaw ma, "that"; ali "it is ended."

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727 782 what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Ooe-Asa* and *Koosah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly." [22]

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These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp 155-156.
[23] Ibid., pp. 318-319.
[24] Ibid., p. 319.
[25] Ibid., p. 320.
[26] Ibid., p. 322-323.

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726 lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

The Choctaw once captured an Alabama boy. When he grew up the Choctaw fought against the Alabama, and he helped them, so the Alabama wanted to capture him. They went to a conjurer and asked his aid. He promised them that he would aid them and told the women to get sticks with which to whip the prospective captive. Then the Alabama captured him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him for a long time. After a while they piled weeds all about him and set them on fire but still he did not die. Then they tied dry grass around him by means of a rope fastened about the tree, set it on fire, and danced about him shaking their rattles. When he was nearly dead he fell down, and they shook their gourd rattles over him until he expired.

•721 554 561 The best account of institutional killing among the Creeks themselves, except that of Milfort, is given by Swan and is as follows:

"Every individual is at liberty to choose whether or not he shall engage in any warlike enterprise. But the rage of young men to acquire war-names, and the thirst of plunder in the elder ones and leaders, are motives sufficient to raise gangs of volunteers to go in quest of hair and horses at any time when they are disengaged from hunting. It is little matter with them what the pretence for going to war may be. They think that force constitutes right; and victory is an infallible proof of justice on their side; and they attack as boldly as they are indefatigable in securing a scalp, or to obtain plunder.

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair.

727 554 "When a young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-whoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him a man and a warrior,

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worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly. 727 554

"Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Este dogo, i. e. *you are nobody* [isti toko, 'person is not']; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once. 721 554 578

"The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen. 726

"When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity. 727

"It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

"Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government." [21] 721

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars: 726

"They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The

[21] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 279-281.

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721 775 From Adair's account it will be seen that killing and scalping had a religious as well as a social basis, the former being the necessity the people felt themselves under—in this respect like the ancient Greeks—of placating the souls of the dead. There is every reason to think that ancient Creek belief was practically the same, but this side of the institution appears to have died first, the social advancement to be won through scalps being a more persistent motive.

361 712 In the most ancient times stockades, in which natural features were taken advantage of and which sometimes had moats, played a great part in warfare, especially in regions often harried by war parties. It is significant that the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition do not mention such structures until they reached the tribes near Tennessee River—i. e., the frontiers of the Muskhogean peoples toward the north.[54] In this quarter they were probably subject to incursions of Cherokee, Iroquois, and Shawnee and other Algonkian peoples. Stockades were again found along Alabama River, and from thence to the Mississippi—i. e., on the western Creek boundary. Ulibahali and a deserted town near it were stockaded, also Mabila, Chickasaw, and Alibamo.[55] The following description of a stockade is given by Ranjel:

"Three days march southeast of Tuasi (Tawasa) and two days before they came to Talisi (Tulsa) the Spaniards "came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong."[56]

Similar to this is Elvas's account of the stockade of Ulibahali. "The fence," he says, "which was like that to other towns seen afterwards, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles of the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loopholes for archery." [57]

Methods of constructing fences of this character were well known throughout the Southeast, and Le Moyne gives what purports to be a picture of one seen in Florida, though it appears to be utterly unreliable.[58]

411 When De Soto and his companions entered the temple, or rather ossuary, of Talimeco they found there "breastplates like corselets

[54] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 15, 108.
[55] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 85, 90, 104, 108; vol. II, pp. 18, 24, 118, 123, 125, 136.
[56] Ibid., vol. II, p. 115.
[57] Ibid., vol. I, p. 85.
[58] This description is given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 379-380. Cf. also Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 133-134.

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[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp 185-186.
[23] Ibid., pp. 318-319.
[24] Ibid., p. 319.
[25] Ibid., p. 320.
[26] Ibid., p. 320-322.

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Tàlsa yahola.
Tàlwa hadjo, "Town hadjo."
Tàmi fiksiko.
Tàmi hadjo.
Tàmi yahola.
Tàpàsola hadjo (abbr. Tapàs hadjo), "Daddy-long-legs hadjo."
Taskik hadjo, "Tuskegee hadjo."
Tàski heníha (abbr. Tàskiníha).[86b]
Tàskona.
Tciaha hadjo, "Chiaha hadjo."
Tciloki fiksiko (?)[86c]
Tciloki hadjo.
Tciloki yahola (?).
Tcito hadjo, "Snake hadjo."
Tcugati fiksiko (Tcugati perhaps means "imprisoned.")
Tcoska fiksiko, "Post oak fiksiko."
Tcoska hadjo.
Tcoska heníha.
Tcoska yahola.
Tcugati hadjo.
Tcugati yahola.
Tcugatutci.
Tcula fiksiko, "Fox fiksiko."
Tcula hadjo.
Tcula yahola.
Tcuwastai hadjo.
Totka bahi, "To apply fire" (or "To add fire to fire").
Totka bahi hadjo.[86d]
Totka hasi, "Old fire."
Totkis hadjo, "Fire hadjo."[86e]
Tukaba'tci fiksiko, "Tukabahchee fiksiko."
Tukaba'tci hadjo.
Tukaba'tci yahola.
Tukolisi, "Spotted."
Tukolis hadjo, "Spotted hadjo."
Wàtula tcàpko, "Tall crane."
Wôksi hadjo.
Wôksi miko (?).
Wôksi yahola.
Wotko fiksiko, "Raccoon fiksiko."
Wotko hadjo.
Wotko yahola.
Wotkotci, "Little raccoon."
Yaha fiksiko, "Wolf fiksiko."
Yaha hadjo
Yaha tàstànàgi.
Yahola fiksiko.
Yahola hadjo.
Yaholutci.
Yatàwa hadjo.
Yufala fiksiko, "Eufaula fiksiko."
Yufala hadjo.[86f]

[226]

Stiggins says that in the first attack on Fort Mimms a party of Creeks rushed into the very center of the fort, and all were killed except one man who afterwards had the name bestowed upon him by his town of "*Na ho mah tee o thle ho bo yer*, which is the foremost man in danger in time of battle."[86]

Great numbers of Creek personal names appear in early documents and historical narratives dealing with the Southeast, but in many cases they are so badly misspelled or so unusual that they can not be translated. Sometimes it is impossible to say whether we have to deal with the boy's name or the war title. Among those that may be made out are the following:

Abi'ka miko(?)
Akfàski tàski heníha.
Àlbama tàstànàgi, "Alabama tàstànàgi."
Asin yahola, "Black drink yahola."
Atàs miko, "Atasi miko."
Faki hàsti hadjo, "Black earth hadjo," a Seminole chief.
Fàlotki(?)

[86b] Tàski probably has reference to war.
[86c] See p. 158 et seq.
[86d] This was the name of G. W. Grayson's father.
[86e] The Creek name of Sam Monroe who figures in early Creek history and signed the treaty of 1790.
[86f] The Indian name of Lewis Proctor, head of the "Snake" or conservative faction among the Creeks.
[86] Stiggins, Ms.: *Ho mah tee* is probably *homa'ta*, "a chief or leader;" *o thle* or *hoti*, "war;" and *ho bo'yer hobayi*, "far away." Mr. McCombs gives Hilibbya, "War Conqueror," as a very great title.

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last for a limited time only, are terminated, if the business of the assembly is not too urgent, each of the members rests in the cabin which belongs to his class; but as soon as the sun appears above the horizon, a drum calls all of the chiefs to the assembly, which remains in session until sunset.[61]

In another place he makes certain amplifications regarding the time when such conventions took place. He says:

"These assemblies, which I have attended for twenty years, are held usually at the end of April or the beginning of May, as I have already said. To them are carried complaints and demands of all kinds, where the interests of the entire nation and its allies are discussed and regulated. They are held sometimes in the month of September, before they separate to go hunting, but then they are not general, few interesting things happen, and strangers are rarely present." [62]

Milfort is almost the only writer who gives a hint regarding the manner in which the chiefs and officials of the various towns were seated. It is probable that their individual merit often outweighed the numerical importance of the town.

Speaking in these assemblies was a high art and was, next to success in war, the major means of social advancement. Religious sentiment was attached to it, and before a public speech the Creek speaker used to spit four times with deliberation and repeat a formula. The oratorical language was full of metaphorical allusions, and irony and satire were resorted to rather than denunciation. Says Adair:

"I have heard several eloquent Indian leaders, just as they were ready to set off for war, to use as bold metaphors and allegories in their speeches—and images almost as full and animating, as the eloquent penman of the old divine book of Job, even where he is painting, with his strong colours, the gladness and contempt of the beautiful war-horse, at the near approach of the enemy. I heard one of their captains, at the end of his oration for war, tell the warriors that stood outermost, he feelingly knew their guns were burning in their hands; their tomohawks thirsty to drink the blood of their enemy; and their trusty arrows impatient to be on the wing: and, lest delay should burn their hearts any longer, he gave them the cool refreshing word, 'Join the holy ark, and away to cut off the devoted enemy.' They immediately sounded the shrill whoó-whoòp, and struck up the solemn, awful song, *Yó*, etc." [63]

And in another place:

"Formerly, at a public meeting of the head-men, and chief orators of the Choktah nation, I heard one of their eloquent speakers deliver

[61] Milfort, Mém., pp. 202-203.
[62] Ibid., pp. 204-205.
[63] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 64.

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721 country was engaged in fighting her, and of more recent dealings of the same kind. It shows also how the customs of a people react inevitably upon themselves for good or for evil.

642 721 In the case of the confederacies above mentioned the very abolition of war between certain units increased the power of the aggregate body and at the same time their temptation to use this advantage in the exploitation of their less well-organized neighbors. And in the Creek confederacy, for instance, while its very existence depended on the fact that certain tribes had agreed to live without fighting, social advancement and the whole structure of the state was dependent on war to such a degree that a complete account of the institution involves an almost complete account of the Creek social system. This having already been given, we are now in a position to take up more particularly the method of waging war.

[302]

FIG. 103.—Head of a Creek warrior. (After Romans)

726 The Creek warrior fought almost naked. He wore, of course, the breechclout and belt, also a pair of moccasins. His face and the upper part of his body were painted red and black. He carried a pack in which were an old blanket, some parched ground corn, cords, and leather with which to repair his moccasins. His weapons consisted in earlier times of a bow and arrows, a knife and a tomahawk hanging at the side, and a war club stuck through his belt. Adair mentions a javelin which would be a short spear or throwing knife.[96] In later times the bow and arrow gave place to the gun, though the former were used along with the latter as late as Adair's time. The war club (átasa) was, however, the principal symbol of the institution. Stiggins describes it as "shaped like a small gun about 2 feet long, and at the curve near where the lock would be is a thin square piece of iron or steel with a sharp edge drove in to leave a projection of about 2 inches."[97] It is remembered at the present day as an implement like a combined hatchet and knife, which could either be retained in the hand or thrown. One form of headdress of a Creek warrior is shown in the accompanying illustration, taken from the work of Romans (fig. 103).

[41]

721 Intertribal warfare among the southern Indians was suppressed so long ago that not much is remembered regarding it. In this

[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 398.

[97] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 35.

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particular the earlier writers were at a better advantage even than in other matters connected with the customs of the aborigines. Perhaps no account of native Indian warfare ever published excels that given by James Adair. We have frequently had to remark on the excellence of his information and have often quoted him, but in this place he surpasses himself. 721

War expeditions were undertaken as early in spring as possible and lasted through the summer. Adair remarks "in our Indian-trading way, we say that, when the heat of the new year enables the snakes to crawl out of their lurking holes, the savages are equally moved to turn out to do mischief."[97] He gives the following account of the disturbances leading up to wars and the method of raising and conducting a war party: 726

"Should any of the young warriors through forwardness, or passion, violate the treaty of peace, the aggressing party usually send by some neutral Indians, a friendly embassy to the other, praying them to accept of equal retribution, and to continue their friendship, assuring them that the rash unfriendly action did not meet with the approbation, but was highly condemned by the head-men of the whole nation.[98] If the proposal be accepted the damage is made up, either by sacrificing one of the aggressors, of a weak family, or by the death of some unfortunate captive, who had been ingrafted in a wasted tribe. If a person of note was killed, the offended party take immediate satisfaction of their own accord, and send back the like embassy, acquainting them, that as crying blood is quenched with equal blood, and their beloved relation's spirit is allowed to go to rest, they are fond of continuing the friend-knot, and keeping the chain of friendship clear of rust, according to the old beloved speech: but, if they are determined for war, they say *Mattle, Mattle,* 'it is finished, they are weighed, and found light.'[98a] In that case, they proceed in the following manner.

"A war captain announces his intention of going to invade the common enemy, which he, by consent of the whole nation, declares to be such: he then beats a drum three times round his winter house, with the bloody colours flying, marked with large strokes of black,—the grand war signal of blood and death. On this, a sufficient number of warriors and others, commonly of the family of the murdered person, immediately arm themselves, and each gets a small bag of parched corn-flour, for his war stores. They then go to the aforesaid winter house, and there drink a warm decoction of their supposed 726 796

[97] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 347.

[98] Says Bossu: "When there is among them a roisterer or disturber of the public peace, the old people speak to him thus: 'You can go, but remember, that if you are killed, you will be disavowed by the nation, that we will not weep for you at all, and that we will not exact vengeance for your death.' Such a disorderly life is branded among these people, as everywhere else, with the last degree of contempt."—Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 50-51.

[98a] Chickasaw ms., "that"; Alt "it is ended."

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726 [796] holy consecrated herbs and roots for three days and nights, sometimes without any other refreshment. This is to induce the deity to guard and prosper them, amidst their impending dangers. In the most promising appearance of things, they are not to take the least nourishment of food, nor so much as to sit down, during that time of sanctifying themselves, till after sunset. While on their expedition, [785] they are not allowed to lean themselves against a tree, though they may be exceedingly fatigued, after a sharp day's march; nor must they lie by, a whole day to refresh themselves, or kill and barbecue deer and bear for their war journey. The more virtuous they are, they reckon the greater will be their success against the enemy, by the bountiful smiles of the deity. To gain that favorite point, some of the aged warriors narrowly watch the young men who are newly initiated, lest they should prove irreligious, and prophane the holy fast, and bring misfortunes on the outstanding camp. A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youthful days observed one of their religious fasts, but under the greatest suspicion of his virtue in this respect, though he had often headed them against the common enemy: during their three days purification, he was not allowed to go out of the sanctified ground, without a trusty guard, lest hunger should have tempted him to violate their old martial law, and by that means have raised the burning wrath of the holy fire against the whole camp. Other particulars of this sacred process for war, have been related in their proper place.

"When they have finished their fast and purifications, they set off, at the fixed time, be it fair or foul, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, as they march.[99] The war-leader goes first, carrying the supposed holy ark: he soon strikes up the awful and solemn song before mentioned, which they never sing except on that occasion. The rest follow, in one line, at the distance of three or four steps from each other, now and then sounding the war whoo-whoop, to make the leader's song the more striking to the people. In this manner they proceed, till quite out of the sight, and hearing of their friends. As soon as they enter the woods, all are silent; and, every day they observe a profound silence in their march, that their ears may be quick to inform them of danger: their small black eyes are almost as sharp also as those of the eagle, or the lynx; and with their feet they resemble the wild cat, or the cunning panther, crawling up to its prey. Thus they proceed, while things promise them good success; but, if their dreams portend any ill, they always obey the supposed divine intimation and return home, without incurring the least censure. They reckon that their readiness to serve their country,

[99] "To this day, a war-leader, who, by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always sanctifies himself, and his outstanding company, at the end of the old moon, so as to go off at the appearance of the new one by daylight; whereas, he who has not sufficiently distinguished himself must set out in the night."—Adair, pp. 99-100.

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should not be subservient to their own knowledge or wishes, but always regulated by the divine impulse. I have known a whole company who set out for war, to return in small parties, and sometimes by single persons, and be applauded by the united voice of the people; because they acted in obedience to their *Nana Ishtohoollo*,[99a] 'or guardian angels,' who impressed them in the visions of night, with the friendly caution.[1] As their dreams are reckoned ominous, so there is a small uncommon bird, called the 'kind ill messenger,' which they always deem to be a true oracle of bad news. If it sings near to them, they are much intimidated: but, if it perches, and sings over the war camp, they speedily break up. . . .

"Every war captain chuses a noted warrior, to attend on him and the company. He is called Etissû, or 'the waiter.' Every thing they eat or drink during their journey, he gives them out of his hand, by a rigid abstemious rule—though each carries on his back all his travelling conveniencies, wrapt in a deer skin, yet they are so bigoted to their religious customs in war, that none, though prompted by sharp hunger or burning thirst, dares relieve himself. They are contented with such trifling allowance as the religious waiter distributes to them, even with a scanty hand. Such a regimen would be too mortifying to any of the white people, let their opinion of its violation be ever so dangerous.

"When I roved the woods in a war party with the Indians, though I carried no scrip, nor bottle, nor staff, I kept a large hollow cane well corked at each end, and used to sheer off now and then to drink, while they suffered greatly by thirst. The constancy of the savages in mortifying their bodies, to gain the divine favour, is astonishing, from the very time they beat to arms, till they return from their campaign. All the while they are out, they are prohibited by ancient custom, the leaning against a tree, either sitting or standing: nor are they allowed to sit in the day-time, under the shade of trees, if it can be avoided; nor on the ground, during the whole journey, but on such rocks, stones, or fallen wood, as their ark of war rests upon. By the attention they invariably pay to those severe rules of living, they weaken themselves much more than by the unavoidable fatigues of war: but, it is fruitless to endeavor to dissuade them from those things which they have by tradition, as the appointed means to move the deity, to grant them success against the enemy, and a safe return home."[2]

[99a] Lit. "Holy great ones."

[1] In another place (p. 312) Adair refers to this again and cites an instance in the war between the Creeks and Chickasaw. Stiggins says that nearly a thousand Creek warriors were upon one occasion routed by 17 Chickasaw, thanks to an unaccountable panic with which the former were seized.

[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 379-382.

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In an earlier part of his work Adair gives another account of the organization of the war party and adds a considerable description of the sacred ark:

"When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times around his dark winter-house, contrary to the course of the sun, sounding the war-whoop, singing the war-song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinsmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the base contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts: he assures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men; that the love of order, and the necessity of complying with the old religious customs of their country, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now, those hinderances are removed: he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him, and sanctify themselves for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient religious law.

[783] "By this eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirst of revenge, and intense love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend, and which they constantly instil into the minds of their youth—a number soon join him in his winter-house, where they live separate from all others, and purify themselves for the space of three days and nights, exclusive of the first broken day. In each of those days they observe a strict fast till sun-set, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, lest unusual hunger should tempt them to violate it, to the supposed danger of all their lives in war, by destroying the power of their purifying beloved physic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying physic, is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-snake-root, which as hath been before observed, they apply only to religious purposes. Sometimes after bathing they drink a decoction made of the said root—and in like manner the leader applies aspersions, or sprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are such strict observers of the law of purification, and think it so essential in obtaining health and success in war, as not to allow the best beloved trader that ever lived among them, even to enter the beloved ground, appropriated to

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the religious duty of being sanctified for war;[3] much less to associate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen) on the same war design;—they oblige him to walk and encamp separate by himself, as an impure dangerous animal, till the leader hath purified him, according to their usual time and method, with the consecrated things of the ark. . . . 726 796

"The Indian ark is of a very simple construction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood securely fastened together in the form of a square. The middle of three of the sides extend a little out, but one side is flat, for the conveniency of the person's back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably close with hiccory-splinters; it is about half the dimensions of the divine Jewish ark, [just stated to have been three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height] and may very properly be called the red Hebrew ark of the purifier, imitated. The leader, and a beloved waiter, carry it by turns. It contains several consecrated vessels, made by beloved superannuated women, and of such various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given significant names to each. The leader and his attendant, are purified longer than the rest of the company, that the first may be fit to act in the religious office of a priest of war, and the other to carry the awful sacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *Hetissu*, or 'beloved waiter,' feeds each of the warriors by an exact stated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, lest by intemperance they should spoil the supposed communicative power of their holy things, and occasion fatal disasters to the war camp."[4] 726 778

In another place Adair says:

. . . "It is also highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor sit on the bare earth while they are carrying it against the enemy. On hilly ground where stones are plenty, they place it on them: but in level land upon short logs, always resting themselves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often saw the woods full of such religious war-reliques. . . . *Opae* [Hopaii], 'the leader,' obliges all during the first campaign they make with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they lie by, from sun-rise to sun-set—and after a fatiguing day's march, and scanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-snake-root very plentifully, in

[3] In another place Adair says: "But a few weeks since, when a large company of these warlike savages were on the point of setting off to commence war against the Muskohgs, some of the wags decoyed a heedless leader into their holy ground, and they stript him, so as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And, on account of the like trespass, they detained two Indian children (two nights and a day, till their obstinate parents paid the like ransom." (pp. 162-163.)

[4] *Adair*, Hist. Am. Indn., pp. 159-161.

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726 order to be purified—that they have also as strong a faith of the power
778 and holiness of their ark, as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole. . . .

"The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own sanctified warriors, or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemey touch it in the woods for the very same reason. . . .

727 "The leader virtually acts the part of a priest of war, *pro tempore*, . . . If they obtain the victory, and get some of the enemeies scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct of some of the followers of the beloved ark. . . .

726 "The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at
834 war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. . . . The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains." [5]

This law of sexual abstinence accounts for the comparative respect with which female captives were treated by most of the eastern Indians.[6]

726 Adair cites the case of an Indian iconoclast who went to war without the accompaniment of an ark, to the great anxiety of his friends. He has the following to say regarding the numbers taking part in an expedition and their method of conducting it after they had left home:

"It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various, and uncertain: sometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. . . .

"The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, lest their tracks should be discovered by being too numerous: but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuses to out-number a common company, that they may strike the blow with greater safety and success,

[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 181-184.

[6] Cf. Ibid., p. 184.

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as their art of war is chiefly killing by surprise; confident that in case of a disappointment, their light heels will ensure their return to their own country. When a small company go to war, they always chuse to have a swamp along side of them, with a thick covert for their shelter, because a superior number will scarcely pursue them where they might reasonably expect to lose any of their warriors. When they arrive at the enemies hunting ground, they act with the greatest caution and policy. They separate themselves, as far as each can hear the other's travelling signal, which is the mimicking such birds and beasts as frequent the spot. And they can exactly imitate the voice and sound of every quadruped and wild fowl through the American woods. In this way of travelling, they usually keep an hundred yards apart on the course agreed upon at camp. When the leader thinks it the surest way of succeeding against the enemy, he sends a few of the best runners to form an ambuscade near their towns: there, they sometimes fix the broad hoofs of buffalos, and bear's paws upon their feet, to delude the enemy: and they will for miles together, make all the windings of these beasts with the greatest art. But, as both parties are extremely wary and sagacious, I have known such arts to prove fatal to the deluders. At other times, a numerous company will walk in three different rows by way of a decoy, every one lifting his feet so high, as not to beat down the grass or herbage; and each row will make only one man's track, by taking the steps of him who went before, and a gigantic fellow takes the rear of each rank, and thereby smooths the tracks with his feet. When they are convinced the enemy is in pursuit of them, at so considerable a distance from the country, as for themselves not to be over-powered by numbers, they post themselves in the most convenient place, in the form of an half-moon, and patiently wait a whole day and night, till the enemy runs into it; and in such a case, the victory at one broadside is usually gained.

"When they discover the tracks of enemies in their hunting ground, or in the remote woods, it is surprising to see the caution and art they use, both to secure themselves, and take advantage of the enemy. If a small company be out at war, they in the day time crawl through thickets and swamps in the manner of wolves—now and then they climb trees, and run to the top of hills, to discover the smoke of fire, or hear the report of guns: and when they cross through the open woods, one of them stands behind a tree, till the rest advance about a hundred yards, looking out sharply on all quarters. In this manner, they will proceed, and on tiptoe, peeping everywhere around; they love to walk on trees which have been blown down, and take an oblique course, till they inswamp themselves again, in order to conceal their tracks, and avoid a pursuit. . . .

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726 "When the invaders extend themselves across the woods, in quest of their prey, if they make a plain discovery, either of fresh tracks, or of the enemy, they immediately pass the war-signal to each other, and draw their wings toward the centre. If the former, they give chace, and commonly by their wild-cat-method of crawling, they surround, and surprise the pursued, if unguarded—however, I have known them to fail in such attempts; for the Indians generally are so extremely cautious, that if three of them are in the woods, their first object is a proper place for defence, and they always sit down in a triangle, to prevent a surprise. When enemies discover one another, and find they can take no advantage, they make themselves known to each other; and by way of insulting bravado, they speak aloud all the barbarities they ever committed against them; that they are now, to vindicate those actions, and make the wound for ever incurable; that they are their most bitter enemies, and equally contemn their friendship and enmity. In the mean while, they throw down their packs, strip themselves naked, and paint their faces and breasts red as blood, intermingled with black streaks. Every one at the signal of the shrill-sounding war-cry, instantly covers himself behind a tree, or in some cavity of the ground where it admits of the best safety. The leader, on each side, immediately blows the small whistle he carries for the occasion, in imitation of the ancient trumpet, as the last signal of engagement. Now hot work begins—The guns are firing; the chewed bullets flying; the strong hiccory bows a twanging; the dangerous barbed arrows whizzing as they fly; the sure-shafted javelin striking death wherever it reaches; and the well-aimed tomahawk killing, or disabling its enemy. Nothing scarcely can be heard for the shrill echoing noise of the war and death-whoop, every one furiously pursues his adversary from tree to tree, striving to incircle him for his prey; and the greedy jaws of pale death are open on all sides, to swallow them up. One dying foe is intangled in the hateful and faltering arms of another: and each party desperately attempts both to save their dead and wounded from being scalped, and to gain the scalps of their opponents. On this the battle commences anew—But rash attempts fail, as their wary spirits always forbid them from entering into a general close engagement. Now they retreat: then they draw up into various figures, still having their dead and wounded under their eye. Now they are flat on the ground loading their pieces—then they are up firing behind trees, and immediately spring off in an oblique course to recruit—and thus they act till winged victory declares itself.

727 "The vanquished party makes for a swampy thicket, as their only asylum; but should any of them be either unarmed, or slightly

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727 what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before
782 their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Ooe-Asa* and *Koosah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly." [22]

721 From all this it may be seen that the main object of fighting was
554 not to defeat the enemy from any such sentiment as devotion to country or desire for plunder, but to obtain scalps and thereby social advancement and to placate the souls of the departed. From this fact and the heavy penalties laid upon the war leader in case of failure it transpired that the Indians seldom attacked against odds unless they believed their attack to be unexpected. A small, resolute
726 body time and again beat off odds that could easily have wiped them out had it not been for the great fear of even slight loss on the part of the attackers. Adair mentions an instance in which 80 Choctaw would not attack the party to which he belonged, consisting of about 40 Chickasaw with women and children to protect, because they knew that their presence had been discovered.[23] On another occasion he states that 17 Chickasaw, accompanied by their wives and children, fought off more than 60 Choctaw.[24] In the time of
[722] an attack on the town or camp, Adair says, "It is usual for the women to sing the enlivening war songs; and it inflames the men's spirits so highly that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an instance of the Indians running off, though, from a numerous enemy and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands.[24] In another connection Adair mentions as a war custom the killing of a great number of captives because the leader of the war party had been wounded and his life was despaired of.[25] He cites an instance in which a Chickasaw had been killed by some Choctaw after having been given food and, since this fact was cast up against the Choctaw by the avenging party, it would seem to have been contrary to native laws of war. This is further strengthened by the fact that the Chickasaw thus killed was not scalped. In consequence the Chickasaw left the Choctaw whom they killed in retaliation also unscalped.[26]

These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp 185-186.
[23] Ibid., pp. 312-319.
[24] Ibid., p. 319.
[25] Ibid., p. 320.
[26] Ibid., p. 322-323.

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ever we can get independent testimony from writers familiar with other tribes. As Adair's account is the best, I have chosen it as a nucleus about which to assemble the facts recorded by others. From the Alabama living in Texas I have obtained a little information confirmatory of what Adair tells us concerning the ark. 726

According to traditions they formerly had an ark which they took to war and which enabled them to defeat all of their enemies. When they camped they hung this ark upon a tree, or anything else, a short distance in front of them, and if a cry was heard coming from it during the night it meant that next day they would find and kill enemies. If the cry was like that of a woman, it meant that they would find and kill a woman, for the cry meant that the ark had caught the enemy. If no cry was heard from the ark, they would kill no one. 726 778

My informant spoke as if the tribe were possessed of but a single medicine of this kind, but there was probably at least one to each town and most likely more.

By the Indians of Tuskegee Speck was told that one of the medicines in the war bundle or "ark" "was believed to be parts of the horns of a certain mythical snake that was captured and killed by the people after it had destroyed many of them for generations. These horns were believed to render the warriors immune to wounds. Another object remembered as part of the bundle's contents was cedar leaves, *atcína*. When a warrior became wounded he called for the *hobáya* to come to him and give him an emetic of the *atcína* which was thought to insure recovery. A wounded man had little hope for recovery if this could not be done."[28] The "snake medicine" is also mentioned by Hawkins,[29] along with a medicine derived from the bones of a supernatural mythic panther, destroyed in the distant past by the remote ancestors of the Creeks. This last also appears in the migration legend related by Chekilli.[30]

Before proceeding to the Creek customs proper, some scraps of evidence may be added regarding ancient Alabama war customs as contained in the traditions concerning their wars with the Choctaw. 726

The Alabama and Choctaw fought against each other for a long time. They used to take each other's scalps. A party of Indians would come near an enemy's house and hide, and, if a man came out of it, they would kill and scalp him and run off. They attacked on dark nights when the people in the houses could not see, and covered themselves with leaves so that they could not be detected even if the people hunted about outside. If a woman went down to a creek to wash clothing she would perhaps be killed and scalped by a man

[28] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 118. [29] See p. 439. [30] See p. 36.

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726 lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

The Choctaw once captured an Alabama boy. When he grew up the Choctaw fought against the Alabama, and he helped them, so the Alabama wanted to capture him. They went to a conjurer and asked his aid. He promised them that he would aid them and told the women to get sticks with which to whip the prospective captive. Then the Alabama captured him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him for a long time. After a while they piled weeds all about him and set them on fire but still he did not die. Then they tied dry grass around him by means of a rope fastened about the tree, set it on fire, and danced about him shaking their rattles. When he was nearly dead he fell down, and they shook their gourd rattles over him until he expired.

721 554 561 The best account of institutional killing among the Creeks themselves, except that of Milfort, is given by Swan and is as follows:

"Every individual is at liberty to choose whether or not he shall engage in any warlike enterprise. But the rage of young men to acquire war-names, and the thirst of plunder in the elder ones and leaders, are motives sufficient to raise gangs of volunteers to go in quest of hair and horses at any time when they are disengaged from hunting. It is little matter with them what the pretence for going to war may be. They think that force constitutes right; and victory is an infallible proof of justice on their side; and they attack as boldly as they are indefatigable in securing a scalp, or to obtain plunder.

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair.

727 554 "When a young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-whoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him a man and a warrior,

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worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly. 727 554

"Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Este dogo, i. e. *you are nobody* [isti toko, 'person is not']; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once. 721 554 578

"The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen. 726

"When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity. 727

"It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

"Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government." [21] 721

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars:

"They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The 726

[21] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 279-281.

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726 final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of the chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy. On a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red, black, and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders, their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt. . . . They all take their seats as they come. When assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square where he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other; in a very little time their singing and dancing, is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns. When they are assembled on their way to their enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above.

"I will try to return to the former subject. After a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man, woman, and child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relations, let them be far or near. After they have collected all their kindred, they are ready to commence hositlities on the enemy. Then if one of the other nation is seen by them he is certainly destroyed; their petty wars are wars of extermination. They commence by small parties on venture, not man against man but tribe against tribe. It is a praiseworthy action for a man or a party of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man, who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he [the slayer] was not afraid to go into his enemy's country but achieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped." [22]

726 The following statement from Hawkins gives an excellent idea of the voluntary character of war parties, and the relation of the war 622 to the civil chiefs. War "is always determined on by the Great 701 Warrior [i. e. the Tástánągi láko]. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have

[22] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 34-35.

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been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk. 726 622

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off." [33] 701

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says: 726

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanīdja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[34] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by [35] and Is-te-pau-pau,[36] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic." [37]

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which 726 177 642

[33] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

[34] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.

[35] This is intended for teite yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chiscota told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.

[36] Isti papa, "person eater."

[37] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

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726 177 642

several towns joined. There was not before or after this time the same unity of action, not even in the Creek-American War. The general correctness of Milfort's account is indicated by numerous points of agreement with the facts recorded by Adair and the other writers quoted above; in particular the prominent position he gives the war club as a war symbol tallies exactly with every scrap of information derived from other sources. The war medicines spoken of by Hawkins and in Chekilli's migration legend do not appear here; they were probably carried only by the head chief, or perhaps only by the chief of Kasihta.

Milfort claims to have been instrumental in doing away with the custom of burning captives at the stake,[28] but from what Bartram says[28a] it is evident that it had begun to decline several years before. Milfort also says that he induced the Indians to rate the taking of a prisoner at three scalps which should belong to the captor.[29]

His account follows:

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"When he [the head war chief] had made known the necessity of calling together the warriors, a club was immediately exposed in public, part of which was painted red; that signified that a part of the nation, that is the young men, must hold themselves in readiness to march; for if the club had been colored red all over the entire nation would have had to prepare itself, something which happens only under extraordinary circumstances. The manner of painting this club red also lets each particular chief know at the same time how many men he must bring with him to the appointed rendezvous, so that the head war chief is always certain of the number of soldiers he will have at his disposal, a number which he regulates according as circumstances demand, and which he is able to fix absolutely.

[211]

"When it is thus necessary to assemble the warriors at a common rendezvous, the head war chief has a club partly colored red given to each subordinate chief; it is usually accompanied by a certain number of little sticks, which serve to inform the warriors who carry them into the different cantons of the nation, of the day when they must be at the general rendezvous, with the number of young men needed for the march. Each day at sunrise a stick is thrown away, and the day on which they throw away the last must be that of their arrival at the place of meeting; there have been few cases of delay in this general muster. In order to provide against every slip of the memory, the bearers of the red club are obliged to give to each chief every day the watchword, which is usually the name of the place and the day of the meeting. I am going to give here a more detailed account of this red club, to say how it is given and what is its use.

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[28] Milfort, Mém., p. 219.

[28a] Bartram, Travels, p. 211.

[29] Milfort, op. cit.

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"Before the Indians were acquainted with firearms, they used in combats only arrows and clubs; they have now entirely abandoned these arms, but they have preserved the club, as a sign of war only, and have replaced it in battle with the tomahawk or little hatchet. 726

"When the nation is forced to take arms, the head war chief or Tastanégy has exposed in the public squares a club, part of which is painted red; he also sends one to each band chief, accompanied by a number of sticks equal to that of the days which must elapse before he must present himself at the rendezvous. The head chief has absolute authority in fixing this day. 726 796

"When this club comes, each band chief has the drum beaten in front of the grand cabin [tcokofa] of the town or village where he lives. All of the inhabitants repair thither immediately; he makes known to them the day and the place where he is going to light his fire; he repairs to this place before the appointed day, and lights the fire by rubbing two sticks of wood against each other; he places it in the middle of a square formed of four stakes, which is only large enough to hold the number of warriors which he wishes to assemble.

"At daybreak the chief places himself between the two stakes which face the rising sun; he holds in his hand a bundle of sticks. When a warrior enters the enclosure, which is open only on this side, he throws down a stick and continues until he reaches the last, when the number equals the number of soldiers which he needs. All of those who present themselves afterward are not admitted, and return home to take their hunting weapons, leaving directions where they are going to hunt, so that they can be found if they are needed. Those who thus present themselves too late are ill received when they return to their families, who reproach them for the lack of enthusiasm which they have shown in defending their fatherland.

"The warriors who are within the enclosure take there, for three days, a war medicine, of which I will speak presently; their women bring their arms and the things needed in the campaign; they place everything a hundred paces from the square; they add to these a little sack, in which is some corn or maize meal, an ounce of which suffices to make a pint of porridge. It is only necessary to dilute it with cold water and in five or six minutes it becomes as thick as porridge cooked over the fire: two ounces are sufficient to nourish a man for twenty-four hours. The savages make use of this porridge only when they are in the presence of the enemy, because then they are unable to go hunting.

"The three medicine days having expired, the chief leaves with his warriors, in order to be present at the general rendezvous indicated by the head chief. Independently of this medicine, taken generally, each band chief has a particular medicine, or rather

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726 796 talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition.[46]

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

726 272 "When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

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[46] Elsewhere Millfort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained: "When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

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because the circumstances do not demand the great one. It is for the sagacity of the chief to turn this superstition to advantage. 726 272

"This medicine, of the moral effect of which I have just spoken, has two effects purely physical. The first is that the Indians are very fond of getting drunk on strong liquors, and it is necessary to find a means of depriving them of these without exciting their murmurs. The medicine, great or little, offers this means, since, before taking it, they may not drink any liquor, a matter which they observe very religiously; and the chief, having the right to order it when he thinks that it is proper, can, in that way, preserve the utmost sobriety in the army. The second is that this medicine is really purgative, and the warrior thus purged is less endangered by the wounds which he receives, and which, in consequence, heal very promptly unless they are mortal. These people have still another means of diminishing the danger from their wounds, which is to fight almost naked. They recognize that a woolen garment, some particles of which almost always remain in the wounds, makes them much more difficult to heal and more dangerous. Thus shrewdness and religion, supporting each other, lend mutual assistance, and turn to the profit of those who know how to use them. [273]

"The Moskoquis observe, during war, a very rigorous discipline; they can neither eat nor drink without the order of their chiefs. I have seen them go without drinking, even when swimming across a river, because circumstances had obliged their chief to forbid it to them under pain of depriving them of their little war medicine, that is, of the influence of the talisman." [41] 726

"When they go to war they observe a very rigorous discipline. At the moment when they approach the enemy, they march in single file, the chief of the party at their head, and so arrange it that all the following warriors step in the footprints of the first. Even those are sometimes concealed by the last man by means of grass. In this manner they prevent the enemy from telling their number. When they halt or camp they form a circle, and leave open only one passage large enough to admit one man. They seat themselves with their legs crossed, and each has his gun beside him. The chief faces the entrance of the circle, where no soldier can go out without his permission. When it is time to rest he gives the signal, and then no one is allowed to move. The awaking is also by a signal.

"It is usually the head chief who indicates the positions,[42] and who has the sentinels placed charged with caring for the safety of the

[41] "I have already said that the great medicine or general medicine is taken before setting out."—Milfort. It is not altogether clear whether Milfort means that they were to be threatened with deprivation of the little war medicine taken internally or the medicine sack, but the former was probably intended. Milfort, Mém., pp. 239-240.

[42] Elsewhere he tells us that particular clans had the right to certain positions when on a war expedition. "These same [privileged] families, that is, the young warriors who belong to them, usually march to war ahead, and the war chief takes care to preserve this prerogative, unless circumstances compel another disposition. It is a means of emulation from which he sometimes derives great advantage." (p. 255.)

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726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it." [43]

727 554 703 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

701 726 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

[43] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217-219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 426-427.

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combat. A cry, repeated to left and right, informs all of the warriors of the danger to which their chief is exposed. Immediately all of the bodies of reserves unite and march to the place where the head chief is in order to compel the enemy to leave him; if he is dead they would all die rather than abandon his body to the enemy without having carried off his scalp. They attach such honour to the loss of this scalp that, when the danger is too great, and they are unable, in spite of all their efforts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, the warrior who is nearest to the chief kills him himself, removes his scalp, and takes to flight uttering a cry which is known only to savages, and repairs at once to the place which had been indicated by this same chief whither they should retire in case they were beaten. All of the under chiefs, informed by this cry of the death of the head chief, prepare to retreat; and as soon as it [the retreat] is brought about, before taking any other measure, they proceed to the nomination of a new head war chief in order that the enemy may not perceive the loss of the first which they have suffered.[45]

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Bartram speaks of a "royal standard" made of the tail feathers of the *Vultur sacra*, "which is called by a name signifying the eagle's tail." "This," he goes on to say, "they carry with them when they go to battle, but then it is painted with a zone of red within the brown tips; and in peaceable negotiations it is displayed new, clean, and white; this standard is held most sacred by them on all occasions, and is constructed and ornamented with great ingenuity. These birds seldom appear but when the deserts [i. e., uninhabited areas] are set on fire (which happens almost every day throughout the year, in some part or other, by the Indians, for the purpose of rousing the game, as also by lightning)."[46]

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This can only have been the calumet, which was often detached from the pipe and borne about separately. It is not mentioned by the other writers as an article carried along by a war party, unless Adair has it in mind when he says that the Muskogee "had exchanged their bloody tomohawks, and red and black painted swans wings, a strong emblem of blood and death, in confirmation of their offensive and defensive treaty."[47] It may be that their swan-feather crowns were painted and worn in war but he nowhere so says. He mentions the war pipes, however, to which the tribal beaus used to fasten fawns' trotters, small pieces of tinkling metal, or wild turkey-cock spurs "with the addition of a piece of an enemy's scalp with a tuft of long hair hanging down from the middle of the stem, each of them painted red: and they still observe that old custom, only they choose bell-buttons, to give a greater sound."[48]

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[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 249-254.
[46] Bartram, Travels, pp. 149-150.
[47] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 282.
[48] Ibid., pp. 6-7

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Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war[49] but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

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Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To conteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as ina hĭta, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

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Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.[49a] They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called hobayi mi'ko, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as tástánągi łáko. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the hobayutci, "little-far-away." Third came the tástánąk hobayi, "far-away-warrior," fourth the tástánąkutci, "little warrior," fifth the lihomąhti or "trailer," and sixth the lĭhomahtūtci, or "little trailer." These two last were

[49] Milfort, Mém., pp. 33-34.

[49a] See p. 367 and also pp. 417-420 in the second paper of this volume.

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and headpieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off; and also very good shields."[59] Farther on the Indians who came across the Mississippi to oppose the Spaniards "had shields made of canes joined, so strong and so closely interwoven with such thread that a crossbow could hardly pierce them."[60] The existence of armor and shields among the southern Indians is therefore proved, although they were given up soon after white contact because the introduction of guns rendered them useless. 411

In their fights with the Spaniards the Indians usually went naked, and they had carried the science of warfare with the bow and arrow to a high level, as the Spaniards freely testify. Elvas says: "The Indians are exceedingly ready with their weapons, and so warlike and nimble, that they have no fear of footmen; for if these charge them they flee, and when they turn their backs they are presently upon them. They avoid nothing more easily than the flight of an arrow. They never remain quiet, but are continually running, traversing from place to place, so that neither crossbow nor arquebuse can be aimed at them. Before a Christian can make a single shot with either, an Indian will discharge three or four arrows; and he seldom misses of his object. Where the arrow meets with no armour, it pierces as deeply as the shaft from a crossbow."[61] He adds that the arrows with heads generally broke on a target, but those made of sharpened cane would go through, and they would split against armor but penetrate it.[62] Cabeza de Vaca, in speaking of an encounter between the people of Narvaez and the Apalachee, says: "There were men that day who swore they had seen two oak trees, each as thick as the calf of a leg, shot through and through by arrows, which is not surprising if we consider the force and dexterity with which they shoot. I myself saw an arrow that had penetrated the base of a poplar tree for half a foot in length."[63] Says Ranjel, in describing the battle of Mabila: "The arrow shots were tremendous, and sent with such a will and force that the lance of one gentleman named Nuño de Tovar, made of two pieces of ash and very good, was pierced by an arrow in the middle, as by an augur, without being split, and the arrow made a cross with the lance."[64] By means of arrows on which flaming tree moss had been tied houses and other constructions were set on fire by the Florida Indians as described and illustrated by Le Moyne. The Chickasaw used another device to fire their town when it was occupied by the Spaniards, the same resorted to by Gideon. They brought fire past the sentinels in little pots, two to four getting by at a time.[64] 726 411

[59] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, p. 101.
[60] Ibid., p. 138.
[61] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 25-26.
[62] Jour. of Alvar. Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Bandelier Narr., p. 81.
[63] Bourne, op. cit., vol. II, p. 127.
[64] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

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726 De Soto found the Apalachee as intrepid and warlike as did Narvaez. To Garcilasso, Alonso de Carmona thus described them and their method of fighting:

"Those Indians of Apalache are very tall, very valiant and full of spirit; since, just as they showed themselves and fought with those who were with Pamphilo de Narvaez, and drove them out of the country in spite of themselves, they kept flying in our faces every day and we had daily brushes with them; and as they failed to make any headway with us, because our Governor was very brave, energetic, and experienced in Indian warfare, they concluded to withdraw to the woods in small bands, and as the Spaniards were going out for wood and were cutting it in the forest, the Indians would come up at the sound of the axe and would kill the Spaniards and loose the chains of the Indians whom they brought to carry back the cut wood and take the Spaniards' scalps, which was what they most prized, to hang upon the arm of their bows with which they fought; and at the sound of the voices and of arms we would immediately repair thither, and we found the consequences of a lack of precaution. In that way they killed for us more than twenty soldiers, and this happened frequently. And I remember that one day seven horsemen went out from the camp to forage for food and to kill a little dog to eat; which we were used to do in that land, and a day that we got something we thought ourselves lucky; and not even pheasants ever tasted better to us. And going in search of these things they fell in with five Indians who were waiting for them with bows and arrows, and they drew a line on the ground and told them not to cross that or they would all die. And the Spaniards, who would not take any fooling, attacked them, and the Indians shot off their bows and killed two horses and wounded two others, and also a Spaniard severely; and the Spaniards killed one of the Indians and the rest took to their heels and got away, for they are truly very nimble and are not impeded by the adornments of clothes, but rather are much helped by going bare." [65]

Canoe fights took place at times, most frequently in Florida or on the Mississippi. The following from Garcilasso will give some idea of a canoe fight and of the strategy employed by the Indians:

"When the enemy had been some time following us in order to reconnoitre, they separated their fleet into three divisions. The troops of Quigaltanqui put themselves at the head, but they could not really learn whether he commanded them himself, although they often heard him mentioned in the songs of the barbarians. Afterwards, all the vessels of the fleet advanced to the right towards the bank of the river, and got the lead. Those of the first division immediately attacked our caravels, in crossing to the other side of the

[65] Garcilasso in Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 151-152.

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river, and covered them with arrows, so that there were several Spaniards wounded. The first division was no sooner on the left than it recrossed and came and recovered its place; nevertheless, always advancing beyond the brigantines. The second division, which crossed after having attacked with fury, returned to the right and placed itself at the head of the first. The third passed in the same manner, and having showered a quantity of arrows upon the soldiers, they rejoined those of their party and came and posted themselves in front of the second division. In the mean time, as our caravels did not cease rowing, they arrived at the position of the barbarians who had first attacked them, and who began to attack them in the same manner as before. The others also attacked, each in their order and their accustomed manner, and harassed the Spaniards all the day. Even during the night they tormented them, but not with so much persistency, for they made but two attacks, the first a little before sunset, and the other before daybreak." [66] 726

A little beyond he records the adroit manner in which the Indians withdrew before a party of Spaniards who were advancing in canoes, suddenly rushed upon them from all sides, and upset their boats, thereby destroying all but four of the occupants.[66] Doubtless such scenes as these were many times repeated in desperate intertribal wars waged along this river and in the coast regions.

Peace making was, naturally enough, a prerogative of the miko or civil chief and his counsellors, as Hawkins says.[67] He adds that "peace talks are always addressed to the cabin of the Mic-co," and that in some cases, where the resentment of the warriors has run high, the Micco and council have been much embarrassed." [67] 728

The only accounts of peace making ceremonies of any length are two from Adair. They are in a way complementary but indicate some slight divergence in the customs under different conditions. His first statement is as follows:

"When two nations of Indians are making, or renewing, peace with each other, the ceremonies and solemnities they use, carry the face of great antiquity, and are very striking to a curious spectator, which I shall here relate, so far as it suits the present subject. When strangers of note arrive near the place, where they design to contract new friendship, or confirm their old amity, they send a messenger a-head, to inform the people of their amicable intention. He carries a swan's wing in his hand, painted all over with streaks of white clay, as an expressive emblem of their embassy. The next day, when they have made their friendly parade, with firing off their guns

[66] Garcilasso in Shipp's History of De Soto and Florida, pp. 466-467.
[67] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.

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551 [171 727]

Adair tells us that an unsuccessful Chickasaw leader might be stripped of all his war titles.[88] I was told that the Creeks did not do this, but in earlier times it may very well have happened.

The following list of war names was obtained from Zachariah Cook:

Aa hadjo.
Abali hadjo.
Abayáli hadjo.
Abí'ka fiksíko, "Abíhka fiksíko."
Abí'ka hadjo.
Abí'ka yahola.
Abí'kutci, "Little Abíhka."
Abuyak fiksíko, "Putting-down fiksíko" (?)
Abuyak hadjo.
Abuyak yahola.
Adji yahola, "Corn yahola."
Adji hátci fiksíko.
Adji hátci hadjo.
Adji hátci yahola (?).
Ahalak fiksíko, "Potato fiksíko."
Ahalak hadjo.
Ahalak yahola.
Ahalakutci, "Little Potato."
Ahotáligo, "Clear minded."
Akálpoisa hadjo, "Dipping-something-in-under hadjo."
Akálopísa yahola.
Akfáski fiksíko, "Okfuskee fiksíko."
Akfáski hadjo.
Aktayatci fiksíko, "Aktayatci-clan fiksíko."
Aktayatci hadjo.
Aktayatci yahola.
Aktayatcutci.
Atcifahali hadjo, "Broken- (or rough-) country hadjo."
Báskáp hadjo, (Báskáp is perhaps the same as Paskofa, see below).
Fus fiksíko, "Bird fiksíko."
Fus hadjo.
Fus yahola.
Fus hátci fiksíko, "Bird-creek (?) fiksíko."
Fus hátci hadjo.
Fus hátci yahola.
Haliposa hadjo, "Victor (?) hadjo."
Halpata fiksíko, "Alligator fiksíko."
Halpata hadjo.
Henlha tástánági.
Henlha teápko, "Long henlha."
Henlhutci, "Little henlha."
Hilibi fiksíko.
Hilibi hadjo.
Hilis fiksíko, "Medicine fiksíko."
Hilis hadjo.
Hobayi fiksíko (?), "Far away fiksíko."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi yahola.
Hobayutci.
Hoboihili fiksíko, "Good child fiksíko."
Hoboihili hadjo.
Hoboihili yahola.
Hobuis hadjo, (Hobuis from hobuiwa, "child," or hobili, "fog").
Hola'ta fiksíko.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta yahola.
Hola'tutci.
Hotálgi fiksíko, "Wind fiksíko."
Hotálgi hadjo.
Hotálgi imala (?)
Hotálgi yahola.
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Imedjiska hadjo, "Butt-of-tree hadjo."
Ina tástánági, "An ina warrior." (As a man went into battle he repeated a formula or song called "ina" which was supposed to preserve him from harm during the action.)
Inlanis hadjo.[89]
Ispani fiksíko, "Spanish fiksíko."
Ispani yahola.
Itchas fiksíko, "Beaver fiksíko."
Itchas hadjo.
Itchas yahola.
Itchasutci.
Iteo fiksíko, "Deer fiksíko."
Iteo hadjo.
Iteo tástánági.
Iteo yahola.
Iteo-ili hadjo, "Deer-foot hadjo."
Iteo kutcúgáni, "Short deer."
Iteo-yábi hadjo, "Deer-horn hadjo."
Itcutci, "Little deer."
Kaiamúlk hadjo, "Kaiamulgi hadjo."
Kán teat hadjo.
Kapitca fiksíko, "Lye-drip fiksíko."
Kapitca hadjo.

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 322.

[89] See p. 118.

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to a clan into which he could not marry in his own town, provided that marriage between the clans was allowed in the town to which she belonged. As indicated already, there is no clear evidence that the great dual divisions were ever exogamous as a whole. 614 582

Before intertribal wars came to an end the Creeks were in the habit of increasing the size of their clans by adopting captives, especially young people of both sexes. 614 597

Slavery was not institutional among the southern Indians as it was with those of the north Pacific coast. The older male captives taken in war, and sometimes the younger ones, were anciently burned. The women and children, unless killed on the spot, were adopted into the tribe and so were those males whose lives had been spared. At the same time there was certainly some onus attaching to their position which may have lasted through life, though it does not appear to have attached to the second generation. Bartram had a good opportunity to observe the condition of slaves among the Seminole and represents their attitude as most abject and servile, but he adds that their children were "free and considered in every respect equal to themselves."[54] He states in this place that "the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live,"[54] but elsewhere he partially contradicts himself to the effect that "all slaves have their freedom when they marry, which is permitted and encouraged, when they and their offspring are every way upon an equality with their conquerors,"[55] and just above we read, "I saw in every town in the Nation [of the Creeks] and Seminoles that I visited, more or less male captives, some extremely aged, who were free and in as good circumstances as their masters."[56] 567 727 597

It must be remembered that at the time of which Bartram speaks the Creeks and Seminole had given up the custom of burning their captives, and therefore many were kept alive among them who had formerly been destroyed. The persistence of this less assimilable body of foreigners and the example of slavery among the whites had probably begun to affect the older institution to some extent. At an earlier date the captives taken in war probably formed a less distinct class and were assimilated more rapidly. 567 727 177

Some of the small clans were regarded as inferiors by the others, and this may have been due in some cases to a slave origin, but I have not recorded so much as a tradition to that effect, and the low esteem in which they were held more likely arose in most cases from the incestuous origin often attributed to them.[57] At various times white people have claimed kinship with certain Creek clans. For obvious reasons they have usually been assigned to a White clan, particularly the Wind. 614 554 [609]

[54] Bartram, Travels, p. 184.
[55] Ibid., p. 211.
[56] For ranking of clans see pp. 48, 212, 214, 232, and Bull. 73, p. 276.

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423 642 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

[727] Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on 423 original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19] It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as 621 it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

177 648 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

674 732 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 340; cf. also p. 209.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

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has the following to say regarding murder in the stricter sense of that term: 628 682

"If murder is committed, the family and tribe alone have the right of taking satisfaction. They collect, consult and decide. The rulers of the town, or the nation, have nothing to do or to say in the business. The relations of the murdered person consult first among themselves, and if the case is clear, and their family or tribe are not likely to suffer by their decision, they determine on the case definitely. When the tribe may be affected by it, in a doubtful case, or an old claim for satisfaction, the family then consult with their tribe; and when they have deliberated and resolved on satisfaction, they take the guilty one, if to be come at. If he flies, they take the nearest of kin, or one of the family. In some cases, the family which has done the injury promise reparation; and in that case are allowed a reasonable time to fulfill their promise; and they are generally earnest of themselves, in their endeavors to put the guilty to death, to save an innocent person.

"This right of judging, and taking satisfaction, being vested in the family or tribe, is the sole cause why their treaty stipulations on this head, never have been executed. In like manner, a prisoner taken in war, is the property of the captor and his family, it being optional with his captor, to kill or save him at the time. And this right must be purchased, and it is now the practice, introduced within a few years, for the nation to pay. The practice has been introduced by the agent for Indian affairs, and he pays on the orders of the chiefs, out of the stipend allowed by the United States to the Creeks. Claims of this sort of seventeen years standing, where the prisoner has been delivered to the order of the chiefs, have been revived, allowed and paid." [29] 727 648

In view of these facts the following law which Hawkins induced the Creek council to adopt becomes significant: 682 177

"To declare as law, that when a man is punished by the law of the nation, and dies, that it is the law that killed him. It is the nation who killed him; and that no man or family is to be held accountable for this act of the nation." [30]

Nevertheless it was with great difficulty that the Indian agent was enabled to secure the punishment of certain thieves and mischief-makers, some of whom had insulted the commissioners of Spain and the United States,[31] so strong was the sense of obligation to retaliate for injuries received by a fellow clansman and so great the fear of awaking it. Adair mentions several occasions on which an offender was protected by his family.[32] By 1820, however, Hodgson reports,

[29] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 74-75.
[30] Ibid., p. 68.
[31] Ibid., p. 67.
[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 183, 184.

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726 order to be purified—that they have also as strong a faith of the power
778 and holiness of their ark, as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole. . . .

"The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own sanctified warriors, or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemey touch it in the woods for the very same reason. . . .

727 "The leader virtually acts the part of a priest of war, *pro tempore*, . . . If they obtain the victory, and get some of the enemeies scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct of some of the followers of the beloved ark. . . .

726 "The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at
834 war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. . . . The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains." [5]

This law of sexual abstinence accounts for the comparative respect with which female captives were treated by most of the eastern Indians.[6]

726 Adair cites the case of an Indian iconoclast who went to war without the accompaniment of an ark, to the great anxiety of his friends. He has the following to say regarding the numbers taking part in an expedition and their method of conducting it after they had left home:

"It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various, and uncertain: sometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. . . .

"The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, lest their tracks should be discovered by being too numerous: but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuses to out-number a common company, that they may strike the blow with greater safety and success,

[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 181-184.

[6] Cf. Ibid., p. 184.

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726 "When the invaders extend themselves across the woods, in quest of their prey, if they make a plain discovery, either of fresh tracks, or of the enemy, they immediately pass the war-signal to each other, and draw their wings toward the centre. If the former, they give chace, and commonly by their wild-cat-method of crawling, they surround, and surprise the pursued, if unguarded—however, I have known them to fail in such attempts; for the Indians generally are so extremely cautious, that if three of them are in the woods, their first object is a proper place for defence, and they always sit down in a triangle, to prevent a surprise. When enemies discover one another, and find they can take no advantage, they make themselves known to each other; and by way of insulting bravado, they speak aloud all the barbarities they ever committed against them; that they are now, to vindicate those actions, and make the wound for ever incurable; that they are their most bitter enemies, and equally contemn their friendship and enmity. In the mean while, they throw down their packs, strip themselves naked, and paint their faces and breasts red as blood, intermingled with black streaks. Every one at the signal of the shrill-sounding war-cry, instantly covers himself behind a tree, or in some cavity of the ground where it admits of the best safety. The leader, on each side, immediately blows the small whistle he carries for the occasion, in imitation of the ancient trumpet, as the last signal of engagement. Now hot work begins—The guns are firing; the chewed bullets flying; the strong hiccory bows a twanging; the dangerous barbed arrows whizzing as they fly; the sure-shafted javelin striking death wherever it reaches; and the well-aimed tomohawk killing, or disabling its enemy. Nothing scarcely can be heard for the shrill echoing noise of the war and death-whoop, every one furiously pursues his adversary from tree to tree, striving to incircle him for his prey; and the greedy jaws of pale death are open on all sides, to swallow them up. One dying foe is intangled in the hateful and faltering arms of another: and each party desperately attempts both to save their dead and wounded from being scalped, and to gain the scalps of their opponents. On this the battle commences anew—But rash attempts fail, as their wary spirits always forbid them from entering into a general close engagement. Now they retreat: then they draw up into various figures, still having their dead and wounded under their eye. Now they are flat on the ground loading their pieces—then they are up firing behind trees, and immediately spring off in an oblique course to recruit—and thus they act till winged victory declares itself.

727 "The vanquished party makes for a swampy thicket, as their only asylum; but should any of them be either unarmed, or slightly

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wounded, the speedy pursuers captivate them, and usually reserve them for a worse death than that of the bullet. On returning to the place of battle, the victors begin, with mad rapture, to cut and slash those unfortunate persons, who fell by their arms and power; and they dismember them, after a most inhuman manner. If the battle be gained near home, one hero cuts off and carries this member of the dead person, another that, as joyful trophies of a decisive victory. If a stranger saw them thus loaded with human flesh, without proper information, he might conclude them to be voracious cannibals. . . . Their first aim however is to take off the scalp, when they perceive the enemy hath a proper situation, and strength to make a dangerous resistance. Each of them is so emulous of exceeding another in this point of honour, that it frequently stops them in their pursuit.

"This honourable service is thus performed [7]—They seize the head of the disabled, or dead person, and placing one of their feet on the neck, they with one hand twisted in the hair, extend it as far as they can—with the other hand, the barbarous artists speedily draw their long sharp-pointed scalping knife out of a sheath from their breast, give a slash round the top of the skull, and with a few dextrous scoops. soon strip it off. They are so expeditious as to take off a scalp in two minutes. When they have performed this part of their martial virtue, as soon as time permits, they tie with bark or deer's sinews, their speaking trophies of blood in a small hoop, to preserve it from putrefaction, and paint the interior part of the scalp, and the hoop, all around with red, their flourishing emblematical colour of blood."[8]

"When they have succeeded in killing the enemy, they tie firebrands in the most frequented places, with grape vines which hang pretty low, in order that they may readily be seen by the enemy. As they reckon the aggressors have loudly declared war, it would be madness or treachery in their opinion to use such public formalities before they have revenged crying blood; it would inform the enemy of their design of retaliating, and destroy the honest intention of war. They likewise strip the bark off several large trees in conspicuous places, and paint them with red and black hieroglyphics, thereby threatening the enemy with more blood and death." [9]

"They are now satisfied for the present, and return home. Tradition, or the native divine impression on human nature, dictates to them that man was not born in a state of war; and as they reckon they are become impure by shedding human blood, they hasten to

[7] Speck's Tuskegee informant said that this act "was accompanied with a whoop terminating in several tremulous throat tones in imitation of a turkey's gobble. This was to announce success to the band." (Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.)

[8] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 383-386. A single scalp was often cut up and distributed among the warriors. Adair mentions a case in which a scalp of a Koasati had been taken by some Choctaw and the warriors of the separate towns divided it and carried the parts to their respective homes. (Adair, p. 208.)

[9] Adair, op. cit., p. 148.

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observe the fast of three days, as formerly mentioned, and be sanctified by the war-chieftain, as a priest of war, according to law. While they are thus impure, though they had a fair opportunity of annoying the common enemy again, yet on this account they commonly decline it, and are applauded for their religious conduct, by all their countrymen. Indeed, formerly, when the whole combined power of the French, and their Indians, was bent against the warlike Chikkasah, I have known the last sometimes to hazard their martial virtue and success, and to fight three or four companies of French Indians, before they returned home; but the leaders excused themselves, by the necessity of self-defence. They have no such phrase as the 'fortune of war.' They reckon the leader's impurity to be chief occasion of bad success; and if he lose several of his warriors by the enemy, his life is either in danger for the supposed fault, or he is degraded, by taking from him his drum, war-whistle, and martial titles, and debasing him to his boy's name, from which he is to rise by a fresh gradation. This penal law contributes, in a good measure, to make them so exceedingly cautious and averse to bold attempts in war, and they are usually satisfied with two or three scalps and a prisoner." [10]

The following account of the torture inflicted upon prisoners is given by the same author:

"It has been long too feelingly known, that instead of observing the generous and hospitable part of the laws of war, and saving the unfortunate who fall into their power, that they generally devote their captives to death, with the most agonizing tortures. No representation can possibly be given, so shocking to humanity, as their unmerciful method of tormenting their devoted prisoner; and as it is so contrary to the standard of the rest of the known world, I shall relate the circumstances, so far as to convey proper information thereof to the reader. When the company return from war, and come in view of their own town, they follow the leader one by one, in a direct line, each a few yards behind the other, to magnify their triumph. If they have not succeeded, or any of their warriors are lost, they return quite silent; but if they are all safe, and have succeeded, they fire off the Indian platoon, by one, two, and three at a time, whooping and insulting their prisoners. They camp near their town all night, in a large square plot of ground, marked for the purpose, with a high war-pole fixed in the middle of it, to which they secure their prisoners. Next day they go to the leader's house in a very solemn procession, but stay without, round his red-painted war-pole, till they have determined concerning the fate of their prisoners. If any one of the captives should be fortunate enough to get loose,

[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 398.

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and run into the house of the archi-magus, or to a town of refuge, he by ancient custom, is saved from the fiery torture—these places being a sure asylum to them if they were invaded, and taken, but not to invaders, because they came to shed blood.

"Those captives who are pretty far advanced in life, as well as in war-gradations, always atone for the blood they spilt, by the tortures of fire. They readily know the latter, by the blue marks over their breasts and arms; they being as legible as our alphabetical characters are to us. Their ink is made of the soot of pitch-pine, which sticks to the inside of a greased earthen pot; then delineating the parts, like the ancient Picts of Britain, with their wild hieroglyphics, they break through the skin with gair-fish-teeth, and rub over them that dark composition, to register them among the brave; and the impression is lasting. I have been told by the Chikkasah, that they formerly crazed any false marks their warriors proudly and privately gave themselves—in order to engage them to give real proofs of their martial virtue, being surrounded by the French and their red allies; and that they degraded them in a public manner, by stretching the marked parts, and rubbing them with the juice of green corn, which in a great degree took out the impression.

"The young prisoners are saved, if not devoted while the company were sanctifying themselves for their expedition; but if the latter be the case, they are condemned, and tied to the dreadful stake, one at a time. The victors first strip their miserable captives quite naked, and put on their feet a pair of bear-skin maccaseenes, with the black hairy part outwards; others fasten with a grape-vine, a burning fire brand to the pole, a little above the reach of their heads. Then they know their doom—deep black, and burning fire, are fixed seals of their death-warrant. Their punishment is always left to the women; and on account of their false standard of education, they are no way backward in their office, but perform it to the entire satisfaction of the greedy eyes of the spectators. Each of them prepares for the dreadful rejoicing, a long bundle of dry canes, or the heart of fat pitch-pine, and as the victims are led to the stake, the women and their young ones beat them with these in a most barbarous manner. Happy would it be for the miserable creatures, if their sufferings ended here, or a merciful tomahawk finished them at one stroke; but this shameful treatment is a prelude to future sufferings.

"The death-signal being given, preparations are made for acting a more tragical part. The victims arms are fast pinioned, and a strong grape-vine is tied round his neck, to the top of the war-pole, allowing him to track around, about fifteen yards. They fix some tough clay on his head, to secure the scalp from the blazing torches. Unspeakable pleasure now fills the exulting crowd of spectators, and the circle fills with the Amazon and merciless executioners—The

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suffering warrior however is not dismayed; with an insulting manly voice he sings the war-song! and with gallant contempt he tramples the rattling gourd with pebbles in it to pieces, and outbraves even death itself. The women make a furious on-set with their burning torches: his pain is soon so excruciating, that he rushes out from the pole, with the fury of the most savage beast of prey, and with the vine sweeps down all before him, kicking, biting, and trampling them, with the greatest despite. The circle immediately fills again, either with the same, or fresh persons: they attack him on every side—now he runs to the pole for shelter, but the flames pursue him. Then with champing teeth, and sparkling eye-balls, he breaks through their contracted circle afresh, and acts every part, that the highest courage, most raging fury, and blackest despair can prompt him to. But he is sure to be over-power'd by numbers, and after some time the fire affects his tender parts.—Then they pour over him a quantity of cold water, and allow him a proper time of respite, till his spirits recover, and he is capable of suffering new tortures. Then the like cruelties are repeated till he falls down, and happily becomes insensible of pain. Now they scalp him, in the manner before described: dismember, and carry off all the exterior branches of the body, (pudendis non exceptis) in shameful, and savage triumph. This is the most favourable treatment their devoted captives receive: it would be too shocking to humanity either to give, or peruse, every particular of their conduct in such doleful tragedies. . . .

"Not a soul, of whatever age or sex, manifests the least pity during the prisoner's tortures: the women sing with religious joy, all the while they are torturing the devoted victim, and peals of laughter resound through the crowded theatre—especially if he fears to die. But a warrior puts on a bold austere countenance, and carries it through all his pains:—as long as he can, he whoops and out-braves the enemy, describing his own martial deeds against them, and those of his nation, who he threatens will force many of them to eat fire in revenge of his fate, as he himself had often done to some of their relations at their cost.

"Though the same things operate alike upon the organs of the human body, and produce an uniformity of sensations; yet weakness, or constancy of mind derived from habit, helps in a great measure, either to heighten, or lessen the sense of pain. By this, the afflicted party has learned to stifle nature, and shew an outward unconcern, under such slow and acute tortures: and the surprising cruelty of their women, is equally owing to education and custom. . . ."[11]

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 388-391. Romans seems to think that the Creeks were the most cruel of all southern Indians. He says: "As hospitable as this nation is to friends, as irreconcilably inhuman are they to their enemies; there is hardly an instance of one miserable prisoner's ever having escaped their barbarity; the torments they put the wretched victims to, are too horrid to relate, and the account thereof can only serve to make human nature shudder." (Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 9.)

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Next comes the disposition of the scalps, rejoicing over their victory, and the conferring of new war titles: 727

"When the Indians have finished their captive tragedies, they return to the neighboring town in triumph, with the wild shrieking oise of destroying demons: there, they cut the scalps into several pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houses of their deceased relations—whose deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they esteem not revenged till then, and thus their ghosts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of rest, till, after a certain time, they return again to live for ever in that tract of land which pleased them best, when in their former state.[11a] They perform this supposed religious duty with great solemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with soft voices, their grateful song of triumph to *Yo He Wah;* while the favoured warriors echo their praises of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine presence, for their victory; and the happiness of sending the spirits of their killed relations from the eaves of their houses which they haunted, mourning with such painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo*, like the suffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they represent all the wild-cat movements they made in crawling to surprise the enemy, and their wolfish conduct in killing with safety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by surprise. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down slowly on tip-toe in a bent posture, looking sharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the supposed enemy be either defeated by stratagem, or open battle. Then they strut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have rushed on with his eyes shut, improvident of danger; but having wisely considered that his bare breast was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himself from tree to tree, and by his skilful conduct vanquished the hateful enemy, without exposing his own valuable life to danger. All people praise, or blame another's conduct, in proportion to the parity or disparity it bears to their own standard, and notion of virtue.

"In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound or easy, under an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wished for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody 727 703 796

[11a] See succeeding article, p. 511.

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colours are displayed, and most of the young people are dancing and rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant warrior on that joyful day wears deer-skin maccaseenes, painted red, his body is anointed with bear's oil, a young softened otter-skin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine swan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with the various streaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a standing posture, they alternately deliver a long oration, with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors, who died nobly in defence of their country. At the conclusion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the scepter, or wand. He then gladly answers, and runs whooping to, and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head, and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner, they proceed with the rest of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this strong caution, 'Remember what you are (such a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved speech.' This is equal to the bold virtuous lessons of the honest Romans, and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of the honourable station, that they should always aspire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itself. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a swan, at the lower end, where it surrounds his temples, and it is curiously weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it sit easy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the skilful artist warps close together, a ringlet of the longest feathers of the swan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform position, he, in the exactest manner, ties them together with deer's sinews, so as the bandage will not appear to the sharpest eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top, and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they use in constituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which causes them to be three or four inches higher than the former." [12]

[12] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 387-388.]

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There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,[13] but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son. 727 703 562

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English."[14] 727 648

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection: 727 796

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop*. When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable Yo, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred[15] notes, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

[13] For one such see Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 42.

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 310.

[15] Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these meaningless syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

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"The leader's *Hetissu*, or 'waiter,' placed a couple of new blocks of wood near the war pole, opposite to the door of the circular hot-house, in the middle of which the fire-place stood; and on these blocks he rested the supposed sacred ark, so that it and the holy fire faced each other. The party were silent a considerable time. At length, the chieftain bade them sit down, and then enquired whether his house was prepared for the solemn occasion, according to his order the day before; being answered in the affirmative, they soon rose up, sounded the death whoop, and walked round the war pole; during which they invoked and sung three times, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, in the manner already described. Then they went with their holy things in regular order into the hot-house, where they continued, exclusive of the first broken day, three days and nights apart from the rest of the people, purifying themselves with warm lotions, and aspersions of the emblematical button-snake-root, without any other subsistence between the rising and the setting of the sun.

"During the other part of the time, the female relations of each of the company, after having bathed, anointed, and drest themselves in their finest, stood in two rows, one on each side of the door, facing each other, from the evening till the morning, singing Ha Ha, Ha He, with a soft shrill voice and a solemn moving air for more than a minute, and then paused about ten minutes, before they renewed their triumphal song. While they sung, they gave their legs a small motion, by the strong working of their muscles, without seeming to bend their joints. When they had no occasion to retire, they have stood erect in the same place, a long frosty night; and except when singing, observed a most profound silence the whole time. During that period, they have no intercourse with their husbands; and they avoid several other supposed pollutions, as not to eat or touch salt, and the like.

"The leader, once in two or three hours came out at the head of his company, and raising the death whoop, made one circle round the red painted war pole, holding up in their right hands the small boughs of pine with the scalps fixed to them, singing as above, waving them to and fro, and then returned again. This religious order they strictly observed the whole time they were purifying themselves, and singing the song of safety, and victory, to the goodness and power of the divine essence. When the time of their purification and thanksgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themselves, returned in the same manner, and anointed again, according to their usual custom.

"They joined soon after in a solemn procession, to fix the scalps on the tops of the houses of their relations who had been killed without revenge of blood. The war chieftain went first—his religious attendant followed him; the warriors next, according to their rising merit; and the songstresses brought up the rear. In this order they went

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round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'[16] Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*."[17] 727 796

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay."[18] 791 784

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,[19] but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.[19] In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.[20] Adair continues regarding this matter: 727 782

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

[16] Last year I heard the Choktah women, in these towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a regular anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evenings, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskohgs.—Note by Adair.

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 164-167.

[18] Ibid., p. 122.

[19] Ibid., p. 154.

[20] Ibid., p. 155.

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•727 782 what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Ooe-Asa* and *Koosah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly." [22]

721 554 From all this it may be seen that the main object of fighting was not to defeat the enemy from any such sentiment as devotion to country or desire for plunder, but to obtain scalps and thereby social advancement and to placate the souls of the departed. From this fact and the heavy penalties laid upon the war leader in case of failure it transpired that the Indians seldom attacked against odds unless they believed their attack to be unexpected. A small, resolute 726 body time and again beat off odds that could easily have wiped them out had it not been for the great fear of even slight loss on the part of the attackers. Adair mentions an instance in which 80 Choctaw would not attack the party to which he belonged, consisting of about 40 Chickasaw with women and children to protect, because they knew that their presence had been discovered.[23] On another occasion he states that 17 Chickasaw, accompanied by their wives and children, fought off more than 60 Choctaw.[24] In the time of [722] an attack on the town or camp, Adair says, "It is usual for the women to sing the enlivening war songs; and it inflames the men's spirits so highly that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an instance of the Indians running off, though, from a numerous enemy and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands.[24] In another connection Adair mentions as a war custom the killing of a great number of captives because the leader of the war party had been wounded and his life was despaired of.[25] He cites an instance in which a Chickasaw had been killed by some Choctaw after having been given food and, since this fact was cast up against the Choctaw by the avenging party, it would seem to have been contrary to native laws of war. This is further strengthened by the fact that the Chickasaw thus killed was not scalped. In consequence the Chickasaw left the Choctaw whom they killed in retaliation also unscalped.[26]

These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp 185-186.
[23] Ibid., pp. 318-319.
[24] Ibid., p. 319.
[25] Ibid., p. 320.
[26] Ibid., p. 322-323.

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726 lying in ambush there. Sometimes, when people of all ages and both sexes were camping in a certain place, a hostile tribe would come when the men were all off hunting and kill the women and children. They would run a stick through a child and put it over the fire, so that the returning hunters would find it roasted like a squirrel.

The Choctaw once captured an Alabama boy. When he grew up the Choctaw fought against the Alabama, and he helped them, so the Alabama wanted to capture him. They went to a conjurer and asked his aid. He promised them that he would aid them and told the women to get sticks with which to whip the prospective captive. Then the Alabama captured him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him for a long time. After a while they piled weeds all about him and set them on fire but still he did not die. Then they tied dry grass around him by means of a rope fastened about the tree, set it on fire, and danced about him shaking their rattles. When he was nearly dead he fell down, and they shook their gourd rattles over him until he expired.

721 554 561 The best account of institutional killing among the Creeks themselves, except that of Milfort, is given by Swan and is as follows:

"Every individual is at liberty to choose whether or not he shall engage in any warlike enterprise. But the rage of young men to acquire war-names, and the thirst of plunder in the elder ones and leaders, are motives sufficient to raise gangs of volunteers to go in quest of hair and horses at any time when they are disengaged from hunting. It is little matter with them what the pretence for going to war may be. They think that force constitutes right; and victory is an infallible proof of justice on their side; and they attack as boldly as they are indefatigable in securing a scalp, or to obtain plunder.

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair.

● 727 554 "When a young warrior, after a successful expedition, approaches the town he belongs to, he announces his arrival by the war-whoop, which can be heard a mile or more, and his friends go out to meet him. The scalp he has taken is then suspended on the end of a red painted wand, and, amidst the yelling multitude, accompanied with the war-song, is brought in triumph by him into the square, or centre of the town, where it is either deposited, or cut up and divided among his friends, who then dub him a man and a warrior,

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worthy of a war-name, and a seat at the ceremony of the black-drink, which he receives accordingly. 727 554

"Those who have seldom been abroad, and are not distinguished by war-names, are styled *old women*, which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. They have also one other common term of reproach, viz.: Este dogo, i. e. *you are nobody* [isti toko, 'person is not']; this is a very offensive expression, and cautiously to be used; to say, *you are a liar*, is a common and harmless reply; but to use either of the two expressions would bring on a quarrel at once. 721 554 578

"The complete equipment of a war-party is simply to each man a gun and ammunition, a knife, a small bag of gritz, or pounded corn, and two or three horse-ropes, or halters. These parties are commonly small; never more than forty, fifty, and sixty go out together, as may be seen by their war-camps frequently to be found in the woods, which are so constructed that the exact number of men in the party can at once be ascertained. They make a point of taking boys and girls prisoners, whom they carefully preserve to supply the places of such of their people as have been, or may be killed from among them. But they save grown men and women as prisoners only when avarice takes precedence of barbarity; and they set the price of ransom upon them according to the rank and estimation in which they may be held among their countrymen. 726

"When prisoners of the latter description are brought into any of their towns, the Indian women, by paying a small premium of tobacco to the victorious warriors, are permitted to have the honor of whipping them as they pass along. This is often practised, to the pain and ridicule of the unfortunate victim of their sport and barbarity. 727

"It is asserted, that in most cases, if the Indians are warmly attacked by their enemy, and can once be dislodged from their several trees, that they will content themselves with one scalp, which they divide among the whole, then scatter and make the best speed home to their several towns to tell their friends of the affair. They are much given to lying and exaggeration on these occasions.

"Their ruling passion seems to be war; and their mode of conducting it constitutes some part of their general government." [21] 721

The following by Stiggins adds interesting particulars:

"They wage war thus: The national council is convened, and the nature of the offence is examined in a council of head chiefs and warriors, and if they conclude that the cause of collision is of so glaring a nature as to admit of no compromise or palliation, of nothing but the blood of the enemy, it is a positive declaration of war. The 726

[21] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 279-281.

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726 796 talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition.[46]

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

726 272 "When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

727 [46] Elsewhere Millort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained: "When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

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726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it." [43]

•727 554 703 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

701 726 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

[43] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217-219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 426-427.

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scouts whose duties were to determine whither the enemy had gone. Seventh and lastly there was an officer known as the minkiso or inki'su, who looked after the supplies—i. e., he was the head of the commissary department. If another tribe had committed some depredation the sufferers would send runners out who uttered a peculiar whoop, and when this was heard the people would meet at some designated spot and these officers would put themselves at their head. Or if some young men desired to go out after scalps they would signify their desire and these officers would head them. 701

As it seems unlikely that so many officers would go out at the same time in order to satisfy the thirst for glory of one or two youths, we are probably to understand that this represents the complete quota of officers for a party of some size. That the leader of every party was ordinarily called hobayi seems to be established by the testimony of Adair[50] and Jackson Lewis. Adair states that he was a kind of temporary war priest, and Jackson Lewis, as above stated, declared that he was always selected from among those men who had received the training of a doctor.[51] Doctor Speck's informant, it will be noticed, distinguishes the hobayi or "hobáya" from the war leader ("*imísi*"), and lays particular emphasis on the religious functions of the former. He is described as "a shaman and prophet," as "a busy man in battle," who "besides carrying the fetishes and administering the emetic . . . had to sing and shout certain songs and formulas which would frighten and confuse the enemy."[52] It is possible that, while the war leader was normally a hobayi, one who had received a doctor's training, there were exceptions, and that, in such cases, for reasons that we can well appreciate, it was thought necessary that a hobayi accompany the expedition. This would account very satisfactorily for the discrepancies between Doctor Speck's description of a war party and the others. 701 791

It will be remembered that Bartram, in his account of the chunkey yard, speaks of two "slave posts" to which captives were tied when they were to be tortured and burned to death.[53] It is doubtful whether the number and position of these was very definite. They are still faintly remembered by some of the old Indians and are said to have been in the shape of war clubs (atasa). It is also recalled that they tied grass about the bodies of the captives and set it on fire. As in the case of the Chickasaw, older captives were usually burned at the stake, and the younger ones adopted unless they had been devoted in advance. 727

[50] See p. 411. Mr. McCombs says that only the mike ranked higher.
[51] See p. 434.
[52] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.
[53] See p. 173.

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Blood letting and sucking were frequently resorted to. Swan says that the Indians sometimes believed that they had been supernaturally shot by enemies hundreds of miles away and would then consult a doctress. "The cunning woman tells them that what they have apprehended is verily true, and proceeds to examine and make the cure. In these cases, scratching or cupping is the remedy; or, as is often the case, sucking the affected part with her mouth, she produces to their view some fragment of a bullet, or piece of a wad, which she had purposely concealed in her mouth to confirm the truth of what she had asserted; after this, a few magic draughts of their physic must be administered, and the patient is made whole."[96] Jackson Lewis said that pricks were sometimes made over the affected part with a little piece of glass. The large end of a short piece of cow horn was then placed over them and a quantity of blood sucked out through a hole pierced in the small end. Silas Jefferson states that he was once treated by a snake doctor who simply chewed up a bit of root and, holding it in his mouth, sucked out the poison. Next day he was perfectly restored. But unlike the former European practice, blood letting was not resorted to in cases of fever.[97] 755

Eakins says that bandages and lints were applied in many cases. He continues: "The success with which they treat gunshot wounds, cuts, &c., is generally attributed to the care of the physician. The Creeks never amputate. They are skilful in the use of splints. For removing the wounded they use the litter."[97] 752 727 783

Adair furnishes some information regarding the treatment of those wounded in war.

"The Indians . . . build a small hut at a considerable distance from the houses of the village, for every one of their warriors wounded in war, and confine them there . . . for the space of four moons, including that moon in which they were wounded, as in the case of their women after travail: and they keep them strictly separate, lest the impurity of the one should prevent the cure of the other. The reputed prophet, or divine physician, daily pays them a due attendance, always invoking Yo He Wah to bless the means they apply on the sad occasion; which is chiefly mountain allum, and medicinal herbs, always injoyning a very abstemious life, prohibiting them women and salt in particular, during the time of the cure, or sanctifying the reputed sinners. Like the Israelites, they firmly believe that safety, or wounds, etc., immediately proceed from the pleased, or angry deity, for their virtuous, or vicious conduct, in observing, or violating the divine law.

"In this long space of purification, each patient is allowed only a superannuated woman to attend him, who is past the temptations of

[96] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271. [97] Ibid., vol. i, p. 274.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
•727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day."[8]

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man
[752 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor
727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the tcokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle."[1] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[2]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
741 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[8] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 125.
[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[2] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 58.

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0 648 a warrior; and that my heart was not easily melted. The women immediately returned, carrying with them the dead, which satisfied me they did not intend to trouble us again.

Thus, by an happy presence of mind, we were saved from almost inevitable destruction, and probably from ending our lives under the most excruciating torture.

0 114 It may not be improper to observe the necessity there is for a trader to be cool, firm, and, in case of emergency, brave, but not rash or hasty. The Indians are just observers of the human mind, and easily discover true from affected courage, by that apparent tranquillity which clearly distinguishes the former from the latter. It is well known that no people in the world put courage to so severe a trial, and watch at the executions of their enemies with such savage curiosity, the effects of the tortures they inflict; even the women exult in proportion to the agony betrayed by the unhappy sufferer; though it frequently happens thro' the same spirit operating on both parties, that the most excruciating torments cannot extort a sigh. An example or two from Mr. Adair's History of the American Indians, will shew the firmness of an Indian [72] mind, and prove beyond a doubt that such anecdotes are not exaggerated. Truth should be the standard of history, and guide the pen of every author who values his M reputation.

S Some years ago the Shawano Indians being obliged to 152 remove from their habitations, in their way took a Mus- 727 kohge warrior, known by the name of old *Scrany*, prisoner; they bastinadoed him severely, and condemned him to the fiery torture. He underwent a great deal without shewing any concern; his countenance and behaviour were as if he suffered not the least pain. He told his

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persecutors with a bold voice, that he was a warrior; that he had gained most of his martial reputation at the expence of their nation, and was desirous of shewing them, in the act of dying, that he was still as much their superior, as when he headed his gallant countrymen against them: that although he had fallen into their hands, and forfeited the protection of the divine power by some impurity or other, when carrying the holy ark of war against his devoted enemies, yet he had so much remaining virtue as would enable him to punish himself more exquisitely than all their despicable ignorant crowd possibly could; and that he would do so, if they gave him liberty by untying him, and handing him one of the red hot gun-barrels out of the fire. The proposal, and his method of address, appeared so exceedingly bold and uncommon, that his request was granted. Then suddenly seizing one end of the red hot barrel, and brandishing it from side to side, he forced his way through the armed and surprised multitude, leaped down a prodigious steep and high bank into a branch of the river, dived through it, ran over a small island, and passed the other branch, amidst a shower of bullets; and though numbers of his enemies were in close pursuit of him, he got into a bramble swamp, [73] through which, though naked and in a mangled condition, he reached his own country.

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The Shawano Indians also captured a warrior of the Anantoocah nation, and put him to the stake, according to their usual cruel solemnities: having unconcernedly suffered much torture, he told them, with scorn, they did not know how to punish a noted enemy; therefore he was willing to teach them, and would confirm the truth of his assertion if they allowed him the opportunity. Accordingly he requested of them a pipe and some tobacco, which

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river, and covered them with arrows, so that there were several Spaniards wounded. The first division was no sooner on the left than it recrossed and came and recovered its place; nevertheless, always advancing beyond the brigantines. The second division, which crossed after having attacked with fury, returned to the right and placed itself at the head of the first. The third passed in the same manner, and having showered a quantity of arrows upon the soldiers, they rejoined those of their party and came and posted themselves in front of the second division. In the mean time, as our caravels did not cease rowing, they arrived at the position of the barbarians who had first attacked them, and who began to attack them in the same manner as before. The others also attacked, each in their order and their accustomed manner, and harassed the Spaniards all the day. Even during the night they tormented them, but not with so much persistency, for they made but two attacks, the first a little before sunset, and the other before daybreak." [66] 726

A little beyond he records the adroit manner in which the Indians withdrew before a party of Spaniards who were advancing in canoes, suddenly rushed upon them from all sides, and upset their boats, thereby destroying all but four of the occupants.[66] Doubtless such scenes as these were many times repeated in desperate intertribal wars waged along this river and in the coast regions.

Peace making was, naturally enough, a prerogative of the miko or civil chief and his counsellors, as Hawkins says.[67] He adds that "peace talks are always addressed to the cabin of the Mic-co," and that in some cases, where the resentment of the warriors has run high, the Micco and council have been much embarrassed." [67] 728

The only accounts of peace making ceremonies of any length are two from Adair. They are in a way complementary but indicate some slight divergence in the customs under different conditions. His first statement is as follows:

"When two nations of Indians are making, or renewing, peace with each other, the ceremonies and solemnities they use, carry the face of great antiquity, and are very striking to a curious spectator, which I shall here relate, so far as it suits the present subject. When strangers of note arrive near the place, where they design to contract new friendship, or confirm their old amity, they send a messenger a-head, to inform the people of their amicable intention. He carries a swan's wing in his hand, painted all over with streaks of white clay, as an expressive emblem of their embassy. The next day, when they have made their friendly parade, with firing off their guns

[66] Garcilasso in Shipp's History of De Soto and Florida, pp. 488-487.
[67] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. iii, p. 72.

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and whooping, and have entered the beloved square, their chieftain, who is a-head of the rest, is met by one of the old beloved men, or magi, of the place. He and the visitant approach one another, in a bowing posture. The former says, *Yò, ish la chu Anggóna*?[70] . . . The other replies, *Yah—Arahre-O, Anggona.*[71] The magus then grasps the stranger with both his hands, around the wrist of his right hand, which holds some green branches—again, about the elbow—then around the arm, close to his shoulder, as a near approach to the heart. Then his immediately waving the eagles tails over the head of the stranger, is the strongest pledge of good faith."[72]

The later statement runs thus:

"I can not however conclude this argument, without a few remarks concerning the Indian methods of *making peace*, and of renewing their old friendship. They first smoke out of the friend-pipe, and eat together; then they drink of the *Cusseena*, using such invocations as have been mentioned, and proceed to wave their large fans of eagles-tails, concluding with a dance. The persons visited, appoint half a dozen of their most active and expert young warriors to perform this religious duty, who have had their own temples adorned with the swanfeather-cap. They paint their bodies with white clay, and cover their heads with swan-down; then approaching the chief representative of the strangers, who by way of honour, and strong assurance of friendship, is seated on the central white or holy seat, 'the beloved cabin' (which is about nine feet long and seven feet broad),[72a] they wave the eagles tails backward and forward over his head.[72] Immediately they begin the solemn song with an awful air; and presently they dance in a bowing posture; then they raise themselves so erect, that their faces look partly upwards, waving the eagles tails with their right hand toward heaven, sometimes with a slow, at others with a quick motion; at the same time they touch their breast with their small calabash and pebbles fastened to a stick about a foot long, which they hold in their left hand, keeping time with the motion of the eagles tails; during the dance, they repeat the usual divine notes, Yo, etc., and wave the eagles tails now and then over the stranger's head, not moving above two yards backward or forward before him. They are so surprisingly expert in their supposed religious office, and observe time so exactly, with their particular gestures and notes, that there is not the least discernible discord. . . .

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[70] Yo, exil.; *ishi*, thou hast come; *cha*, sign of interrogation; *a-hena*, my friend.

[71] Yes, yes; *elali*, I am come; *O*, strengthening particle; *a-hena*, my friend.

[72] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 68.

[72a] The dimensions given show that Adair is speaking merely of the central section of the west bed. See pp. 181, 185.

[72] When they are disaffected, or intend to declare war, they will not allow any of the party against whom they have hostile views, to approach the white seat; as their holy men, and holy places, are considered firmly bound to keep good faith and give sure refuge.—Adair.

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"The Indians can not shew greater honour to the greatest potentate on earth than to place him in the white seat—invoke Yo He Wah, while he is drinking the Cusseena, and dance before him with the eagles tails. When two chieftains are renewing, or perpetuating friendship with each other, they are treated with the same ceremonies. And in their circular friendly dances, when they honour their guests, and pledge themselves to keep good faith with them, they sometimes sing their divine notes with a very awful air, pointing their right hand towards the sky. Some years ago, I saw the Kooasahte Indians (two hundred miles up Mobile River) perform this rite with much solemnity; as if invoking the deity by their notes and gestures, to enable them to shew good-will to their fellow-creatures, and to bear witness of their faithful vows and conduct." [74] 728

A peace-making ambassador, besides carrying the swans' wings, was provided with eagles' tails, white beads, white pipes, and tobacco.[75] When Adair visited the Choctaw for the purpose of concluding peace with them, they tied strings of beads about his neck, arms, and legs, and in return he presented to them silver arm-plates, gorgets, wrist plates, ear bobs, and so on.[76]

Agriculture

Agriculture among the Creeks had both an economic and a social side. We are here concerned only with the latter. Each town, in addition to small garden plots worked by individual families, or rather by their female members, had a large common field located as near the town as possible. This was planted with corn chiefly, although beans, squashes, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, and rice are mentioned by early travelers, the last three contributions from the whites. The allotments of the different households were separated by a narrow strip of grass, poles, or any suitable natural or artificial boundary. In caring for this the town acted together, under the charge of an overseer said to have been appointed annually. He called the men to the square by going through the town blowing upon a conch shell or uttering a loud cry. Immediately they gathered with hoes and axes, and then marched in order to the field as if they were going to battle, headed by their overseer. The women followed in detached parties bearing the provisions for the day. Anyone who attempted to shirk was fined. In the field they also worked together, beginning with the patch at one end and going through to the last. In this way they prepared the field, planted it, and cultivated it from time to time until the harvest was ready. While they were at work they sang certain special songs. Generally they suspended work early in the afternoon and indulged in ball games or other sports, which were 241

[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 167-169.
[75] These things are enumerated by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 269-270, and 316.
[76] Ibid., p. 321.

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423 642 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

[727] Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on 423 original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19] 621 It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

177 648 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

674 ●732 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. [illegible], p. 340; cf. also p. 209.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

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"deaf," but it has come to signify "drunken," "roguish," "wicked," "ainful," etc.

Institutional killing will be treated under its proper head. It was based on the principle of retaliation, or, as more popularly expressed, "getting even," and was considered necessary in order to placate the souls of the departed. I have already remarked that the victim was sometimes devoted to death in advance, and Bartram mentions a case in which he was selected by lot. The following quotation from Adair shows what happened when murder was committed within the tribe, as well as the Indian attitude toward man killing generally:

"The Indians transmit from father to son, the memory of the loss of their relation, or of one of their own tribe or family, though it were an old woman if she was either killed by the enemy, or by any of their own people. If indeed the murder be committed by a kinsman, the eldest can redeem: however, if the circumstances attending the facts be peculiar and shocking to nature, the murderer is condemned to die the death of a sinner, 'without anyone to mourn for him,' as in the case of suicide; contrary to their usage toward the rest of their dead.

"In the late Cheerake War, at the earnest persuasions of the trading people, several of the Muskohge warriors came down to the barrier-settlements of Georgia, to go against the Cheerake, and revenge English crying blood: but the main body of the nation sent a running embassy to the merchants there, requesting them immediately to forbear their unfriendly proceedings, otherwise, they should be forced by disagreeable necessity to revenge their relations' blood if it should chance to be spilt contrary to their ancient laws: . . . If an unruly horse belonging to a white man, should chance to be tied at a trading house and kill one of the Indians, either the owner of the house, or the person who tied the beast there, is responsible for it, by their lex talionis; . . . If the Indians have a dislike to a person, who by any casualty was the death of one of their people, he stands accountable, and will certainly suffer for it, unless he takes sanctuary.

"I knew an under trader, who being intrusted by his employer with a cargo of goods for the country of the Muskohge, was forced by the common law of good faith, to oppose some of those savages in the remote woods, to prevent their robbing the camp: the chieftain being much intoxicated with spirituous liquors, and becoming outrageous in proportion to the resistance he met with, the trader like a brave man, opposed lawless force by force: some time after, the lawless bacchanal was attacked with a pleurisy, of which he died. Then the heads of the family of the deceased convened the lesser judicatory, and condemned the trader to be shot to death for the supposed murder of their kinsman; which they easily effected, as he was off his guard, and knew nothing of their murdering design.

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almost entirely between members of the same clan or members of linked clans or else between individuals connected by marriage. It is not to be supposed that we have here a case of real communism in chattels. Part of it was nothing more than borrowing, and another part a borrowing of a different kind in which equivalent values were exchanged instead of identical objects. From my own experience with Indians I think it is safe to assume that every family was pretty acutely conscious of its credit or debit as regards every other family, and that a persistent "sponge" was looked down upon and avoided. That there were such "sponges" we know from Stiggins, who says: 426 431

"If it (hospitality) is beneficial in keeping the traveler and stranger from hunger and starvation, it keeps a great many of their town people of men and women sauntering from door to door in loafing idleness; if no one will cloathe them, they are perfectly satisfied for every house will feed them."[4] 7360 574

Adair gives an amusing account of the skill with which one Indian parried the appeal of another for a certain service.[5] The sense of individual ownership was by no means wanting; only for the reasons above given it did not always appear so keenly developed as with us. Social usage had sanctioned a method of exchange comparatively unknown to Europeans and had given a definite "set" to the instinct of private ownership, not abolished it. Indeed, elsewhere Bartram himself says: 421

"All that a man earns by his labor or industry belongs to himself; he has the use and disposal of it according to the custom and usages of the people. He may clear, settle, and plant as much land as he pleases, and wherever he will within the boundaries of his tribe."[6]

Debts, which probably had nothing to do with this social exchange, were also recognized. Adair remarks that "when they are able, without greater damage to themselves, than benefit to their creditor, they discharge their honest debts." And he adds that when differences arose over such matters they were settled by "the head Archimagus, and his old beloved men," and that a creditor could seize property of the debtor to the amount due him.[7] Both Creeks and Seminole formerly had a high reputation among the white people for punctuality in the payment of their debts.[8] In this particular civilization has not worked for their betterment. Writing in the middle of the nineteenth century Eakins says of them: "Obligations, in regard to debt, are considered binding. Time does not diminish these obligations among the Creeks. The Indian does not consider ill-luck in hunting, as exonerating him from paying his debts."[9] 426

[4] Stiggins, Ms.
[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 304-305.
[6] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.
[7] Adair, op. cit., p. 439.
[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 272.
[9] Ibid., p. 283.

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589 Elsewhere the same observer informs us that, in 1840, the Creek national council undertook to reduce the period of enforced widowhood to 12 months, but so much opposition was aroused that they were forced to restore the old law the next year.[27]

• [736] The Tukabahchee chief informed Hitchcock that when there were widows or orphans with no one to take care of them he called the people out and had them put up a house for them, fence in a garden, and plant corn.

Claiborne says:

"With the Creeks, when a man dies, his wives can not dress up, or go into company, or attend the dances or appear in the town square, or bind up their hair for the period of 12 months, during which time they must remain chaste under the penalty of beating and cropping as above stated. The relations of the deceased husband have the privilege of releasing them from the observance of this custom before the year is out, but they seldom do so." [28]

[587 614] The fact comes out plainly in all of these accounts that the clan, or rather the family group within the clan, which has furnished the husband or the wife of the widow or widower feels itself under obligations to supply his or her place, and on the other hand that it has the prior right to supply it. That not merely the man but the group had acquired the right to the individual is shown clearly by Swan's statement above that a widow who made free with any man until after four summers was considered an adulteress. This does not mean a communal right, however; merely a right to furnish the bereaved party with another spouse.

As might have been anticipated, Adair has a great deal to say on this subject, though it must be understood that his remarks apply more particularly to the Chickasaw:

"All the Indian widows, by an established strict penal law, mourn for the loss of their deceased husbands; and among some tribes for the space of three or four years. . . .

"The Muskohge widows are obliged to live a chaste single life, for the tedious space of four years; and the Chikkasah women, for the term of three, at the risque of the law of adultery being executed against the recusants. Every evening, and at the very dawn of day, for the first year of her widowhood, she is obliged through the fear of shame to lament her loss, in very intense audible strains. . . .

"Their law compels the widow, through the long term of her weeds, to refrain all public company and diversions, at the penalty of an adulteress; and likewise to go with flowing hair, without the privilege of oil to anoint it. The nearest kinsmen of the deceased husband, keep a very watchful eye over her conduct, in this respect. The

[27] See p. 334.
[28] Claiborne, Miss., vol. i, p. 488.

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861 The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was [751] inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

861 Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:
622 "It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might [838] have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [tcihaksi kània he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Haksinna* [tcihaksina], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [tciabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"[88]

861 In another place the same writer remarks that in his time chil-
609 dren who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156-157.

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outlets for the purely social instincts, ceremonial elements entered into certain of them in such a way that it might be difficult to say where the social element ended and the ceremonial element began. There is a suggestion of this sort in the regulations connected with the snake, horned-owl, and skunk dances. Ceremonies or fasts of a somewhat extemporaneous character were undertaken from time to time in cases of national distress, as we learn from Bartram, who says: 796

"At this time the town [Atasi] was fasting, taking medicine, and I think I may say praying, to avert a grievous calamity of sickness, which had lately afflicted them, and laid in the grave abundance of their citizens. They fast seven or eight days, during which time they eat or drink nothing but a meagre gruel, made of a little cornflour and water; taking at the same time by way of medicine or physic, a strong decoction of the roots of the Iris versicolor, which is a powerful cathartic."[20] [751]

Religious ceremony was more or less mixed up with social relaxation in the feasts held after a successful hunt or upon the arrival of strangers. Bartram again gives us a view of one of these impromptu gatherings which he witnessed in the Seminole town of Talahasutci, of which a man called by the whites the White King was then miko. 574 [796]

"On our arrival at the trading house, our chief was visited by the head men of the town, when instantly the White King's arrival in town was announced: a messenger had before been sent in to prepare a feast, the king and his retinue having killed several bears. A fire was now kindled in the area of the public square; the royal standard was displayed, and the drum beat to give notice to the town of the royal feast.

"The ribs and the choice pieces of the three great fat bears already well barbecued or broiled, were brought to the banqueting house in the square, with hot bread; and honeyed water for drink.

"When the feast was over in the square (where only the chiefs and warriors were admitted, with the white people), the chief priest, attended by slaves, came with baskets and carried off the remainder of the victuals, etc. which was distributed amongst the families of the town. The king then withdrew, repairing to the council-house in the square, whither the chiefs and warriors, old and young, and such of the whites as chose, repaired also; the king, war chief, and several ancient chiefs and warriors were seated on the royal cabins; the rest of the head men and warriors, old and young, sat on the cabins on the right hand of the king's: the cabins or seats on the left, and on the same elevation, are always assigned for the white people, Indians of other towns, and such of their own people as choose.

"Our chief, with the rest of the white people in town, took their seats according to order: tobacco and pipes were brought; the calu-

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. 454.

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become polluted by long separation from its source.[32] It is unfortunate that we have no further information on this important point.

Swan, the only writer who has much to say of a great evil spirit, remarks that "they have an opinion that droughts, floods, and famines, and their miscarriages in war, are produced by the agency of the bad spirit. But of these things, they appear to have confused and irregular ideas, and some sceptical opinions."[33] I have already expressed doubts about the primitive character of the bad spirit but it is possible that a kind of dualism based on the opposing activities of the good and bad spirits collectively may have grown up.

Yahola and Hayū'ya were two important male deities supposed to reside together in the air without any other companionship. When novices were being instructed regarding the sacred medical formulæ and other mysteries in a way to be described presently the teacher sang songs in which the names of these two beings were mentioned very often. From the general drift of these songs it would appear that the two beings were perfect, clean, undefiled, and were in this manner implored to act as guardians and good geniuses of the pupils. To Jackson Lewis, to whom I am indebted for all of this important information, these beings seemed to endow one with strength, physical activity, and clearness of vision and thought. Yahola was also sometimes appealed to in sickness. If a person was shot and appeared to be dying some ginseng would be cut up and placed in a cup of water and a song sung over it containing the name of Yahola and appealing to his aid in this great emergency. Then the drink would be administered to the sufferer and by doing so it was thought that his life could be prolonged until a more thorough treatment could be undertaken. Also in cases of difficult childbirth the doctor would make medicine and over it utter an appeal to Yahola. "And," concluded Lewis, "this is the real Yahola, though you will find persons so named who do not know what the word means." This word was, in fact, employed in numerous war titles, and a cry called "the Yahola cry" and supposed to resemble the call of the deity himself, was uttered when black drink was taken, and on some other occasions during the annual busk. The name Hayū'ya gives us a clew to the four "Hi-you-yul-gee" from the four corners of the world who brought fire to the ancestors of the Creeks.

The being who produced thunder and lightning is identified by Adair with the supreme deity, for in one place he calls the latter "Ishtohoollo Aba Eloa" (the big holy one above who thunders).[34] He tries to represent what he conceives to be the native idea when he says that the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure

[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 105, 107.
[33] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[34] Adair, op. cit., pp. 92-94.

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The "Fasters" or Doctors

The doctors or priests—at least a great majority of them—belonged to a class of learned men called isti poskálgi ("fasting men"), already referred to, who had received their training in certain schools of higher learning, if we may so denominate them. This training was called by the same name, pōskita, "to fast," as that given to the great town ceremonial, because in both fasting was an essential element. It was generally undertaken in summer when a person can lie out of doors comfortably and proceeds about as follows, according to Jackson Lewis, who had taken five courses in this aboriginal college. From one to four young men—Lewis did not remember parties of more than four—would go into the town and engage some old Indian who was known to have passed through the course and was prepared to teach them. Then all repaired together to a stream of water, usually a densely wooded creek bottom where they were not likely to be observed. As a further protection they threw together boughs so as to screen themselves still more completely, for during their stay there they did not want to be so much as seen. The "red root," miko hoyanīdja, was dug by each candidate, pounded up and put into a pot already provided, and the pot filled with water. Then the instructor came in and blew into the medicine through a cane. After blowing into it and singing over it he went away. This was supposed to give the medicine virtue. Then the novice drank great quantities of medicine at intervals of an hour or more, so arranging it that by noon he would have taken it four separate times. At noon the instructor came back and then began to tell the novice either by words or songs some of the most elementary things he had to learn. After talking for some time he went away. When the sun was just above the western horizon he came back and gave more instruction and left the man in the woods again.

The first thing that would be taught was how to treat gunshot wounds. There were three ways of treating these: (1) For flesh wounds, (2) for bowel wounds, (3) for head wounds. The instructor would tell what to do and what songs to sing in order to give virtue to the medicine they made for the wounds. Then the instructor said, "You sing this. Sing it as I have sung it to you." Sometimes these are merely recited formulas. When the novice had repeated as best he could what the instructor had told him the instructor criticized, and corrected him where he had made mistakes. Then he instructed him again and said, "Now go over it as I have." He did not stop because his pupil had repeated it correctly once but made him go over it often later, because unless it was gone over in just such a manner it would not be effective when used. After this

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Blood letting and sucking were frequently resorted to. Swan says that the Indians sometimes believed that they had been supernaturally shot by enemies hundreds of miles away and would then consult a doctress. "The cunning woman tells them that what they have apprehended is verily true, and proceeds to examine and make the cure. In these cases, scratching or cupping is the remedy; or, as is often the case, sucking the affected part with her mouth, she produces to their view some fragment of a bullet, or piece of a wad, which she had purposely concealed in her mouth to confirm the truth of what she had asserted; after this, a few magic draughts of their physic must be administered, and the patient is made whole."[96] Jackson Lewis said that pricks were sometimes made over the affected part with a little piece of glass. The large end of a short piece of cow horn was then placed over them and a quantity of blood sucked out through a hole pierced in the small end. Silas Jefferson states that he was once treated by a snake doctor who simply chewed up a bit of root and, holding it in his mouth, sucked out the poison. Next day he was perfectly restored. But unlike the former European practice, blood letting was not resorted to in cases of fever.[97] 755

Eakins says that bandages and lints were applied in many cases. He continues: "The success with which they treat gunshot wounds, cuts, &c., is generally attributed to the care of the physician. The Creeks never amputate. They are skilful in the use of splints. For removing the wounded they use the litter."[97] 752 727 783

Adair furnishes some information regarding the treatment of those wounded in war.

"The Indians . . . build a small hut at a considerable distance from the houses of the village, for every one of their warriors wounded in war, and confine them there . . . for the space of four moons, including that moon in which they were wounded, as in the case of their women after travail: and they keep them strictly separate, lest the impurity of the one should prevent the cure of the other. The reputed prophet, or divine physician, daily pays them a due attendance, always invoking Yo He Wah to bless the means they apply on the sad occasion; which is chiefly mountain allum, and medicinal herbs, always injoyning a very abstemious life, prohibiting them women and salt in particular, during the time of the cure, or sanctifying the reputed sinners. Like the Israelites, they firmly believe that safety, or wounds, etc., immediately proceed from the pleased, or angry deity, for their virtuous, or vicious conduct, in observing, or violating the divine law.

"In this long space of purification, each patient is allowed only a superannuated woman to attend him, who is past the temptations of

[96] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271. [97] Ibid., vol. i, p. 274.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day."[99]

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man
[752 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor
727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the tcokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle."[1] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[2]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
791 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[99] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 126.
[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[2] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 60.

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789 would then come there, stoop down and drink some of the water, and throw it up again into the pool. He would do this four times. Then he would divide the dam that held the water in this pool and let it all run away. After that he would go to a large creek, remove his clothing, and dive under water four times. Then he would come out and lie in the bushes almost all day (having started out early in the morning) so that no one could see him. About 3 o'clock he started home, avoiding meeting or speaking to anyone. In perhaps a week he would dress himself up as before and go to see the girl he was in love with, who would then fall in love with him. Sometimes, however, the girl's mother would make medicine against him so that he could not succeed in spite of all his efforts.

DISEASES AND REMEDIES

General Remarks

164 To the discussion of this subject I will prefix the following general remarks from Bartram regarding the diseases of the Indians in his time. However superficial, it has the advantage of being the only statement of the kind belonging to an early period from a man competent to express anything like a scientific opinion.

"The Indians seem in general healthier than the whites, have fewer diseases, and those they have not so acute or contagious as those amongst us.

"The small-pox sometimes visits them, and is the most dreaded of all diseases.

"Dysentery, pleurisy, intermittent fevers, epilepsy and asthma, they have at times.

"The hooping-cough is fatal among their children, and worms very frequent. . . .

"They have the venereal disease amongst them in some of its stages; but by their continence, temperance, powerful remedies, skill in applying them, and care, it is a disease which may be said to be uncommon. In some towns it is scarcely known, and in none rises to that state of virulency which we call a *pox*, unless sometimes amongst the white traders who themselves say, as well as the Indians, that it might be eradicated if the traders did not carry it with them to the nations when they return with their merchandise; these contract the disorder before they set off, and it generally becomes virulent by the time they arrive, when they apply to the Indian doctors to get cured." [20]

753 We will now turn to the native conception of diseases and their remedies. This is best illustrated in the abstract by the following myth collected by Dr. Frank Speck from an old Creek medicine man known as Kabitcimala (Kapitca imala), or Laslie Cloud.

[20] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 43-44.

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"The old people, our Maskogi ancestors, were gathered together in the olden times. The deer said that he was the cause of a sickness. So he made the medicine for its cure. The panther said that he was the cause of one. It was he, then, who made the medicine for that trouble. Then again, the bear was the cause of one. He said that he made the medicine for that. Then the snake caused one, and made its medicine. Then again, the hog said he was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. The bird was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then again, the wildcat was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then again, the horse said that he was the cause of one, and he made the medicine for it. Then the beaver said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the dog said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the otter said he was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the fish said it was the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the game animals said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the water animals said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the animals of the sea-shore said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then again, the animals in the sea said they were the cause of one, and made the medicine for it. Then the snake tribe said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the animals-moving-about-in-the-water said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then the small-living-things-in-the-water said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the raccoon said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then the white-hog (opossum) said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the sky-hog said he was the cause of one and made medicine for it. Then again, the rainbow said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the spirits of the dead said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the different kinds of dirt said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, new-fire-when-it-is-cold said it was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the buzzard said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, living-people said they were causes and made medicines for them. Then again, the turkey said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the wolf-in-the-water said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the land-wolf said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the rattlesnake said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it. Then again, the owl said he was the cause of one and made

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•753 the medicine for it. Then again, what-is-inside-of-me said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it."[20a]

Mooney's Cherokee version of the "Origin of Disease and Medicine"[21] agrees with the above in tracing diseases to the animals, but according to this the animals created diseases in self-defence, and the plant creation volunteered the remedies which were to counteract them. The two stories agree, however, in tracing diseases mainly to the animals. This my Natchez informant also confirmed.

Long as is the list given by Speck's informant it by no means exhausts the alleged sources of disease and it is difficult to see how some of these could have prescribed their own cures. The myth does not perhaps represent the philosophical idea held by all doctors but it is universally true of the Creeks that animals along with many other things were supposed to occasion diseases, that there were cures for each, and that the remedies used often had some kind of resemblance, real or supposed, to the reputed causes. We will take up these causes of disease in order with the information which I have obtained regarding the method of treating each malady. The greater part of this information was obtained from Jackson Lewis, to which I have added a small amount from various other Indians and what could be gleaned from earlier writings.

756 The same evolution which had carried the Creeks to a point where they had schools of medicine, even though rudimentary in their nature, had brought about specialization both in the medicines used and in the practice of the different physicians. I have already spoken of the separate class of kílas or diagnosticians and the common or family doctors. Among regular practitioners, however, there was a further specialization. Each doctor did not pretend to cover the whole field of medicine. One would treat for the deer, one for the many snakes, one for the disorders contracted from graves, and so on. It was a common thing to specialize on diseases due to thunder. A doctor might tell what he knew of the disease but refer the patient to another if the method to be employed in treating it had not been given to him.

According to my Natchez informant one who had been struck by lightning and had afterwards recovered could cure diseases of all kinds.

753 The diseases were named from those animals or objects which the symptoms seemed to simulate or recall. Thus the water animals brought diseases of the stomach, bowels, liver, etc., the fish and snail (lábo), which exude slime like phlegm, caused diseases of the lungs, and so on. Sometimes the medicine contained only one thing, sometimes several. It would vary also with the class of creatures causing the trouble and the particular representative of that class.

[20a] Memoirs Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 146-149.
[21] 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, pp. 250-252.

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Thus the same basal medicines were used in curing diseases caused by water creatures, but diseases caused by particular water beings such as the water wolf, the rainbow, or the water tiger, would require some additions. On the other hand we find single remedies employed in curing diseases due to the eye and tongue of the deer which are combined in the remedy for the deer disease. 753

Creek Medicines

Deer diseases.—There was a disease produced by the common deer, one produced by "the many deer," a name used for all species and varieties of deer, and one produced by a newly born fawn or a fawn still in its mother's womb. This last is called the "soft deer" (itco lowagi). The eye of the deer will produce eye troubles and the tongue of the deer throat troubles. The prescription for the common deer disease, the symptoms of which appear to be rheumatic pains in any part of the body, was to take some deer's potato (itco imaha), pāsa, itco hitcigu (a very fragrant weed looking something like goldenrod), cedar (atcīna), and a small piece of the tender end of the summer grapevine. These were to be boiled together and the person steamed in them, more being taken internally. As in all other cases to these ingredients must be added, in order to produce any results, the formula repeated by the doctor four times and blown into the medicine through a cane tube. In treating "the many deer" and fawn diseases the same medicines were employed, only the formulæ being varied. In treating the "deer eyes" disease itco hitcigu is used alone and in treating the "deer tongue" disease miko hoyanīdja. By other informants I was told that the common deer disease was rheumatism or neuralgia or sometimes a severe headache, and when it was incurable, or at least very acute, it was considered to be the "soft deer" disease (or "limber deer" disease—itco lowagi).

According to one of these men the "deer chief" disease (itco miko) was a name given to rheumatism when it was in one place, but evidently it was rheumatism of the severe type, for Jackson Lewis said that unless well treated it swelled the joints and sometimes lamed a man for life. For it he used itco imaha and the bark scraped off of the wild crabapple (itco impākana) in some quantity, a sprig of cedar, and four roots of the pāsa. The swollen and inflamed places were steamed with this. 753 539

Tuggle has the following about this disease:

"Echo-polsa [itco pulsi]—Deer sickness.

"The medicine is made from the deer-potato or echo-mahhar [itco imahaj, mixed in water.

"Song:

Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.

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Hohtikee.
Echo.
Hohchetice.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Hohtikee.
Echo.
Mikkatee.

'Translation:

Hohtikee [hâtki], white.
Echo [itco], deer.
Hachetice [from hatci], tail.
Hotikee, white.
Echo, deer.
Mikkatee [mikati], has been king." [32]

According to Jackson Lewis, there is a grub which lives in the nostrils of the deer and comes out of them in the fall as a little butterfly called kauûlgi in Hitchiti and tcoânâga (itco hanako) in Muskogee. This is a good sign of the presence of deer and is sometimes found forming in deer. By the Indians it is considered to be the cause of catarrh. This belief was confirmed by Zachariah Cook. In treating it Jackson Lewis used the itco hitcigu and the itco imaha, with which might be included the pāsa. After these have been boiled in water and allowed to cool they are inhaled through the nostrils. He declared that he had cured numerous cases by means of this medicine.

The bear disease.—The patient is taken with a violent fever, accompanied by thirst for cold water, and he has frequent evacuations of the bowels. This trouble Jackson Lewis said was not very difficult to control. According to Zachariah Cook, this disease is called ponâtâ haledji, which refers to the bear without naming him. The patient has a high fever and is out of his head; he is troubled about his mouth, pulls at the bed clothes, and gathers them in his arms as if he would pull them all together. One doctor told Cook that he could always cure this disease if he could get to the patient in time.[33]

The blood-of-the-bear disease.—The patient vomits up blood, or at least spits it up continually. The treatment is to take roots of the miko hoyanīdja, and roots of the frostweed (hitutape), mix these with water and give the decoction to the patient internally. If this does not appear to be as efficacious as desired, parings of the root of the kīstuwa, the "red root" of the whites, are put into a bottle along with cold water and some of this liquid drunk from time to time.

The bison disease.—I learned that there was such a disease but no facts regarding it.

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[32] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[33] See p. 644.

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The rabbit disease.—The patient has pain in the lower part of the abdomen and is unable to pass water easily, what is passed being very red. The eyes are very yellow and there is sometimes paralysis in the lower parts of the body. Treatment: A bundle of stalks of a certain plant, for which I was unable to get either the native or English name, is procured, boiled in water, and administered. This plant is described as a grass or reed growing near streams to the height of 1½ or 2 feet, having leaves much resembling the leaves of the cane. The fruit is very thin and flutters from the stalk, which is jointed. Jackson Lewis was so enthusiastic about the medicinal properties of this plant that he declared it had been known to cure even those cases accompanied by paralysis of the lower limbs, and no formula was needed with it. 753●

The raccoon disease.—This usually afflicts children; the patients are in poor health with greatly distended stomachs.

The squirrel disease.—The patient's gums are so inflamed that he can hardly eat. Treatment: A small quantity of bark of the red oak and hickory is taken from the places where the tree trunks enter the ground, boiled in water, and cooled, after which the patient rinses out his mouth with the infusion. He must also refrain from eating anything that is very soft.

The dog disease.—There are severe pains in the bowels and stomach accompanied by vomiting.[34] Treatment: Use parings of sassafras roots, adding to them a small handful of a fine grass known to the Indians as "dog's bed." These are boiled in water and a little given to the patient to drink warm. In repeating the formula for this disease the points of the compass are successively addressed but no colors are mentioned. 753 539

Tuggle has the following to say about the dog disease:

"Cramps in the stomach, or dog-sickness, is caused by a dog.

"The medicine is prepared from tobacco, cut up and put in water, making a weak tea, which the patient drinks and also uses as a wash.

"The song is sung while blowing in the water, in order to properly medicate the preparation. Each stanza is repeated four times and after each the doctor blows into the medicine. Finally both stanzas are sung four times and blowing done between.

Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Yoh-ho-lee
Efa
Polsa
Thlohko
Elahtee
Hahlahtee
St Chay

[34] According to Hitchcock, Mogilis Hadjo, a famous Tukabahchee Kiln living in 1842, also identified the dog disease with pains in the bowels.

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Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
Hoh-loh-tee
St Chay

"Translation:

Yohholee [yulihl], be easy
Efa [ifa], dog
Polsa [pulsi], sickness
Thlahkko [lâko], large
Elathe [ilitá], dead
Hohlahtee [hâlati, to hold, to pull?], cramping
St Chay [tcê], stop, or like *Selah*. It merely indicates the end of a sentence, or an idea.

"In the second verse—

Hohlohtee [hâlati], holding him, or, it's got him." [25]

The wolf disease.—The symptoms and treatment are the same as for the dog disease.[26] But see below.

The rat or mouse disease.—The only information I have regarding a disease caused by rats or mice is the following from the Tuggle manuscript. It will be seen that it may have been only the wolf disease under another name:

"The medicine for pains in the temple (headache) is mikko-whe-ar-ne-chah [miko hoyanīdja], or red-root.

"It is put in water and during the chant or song the medicine man blows in the water through a cane and after the song is complete, each verse being sung four times and then the entire song four times, the water is poured over the patient's head. This is repeated four days, always before eating in the morning.

"This sickness is caused by rats or mice, and the song is to drive them away. Some say Yaha, the Wolf, causes it. It is sung in a low monotonous tone—a chant. Each verse is repeated four times and after each repetition the doctor blows into the medicine.

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee chah-tee
Holochee chah-tee
Man-kaht-kan
Hah-yeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Hah-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee lahnee
Holochee lahnee

[25] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[26] Megilis Hadjo attributed "stricture in the bladder" to obsession by a mad wolf.

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Mankaht kan
Hahyeen
Yah-fee noh-hokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Hoh-noh-noh-hee!
Chaysee lustee
Holochee lustee
Man kohtkan
Hohyeen
Yohfeenohhokee

Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Hoh-noh-noh-hee
Chaysee hutkee
Holochee hutkee
Maukabbkan
Hahyeen
Yohfee nohhokee

"The translation of this song is as follows:

Hohnohnohhee, gallop slowly away (like a rat galloping)
Chaysee [tcisi], rat or mouse
Chahtee [tcati], red
Holochee [aholotci], cloud
Mauhobt can [? (tcaka, my head)], my head
Hohyeen [haihoyin], hot
Yoh fee noh-ho-kee [finōki, shaking?], roaring

"Literally:

Gallop away
Gallop away
Gallop away
Red rat
Red cloud
My head
Is hot
Is roaring

"The 'Red cloud' may refer to a rush of blood to the head.

"In the second verse the color of the rat is changed to 'lohnee' [lāni], yellow, and so with the cloud.

"In the third verse the rat is 'lustee' [lāsti], black, and also the cloud.

"In the fourth verse the rat is 'white' [hātki], as is also the cloud."

The lion disease (*Lion*—"*Person-eater*," *Isti-papa*).—According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms of this are a kind of cramp or "holding" inside of the chest. According to Zachariah Cook this disease is cholera morbus. Jackson Lewis said he had never treated it but Cook said it was cured by using the "big medicine" (hilis łākāt), which is the "butterfly plant." The song used with this refers to

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the myths telling how Rabbit left the Lion on the other side of the ocean. Cook had learned of this largely through a virulent epidemic of cholera near 1870–1875.

The wildcat and panther diseases.—According to Cook powerful cramps in the stomach are attributed to a wildcat or some such powerful animal, but, beyond this and the reference by Speck, I have no information regarding a wildcat or panther disease.

The mole disease (*tàko aledji*).—The symptoms are cramps in the bowels, colic, etc. This information was from Zachariah Cook, who did not know how it was treated.

The opossum disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this was the name given to croup (nuklahe) in children. Jackson Lewis did not know the native explanation for this trouble.

The *beaver* (itchaswa), *otter* (osàna), and *muskrat* (oktcûtʼko) are supposed to bring about liver complaint, bowel troubles, gravel, etc., like some of the other water animals. Megillis Hadjo, the Tukabahchee kila mentioned by Hitchcock, held that "costiveness proceeds from two beavers in the bowels of the patient, who have made a dam in him; if pains are added, a bear is inside fighting with the beavers." This agrees with what I was told by William McCombs to the effect that cramps in the bowels were due to the beaver and badger, the beaver because he dams up streams as the bowels are stopped up and the badger because he is thought to have bellyache all the time and the continual running off of the bowels is thought to be due to him. The treatment is much like that used with diseases caused by the other water animals, but I have no specific information regarding it. The prescription contains some of the same remedies as those used in diseases due to water snakes and turtles and some that are different.

The eagle disease.—The patient has cramps in the muscles of the neck or a "crick in the neck" so that the head is turned to one side and can not be moved back. Jackson Lewis said it was probably due to the fact that the patient had handled an eagle feather. According to Mr. McCombs it was believed that the eagle caused the trouble by perching on the back of the neck and must be driven off by the fumes of cedar.

The buzzard disease.—When a child vomits and purges a great deal he is afflicted by the buzzard.

The many-snakes disease.—The "many snakes" have already been mentioned as a term used to include all sorts of serpents and lizards, real and imaginary, though not frogs, toads, or alligators. They are the active causes of a great many diseases such as swellings, abscesses, etc.

The gatherers-in-the-waters disease.—This term is used for the inhabitants of the water elsewhere described. The person suffering

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from this disease has pains in the stomach or bowels, more often the latter, and retches and vomits at times. Sometimes he also has pains in the sides and back. In treating, the roots of a sycamore—the sycamore being a water tree—willow roots, a bunch of small roots from the birch, a piece of wood broken from a stick lying in shallow water in the woods and nearly rotted, are collected. With them is put some water dipped out of a small whirlpool in running water, and a little water from a hairlike line often seen on ponded water just back of a little fall. Then more water is added, the whole boiled and used warm, a little being drunk, some put on the body, and some used in steaming the body.

Regarding the "snake disease" Zachariah Cook said that the name was given to swellings, boils, carbuncles arising in several places, and inflammatory rheumatism. Certain rheumatic pains or certain kinds of paralysis were attributed to the "unseen-snakes-in-the-water disease" (ayâ haigida), or "many-animals-of-the-water disease" (wiak wilagi sûlgat). This last is evidently the "many-snakes disease." It seems that these creatures taken separately could produce diseases also. According to Cook the water tiger (wi-katca) causes congestion of the stomach, the water-king deer (wīofûts miko) something similar to rheumatism of the bowels, and the water buffalo (wī yanasa) an inward corruption of the liver something like the snake disease.

The snake disease.—By this is meant simply snake bite. The medicinal plant used by Jackson Lewis blooms about July and the flower is white. When ready to open it shows a number of teeth inside just like the teeth of a snake. The roots are said to be large and oval. One of my informants was treated by a doctor in a case of snake bite. The doctor chewed up some of this root and then sucked the wound.

The snake medicine, of which a specimen was furnished by Caley Proctor, and which may be identical with the above, was *Manfreda virginica*, called abi-tcápko ("long stem") in Creek. It was said to be a sure cure both for snake bite and the bite of a centipede. The roots were boiled in water and the bite washed with the liquid. Another way employed by a doctor was to take some common tobacco into his mouth, suck the bite four times and as he did so hum four times the following formula: tohiudjidī tohilákodi solonk, the words of which seem to have no meaning.

When this snake medicine was not to be had the summer grape (pálko láko, "big grape") might be substituted. The tendrils and soft, succulent ends of the vines were boiled thoroughly and the infusion afterward given to the patient to drink.

Some doctors attained such proficiency that they were not afraid to pick up any kind of snake. A man named Keeka, living between

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•753 Beggs and Hamilton, possessed this power and he would not allow any of his family to kill a snake. Upon one occasion Adair "saw the Chikkasah Archi-magus chew some snake-root, blow it on his hands, and then take up a rattlesnake without damage." In another place he has the following to say about native snake medicines:

"I do not remember to have seen or heard of an Indian dying by the bite of a snake, when out at war, or a hunting; although they are often bitten by the most dangerous snakes—everyone carries in his shot-pouch, a piece of the best snake-root, such as the *Seneeka*, or fern-snake-root,—or the wild hore-hound, wild plantain, St. Andrew's cross, and a variety of other herbs and roots, which are plenty, and well known to those who range the American woods, and are exposed to such dangers, and will effect a thorough and speedy cure if timely applied. When an Indian perceives he is struck by a snake, he immediately chews some of the root, and having swallowed a sufficient quantity of it, he applies some to the wound; which he repeats as occasion requires, and in proportion to the poison the snake has infused into the wound. For a short space of time, there is a terrible conflict through all the body, by the jarring qualities of the burning poison, and the strong antidote; but the poison is soon repelled through the same channels it entered, and the patient is cured." [27]

I do not know whether the following formula was used in cases of snake bite or a more esoteric kind of snake sickness. It is from the Tuggle collection.

[539] "After preparing this medicine [for "snake sickness"], the medicine-man sang this song:

O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, spirit of the white fox, come
O, hater of snakes, come
Snakes [who] have hurt this man, come
Come, O white fox, and kill this snake.

O, spirit of the red fox, come, etc.

O, spirit of the black fox, come, etc.[28]

James Islands and N. L. Alexander, two Creek Indians, told General Hitchcock that "a case of salivation . . . was caused by two rattlesnakes in the mouth," adding that "they required five dollars for a prescription." This disease is evidently different from all of those snake diseases above mentioned, except possibly the last.

The turtle disease.—The sympton of this is a chronic cough which results in appreciably reducing the flesh of the victim. Treatment:

[27] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 235-236.

[28] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn. Probably one verse, referring to a blue or yellow fox, has been lost. This formula is peculiar in beginning with the east, but it is impossible to tell whether the points of the compass are taken in sinistral order or in dextral order.

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Make an infusion in water of the roots of a plant called "turtle's liver" (lutca logi). This is not found in the Creek Nation but in the country of the Cherokee (Oklahoma), and it has small circular leaves and beautiful blue flowers. If it can not be obtained, substitute for it a small piece of buckeye and a small piece of devil's shoestring. The patient must drink small quantities of this decoction from time to time warm. Warm cloths may also be put into it and then around the throat and chest. 7530.

Zachariah Cook, however, gave the name "turtle disease" (hilutca) to a hard boil forming one head. He mentioned another disease called "turtles-of-the-water" or "many turtles" (lutca sulgat), which is some sort of stomach trouble or liver complaint. It is almost identical with a disease known as "wolf-of-the-water" (wiofi yaha), and the two are treated alike, but I did not learn how.

The terrapin (lutca lobotski) disease.—According to Zachariah Cook this deforms a person by cramping his stomach or raising a lump on his shoulder. It is said that small people were affected in this way, and this suggests that it may be a name applied to the disease producing hunchbacks. In the song used in treating this disease the terrapin is called lutca hayegi, "the turtle rattles are made of."

The alligator was not accused, so far as Jackson Lewis could remember, of causing any disease, but Zachariah Cook said that it was included in the turtle disease, by which I suppose he meant that it was an animal which produced the same trouble either separately or in conjunction with the turtle.

The perch disease (sàndàlàkwà, perch).—The symptoms of this are a very acute attack of coughing which the patient can hardly stop. Treatment: Sassafras and the devil's shoestring are boiled and about a tablespoonful given at a dose.

The "periwinkle" disease.—Tuggle has the following to say about this: 753 539

'Karpochee, or Periwinkle sickness, caused by the periwinkle. The jaws swell as in mumps.

"The medicine is prepared from the gourd, Phibbee [fibī], either from the green leaves, or from the seed, when the leaves can not be obtained. In the following song which goes with this medicine each verse is repeated four times and after each time the medicine is blown into as is customary in other cases. At the end the entire song is repeated four times, and the blowings again take place.

"The song:

Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee

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Thlah-kotee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Che-kee
Thlah-kotee

Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Che-kee
Che-ko-chetee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee
Foh-yoh-yoke
Thlah-kotee

"Meaning of words:

Cheke [tcikhi], rough (up and down) [raised in
Thlahkotee [łákoti], big (large, swollen)
Chekochetee [tcutkutciti], little
Fohyohyoke [from folotki], twisted

"Literal translation:

Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big
Rough, rough, big

Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little
Rough, rough, little

Twisted big
Twisted big
Twisted big" [29]

Unless there is some usage of the word periwinkle other than that known to me, as applied to a small marine shell, it would seem as if Tuggle must have erred in translating the name of this disease. For a long period of time the periwinkle can have played no part in the life of the Creek Indians.

753 *The slug disease.*—The patient has some cough but more particularly a very considerable expectoration of phlegm. Treatment: The same as for the perch disease but with a different formula.

The millepede disease.—The patient coughs and is so hoarse as almost to lose his voice. Treatment: An infusion of ginseng is to be drunk very warm.

The ant disease (*tákodja', ant*).—According to Zachariah Cook when matter runs from a boil leaving holes the trouble is attributed to the ant.

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[29] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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The "mastodon" disease.—It was asserted by William McCombs that there was such a disease recognized, its native name being Łakłága, "the greatest of great [animals]." This name may perhaps have been applied to some mythic animal on the basis of mastodon or other bones found from time to time.

The hátckutcáp disease.—This is caused by a mythical animal described elsewhere.[29a] Those who happen to see this creature have a severe fever and some have been known to die.

The hátcko-fáski disease.—This is produced by another mythical animal described elsewhere. I have no information regarding the malady itself.[29a]

The good-snake disease.—A disease is produced by the bodyless celestial snake described in the section on religion.[29b] In treating it Jackson Lewis took roots of the sycamore, willow, and birch, sprigs of cedar, and seed pods of the red sumac which he boiled in water, using the resulting liquid to give the patient a sweat bath. A little was also given the patient to drink. The treatment was repeated on several successive days.

The rainbow disease.—As its name implies, this was supposed to be caused by the rainbow. Its symptoms are like those of the preceding and it was treated similarly.

The little people and giants have elsewhere been described, as also the effects produced by them in bewildering persons and leading them astray.[29c] The disease caused by them is known as labátkádilōga, "gathered on land"—i. e., not in the water—or "outside gathering on land."[29d] Treatment: Procure four little forked limbs of the post oak, one little sprig of the wild plum—a sprig of the huckleberry (tsafáknà), one of the mistletoe, one of the red haw, one of the cedar and one of a bush like the huckleberry but growing 4 feet high and bearing in June. The red haw and cedar are taken because the giants are said to feed upon their berries. To these things is added a pine cone if it can be gotten, if not a sprig of pine with the needles on; also a sprig of the winter huckleberry (owísa); a kind of high-bush huckleberry which ripens in November and during the winter, and grows on rough ground far up in the mountains; a sprig of the black haw (silāwa); a sprig of the summer grape or "big grape"; a sprig of the winter grape or "little grape"; a sprig of the muscadine (tsoloswa); four sprigs from blackberry bushes; four sprigs from dewberry vines; one sprig from the raspberry; and finally sprigs of two plants which appear to be a large and a small variety of straw-

[29a] See p. 497.
[29b] See p. 494.
[29c] See pp. 496-497.
[29d] The word is compounded of labátki, "straight," and adilōga, "together."

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berry. Four shoots of each are taken. To all these may be added a very small quantity of horsemint. The patient is to drink some of this, sponge his body with the liquid, and use it in sweat bathing. The doctor, as usual, sings over it and blows into it with a cane, after which it is boiled and used warm. When the patient has recovered the doctor strictly enjoins him from using intoxicating drinks.

Zachariah Cook called this particular disease pneumonia, and said that hitci pàkpàgi was put into the medicine as a "foundation." When it had been compounded and conjured they sprinkled it about around the house—four times around the outside and four times around the inside alternately, i. e., once outside, then once inside, and so until they were through. This was done for four successive days by some one in the family selected for the purpose, after the doctor had come and conjured the medicine, at about sunset.

The spirit-of-war disease.—When a person is not sick in bed but keeps talking deliriously about war, battle, and things connected with them, saying "there come the enemy" and using other similar expressions until his health is injured and he is in danger of dying, it is said that he is afflicted by the spirit of war. Treatment: Cut four little forks from a post oak, take a quantity of horsemint, either dead or fresh, a sprig of pine with the leaves on, and a quantity of spicewood. Boil these in water, steam the patient with the infusion, and when it is cold bathe him in it.

Thunder disease.—The symptoms of this were severe pains in the head and arms. Sometimes the lightning shocks a person, almost kills him, and makes him delirious. Treatment: Take a piece of the "rattan vine," a sassafras root, and some gunpowder, and add water to them. The "rattan vine" grows in the bottoms and is called in Creek itō yektsá, "strong wood." It does not grow thickly anywhere. The mixture above described is not heated, but the doctor repeats formulæ over it and blows into it through a tube 5 or 6 feet long, whereas the tube commonly used is only about 3 feet long. The making of medicine for this disease is looked upon as very important and nothing about it must be done triflingly. There are doctors who are specialists in it.

The sun disease.—The patient has a sensation of heat in the crown of the head, accompanied by general aching, and toward midday falls about and becomes light headed. This trouble is caused by the sun assisted by the morning star, the moon, and a certain red star, and the disease is sometimes called aiʼlà. Treatment: Use miko hoyanīdja, a piece of the root of the wild or domesticated sunflower, a puffball, and some angelica obtained from a drug store. Mix these up with water and pour the whole cold over the head of the patient, allowing it to run back into the dish from which it is dipped. If this is repeated often the patient will almost surely recover.

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The fire disease.—Naturally enough fevers are often supposed to be occasioned by the fire, but there are several different kinds of fire responsible for them. According to one informant there are the new busk-ground fire (totkà mutcàsà), the hunters' fire, i. e., the fire which the hunters use while they are out (ponàtà hoboya imitotka), the fire the hunters build after they get home (totkà nàtkàbofa), and "the different kinds of fires" (also called totkà nàtkàbofa). According to Adair the old year's fire was considered "a most dangerous poilution."[30]

Diseases might also come from the paddle used in the stomp dance, and the other stomp dance accessories, as also from the unseen animals of the square ground.

Tuggle notes that according to some "all disease . . . is caused by the winds, which are born in the air and then descend to the earth."[31] By this he evidently means that the diseases are born in the air, not the winds. While it is often said that "sickness comes in the wind" it would seem that this applied rather to certain kinds of sickness caused by the winds, just as sickness was caused by the thunder, sun, etc., not that all sickness was so caused. This would perhaps account for the Chickasaw aversion to the north wind which, according to Adair, they called "very evil and accursed,"[30] though its origin in the cold quarter is sufficient explanation.

Disease was supposed to emanate from women during their monthly periods and attack men, especially in the spring of the year. This might be from contact with them or be brought by the wind blowing from them. According to Jackson Lewis the symptoms were a numbness, especially of the lower limbs, accompanied by nosebleed and headache, and a mental depression so great that the patient does not care whether he lives or dies. This agrees to some extent with Zachariah Cook's description of it as a kind of biliousness. A woman's period is called ibōski and the treatment for it ibōskilili. Both informants agreed that the medicine for it was nàko hoyanīdja, which a man could drink, bathe in, and sweat-bathe in. Jackson Lewis said that the doctor sometimes took his patient away from the settlement, had him fast and then gave him the medicine and had him vomit. This treatment was sure to restore him perfectly.

Another dangerous source of disease was a dead body. This disease was called ikàn odjàlgi, which means "land owners," the dead being so called. Certain maleficent influences were believed to emanate from a dead body even after it was laid away in the ground, and persons in the vicinity were subject to aches and pains about

[30] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 22. [31] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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753 the joints of the legs, and in other places. The ghost of the dead man was supposed to be the efficient cause of this. Even the dirt that fell upon one's clothing in digging a grave or covering up the body, or the dirt from a grave upon which one stepped, was apt to bring on this disorder. If one engaged in digging a grave he was likely to have pains in the back. Sometimes he had a chilly feeling across his back with pains running round to the front of his body and fatigue in all of the lower limbs. A person who dug a grave could also communicate the disease and this was the principal reason for the regulations to which he was subjected, and which are elsewhere described.[32] This disease would seem to have been some form of rheumatism—Tuggle calls it "pains in the knees or rheumatism"—but one informant described it as dropsy, or at all events ascribed such an origin to dropsy. Treatment: Miko hoyanīdja and spicewood (kâpâpaska) were boiled in water, conjured in the usual manner, and divided into two parts, one hot and one cold. Then the affected parts were treated with the hot and cold medicines alternately.

753 According to Tuggle's informant, however, "the medicine is made
531 from Ihee-so [wīso]—sassafras root." He gives the following formula to accompany it:

Me-kah-kee
Thlah-kah-kete
E-leen
E-kah-nah
So-feets-kaht
Te-tah-ker

Estee
Wah-keets-kaht
Te-tah-ken
Oh-than-etaht
Te-tah-ken

Oewa
Ahk-lope-kaht
Te-tah-ken

Literally translated:

Mekahkee [mikâgi], kings
Thlahkah-kete [lâkakiti], big
Eleen [lîin], dead
Ekahnah [ikâna], land
So feets kaht [sufltckat], dig it
Tetahker [titakí], ready
Este [isti], people
Wahkeets [wakēts], lay it down
Tetahkee [titakí], ready

[32] See pp. 388-398.

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Oh thlan etoht [ohlanitat], cover it up
Tetahken [titakin], ready
Oewa [oiwa], water
Ahklopekaht [aklopikat], wash it
Tetanken [titakin], ready

Or—

Great kings are dead
Be ready to dig the grave

Let the people bury them
Let them be ready to cover them

Let the water be ready for washing.[8]

This disease was connected with the whole question of ghosts and preventive measures and medicines against them. The Texas Alabama believed that if a person who had been by a grave came near one who was sick the latter would have fits. My informant claimed that upon one occasion a number of persons who had been near a grave came in where he was lying sick and sat down around him, whereupon he became deaf and acted as if he were out of his head. Such fits were thought to be caused by ghosts, and, to induce them to leave, the doctor would put cedar leaves into a pot over the fire without any water. As these leaves parched the smoke arising from them would fill the house. The ghost would like this and go away. Another Alabama medicine used against ghosts was the leaves of the sweet bay, which were made into a tea, drunk, and vomited up. This was done twice. 753

Among the Creeks generally hitci pàkpàgi was the sovereign deterrent for ghosts, though hilis hàtki or ginseng was also used.

The Texas Alabama believe that if one's hands and feet are pierced by the "poison briar" he will not get well, but I did not hear of any doctoring in connection with this.

The same people also mention a disease called lefka, of the origin of which I am ignorant. It is produced by trying to lift a load beyond the person's real ability, causing perhaps a strained tendon. They treated it by tying about the affected part a briar much like the kanta, called in their language bàkco oktcàko, "blue briar." At the same time they sang and blew upon the place. A white man was once cured in this way by two Indian women, but when one of my informants tried that remedy himself upon another occasion it would not work because he did not know the proper formulæ.

When a person exhibited a horror of other people and, if he found himself suddenly where there were many, always ran away, they said that his disease was due to people—i. e., he was suffering from witchcraft. Says Swan: 754

[8] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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754 "Stitches in the side, or small rheumatic pains, which are frequent with them [the Creeks], are often considered as the effect of some magic wound. They firmly believe that their Indian enemies have the power of shooting them as they lie asleep, at the distance of 500 miles. They often complain of having been shot by a Choctaw or Chickasaw from the midst of these nations, and send or go directly to the most cunning and eminent doctress for relief." [34] Male doctors prescribed for witchcraft equally with women.

114 Some other diseases and some different methods of treating the above are given by Doctor Speck, to whose paper (Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 121–133) the reader is referred. Also cf. the same writer's Yuchi paper, Anthrop. Pubs. Univ. Mus., I, pp. 132–135.

753 Sickness was sometimes attributed to the absence of the soul from the body, and this was probably assigned as a principal cause of disease as well as a secondary cause. It was then the object of the doctor to induce it to come back. I have an Alabama story telling of such an occurrence. This is given by the same people as the specific cause of "slow fever." [34a]

753 Adair gives us in one invaluable paragraph an account of the origin and naming of a new disease. He says:

177 "In 1767, the Indians were struck with a disease, which they were unacquainted with before. It began with sharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and swelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and also the testicles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like space of time went off gradually, without any dangerous consequence, or use of outward or inward remedies: they called it *Wahka Abeeka*, 'the cattle's distemper,' or sickness. Some of their young men had by stealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themselves, and were smitten in that strange manner, by having their heads, necks, etc., magnified like the same parts of a sick bull. They first concluded, either to kill all the cattle, or send them immediately off their land, to prevent the like mischief, or greater ills from befalling the beloved people—for their cunning old physicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former resolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would spoil their open cornfields; upon which account, the traders arguments had no weight with these red Hebrew philosophers. But fortunately one of their head warriors had a few cattle soon presented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reasoning proved so weighty, as to alter their resolution, and produce in them a contrary belief." [35]

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[34] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 271.
[34a] See p. 666.
[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 123.

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When a man became sick at the stomach and vomited it was believed that a dead person had been eating out of the same dish with him. 753

Water from certain springs was also used as a remedy. There is a prairie in the Cherokee Nation formerly known as Medicine Spring Prairie (Gun ŏm gunáta) but now called Greenleaf Prairie (Tsu otol hăyăp). The medicine spring from which it was originally named is 4 miles east of Braggs and the water is good for rheumatism, fevers, backache, headache, pains in the breast or stomach, weak or sore eyes, and has especial value for children. The water makes one belch a great deal, and "when you first drink it you do not like it but after a time you get used to it and think it the finest water in the world." 757 312

In the mountains 5 or 6 miles farther east is another spring with the very same kind of water, and a third 2 to 3 miles above Gore, on the bank of the Illinois River. A long time ago the Indians used to throw things into these.

To these may be added some mention of medicines by early writers. Adair speaks of an aquatic plant, probably a species of yellow flowered water lily (*Nymphaea*), the seeds of which were used as food. After noting this fact he continues: "It is a sort of marsh-mallows, and reckoned a speedy cure for burning maladies, either outward or inward—for the former, by an outward application of the leaf; and for the latter, by a decoction of it drank plentifully." He adds that the Choctaw called one of their head towns by its name.[46] 757

Swan says: "The cassia fistularius, or pod of the wild locust, which grows here in abundance, furnishes them late in autumn with a kind of sweetmeats, which they gather and bring home wherever they can find it; and it is esteemed a good antidote in the complaints of their children."[47] It is quite certain that this is in reality the honey locust (*Gleditsia triacanthos*).

After mentioning whooping cough and worms as diseases from which Creek children frequently suffered Bartram says: "But (besides their well-known remedy, *Spigelia anthelmintica*), to prevent the troublesome and fatal effects of this disease, they use a strong *lixivium* prepared from ashes of bean-stalks and other vegetables, in all their food prepared from corn (*sea*), which otherwise, they say, breeds worms in their stomachs."[48]

Below we read: "The vegetables which I discovered to be used as remedies, were generally very powerful cathartics. Of this class are several species of the *Iris*, viz, *Ir. versicolor*, *Ir. verna*. And for the same purpose they have a high estimation of a species of either *Croton* or *Stylliagia*, I am in doubt which." He adds that this last

[46] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 418. I have been unable to identify the name of the town.
[47] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[48] Bartram, Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., vol. iii, p. 48.

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desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment. 681

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment. 628 682 614

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[40] 888

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows: 847

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[41]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[42]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed 754* 683

[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 497.
[39] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 28-29.
[40] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 86.
[41] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[42] Milfort, Mém., p. 261.

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•754 683 merely because he was believed to possess the powers of a wizard, but because it was thought he had used his art to kill or seriously injure someone else. Thus the wizard (or witch) was not punished for being a wizard, according to the understanding of the people themselves, but for being a murderer.

684 Adultery was punished among the Creeks and other southern tribes in such a striking manner that almost every traveler in that section has recorded something about the custom. The first report of it was given by Garcilasso from information furnished by two old soldiers of De Soto's army and is as follows:

"Before leaving the province of Tuscaluça, it is proper to relate the manner in which the laws of this country and of that of Coça, punish adulteresses. There is, in this last province, a law which decrees, upon penalty of death, that if any one has sufficient indications to believe that a woman is an adulteress, he has to inquire into it and impeach her before the cacique, or, in his absence, before the local judges. These judges upon the report that is made to them, secretly hold an inquest against the person accused, and arrest her if they find her guilty. Afterwards, at the first festival, they order to be published that the inhabitants, on going out from their dinner repair to a certain place outside of the village, and that there they all arrange themselves in a row. Then come the judges, of whom two place themselves at one end of this file, and two at the other. They first decree that they bring to them the adulteress, and then they say to her husband who is present, that she is convicted of a lewd life, and that he must deal with her according to the rigor of the law. The husband strips her entirely naked, and shaves her with a kind of razor of flint; a disgraceful punishment and common among the Indians of the new world. Then to show that he repudiates her, he leaves with the clothes of his wife, and abandons her to the power of the judges. Two immediately command the criminal to pass in front of the persons who are in a row, and to go and declare her crime to the other two officers. She obeys, and as soon as she draws near to them she tells them that she is convicted of adultery and condemned to the penalty with which the law punishes that crime; that she is sent to them in order that they may do with her what it shall please them for the welfare of the province. The judges immediately send her back with this answer: that it is just that the laws that are made with a view to the preservation of public virtue should be inviolably observed; that therefore they confirm the sentence which they have rendered against her, and order her in the future not to relapse again into her crime. Thereupon she returns to the first judges, and the people who are in a row hiss her, and endeavor by means of insults, to increase her shame. In the mean time the people who come in a crowd and see her naked, yell at her. Some

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had a long time subsided, it was very reasonable they should still continue this their old beloved custom; especially as it was both profitable in supporting many of their helpless old beloved men, and very productive of virtue, by awing their young people from violating the ancient laws."[13] 791

There were others who claimed they could make the waters in swollen streams subside, and still another class of dew makers, who could also prevent the dew from falling. If there had been a dry spring someone might say, at the time of the first stomp dance, "There is a dew maker over yonder. Let us invite him to make dew for us." It is said that such a man could not assist anyone, even though he desired to do so, unless he were formally invited. The council having agreed, he would come over and go through with his incantations, and a treat was given him by way of payment. If, after this had been done, it still continued dry at the time of the next stomp dance, it might be suggested that a rain maker be called in. Eakins remarks dryly that "the weather, about the time of the distribution of the annuity, in some parts of the nation, falls under the scrutiny of the physic-makers."[13a] He probably means men of the above class.

According to early writers some doctors claimed to be able to control the thunder and lightning, but we are not informed whether they were a separate class or identical with one of those already mentioned. Bartram was present when a Seminole chief threatened one of the white traders that, if he did not comply with his requests, he would cause the thunder and lightning to descend upon his head and reduce his stores to ashes.

WITCHCRAFT

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The great powers which doctors and graduates of the native schools generally enjoyed, while in theory capable of being exerted for the good of the community and the individuals composing it, might equally well be perverted to their injury or destruction. Jackson Lewis said that the same learned men who acted as instructors in medicine and the lore of the tribe generally could teach witchcraft, but he added that they advised against it, saying that it was only for mischief and that anyone who practiced it would eventually come to a dog's death, because witches were killed. But since such knowledge was known to reside in the great doctors and graduates and it was never certain that it would not be employed, these people were constantly open to suspicion, and, as Swan tells us in the quotation given above, a doctor whose patient died was apt to suffer from the imputation of witchcraft and be put to death himself. An Alabama informant told me that when he was a young man an old woman was accused of being a witch and cut to pieces. This sus-

[13] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 94-96. [13a] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 277

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•754 picion was also encouraged by the doctors themselves, who frequently attributed sickness to the doings of witches, and the public mind was kept wrought up to a condition of feverish excitement and fear by the most grewsome tales vouched for as absolute truth.

Says Stiggins:

"They are tinctured with superstition and believe anything of a marvelous report. As soon as it is announced that a man is acquainted with the work and dismal effects of the diabolical art, such as flying about the country far and near to poison such people as are inimical to him, or blowing and infusing a contagious air into a house in passing by it at night or into the nostrils and lungs of a particular person while asleep, by which the wizard often destroyed by instant death a person or an entire family that he did not like—the wizard it was said being seen at twilight only of an evening flying about to do mischief—whenever such a person was found, I say, it was not for him to exculpate himself. He was seized by a mob, tied to a tree with ropes, and lightwood piled around him and set on fire and he burned to death with as little compunction or remorse of conscience as, in the Roman inquisition, many of the most enlightened and well disposed to peace and good order, were brought to a fiery ordeal for the common good." [14]

Hitchcock learned that witches and wizards "can take the form of owls and fly about at night and at day return home in the form of women and men; that they can take the heart and the spirit out of living men and cause their death; that they can cripple people by shooting rags or blood into their legs through a reed or out of their mouths." "Formerly," he was told, "the Indians have been known to knock old women regarded as witches on the head and throw them into the water. Now there is a law against it, but even last year an old woman was killed as a witch." [15]

Adair says that "there are not greater bigots in Europe, nor persons more superstitious, than the Indians, (especially the women) concerning the power of witches, wizards, and evil spirits. It is the chief feature of their idle winter night's chat: and both they, and several of our traders, report very incredible and shocking stories. They will affirm that they have seen, and distinctly, most surprising apparitions, and heard horrid shrieking noises." [16]

754 888 Suspicion of witchcraft attached not only to doctors and graduates but to old persons of both sexes. I was told that formerly the Creeks did not allow their children to hang around where old people were conversing, for they thought that by standing around them and looking at them they would get into the habit of telling lies and also that

[14] Stiggins, Ms. [15] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.

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the old people might bewitch them. This does not speak very highly for the reputation for veracity enjoyed by the aged. It was thought that any old man who had passed through as many fastings as most of them had undergone at that time of life might be a wizard. It was feared that he might shoot a pain into the child or injure it in some other manner. One of my informants said he had often been slapped hard enough to be knocked down when he was standing near some of the old people. The following from Adair gives additional information regarding witchcraft among the Chickasaw, and contains the only extant account of an exorcism to preserve the house from evil influences. He says: 754 888

"In the year 1765, an old physician, or prophet, almost drunk with spirituous liquors, came to pay me a friendly visit: his situation made him more communicative than he would have been if quite sober. When he came to the door, he bowed himself half bent, with his arms extended north and south, continuing so perhaps for the space of a minute. Then raising himself erect, with his arms in the same position, he looked in a wild frightful manner, from the south-west toward the north, and sung on a low bass key *Yo Yo Yo Yo*, almost a minute, then *He He He He*, for perhaps the same space of time, and *Wa Wa Wa Wa*, in like manner; and then transposed and accented those sacred notes several different ways, in a most rapid guttural manner. Now and then he looked upwards, with his head considerably bent backward; his song continued about a quarter of an hour. As my door which was then opened stood east, his face of course looked toward the west; but whether the natives thus usually invoke the deity, I cannot determine; yet as all their winter houses have their doors toward the east, had he used the like solemn invocations there, his face would have consequently looked the same way, contrary to the usage of the heathens. After his song, he stepped in: I saluted him, saying, 'Are you come my beloved old friend?' he replied, *Arahre-O*, 'I am come in the name of Oea.'[16a] I told him, I was glad to see, that in this mad age, he still retained the old Chikkasah virtues. He said, that as he came with a glad heart to see me his old friend, he imagined he could not do me a more kind service, than to secure my house from the power of the evil spirits of the north, south, and west,—and, from witches, and wizards, who go about in dark nights, in the shape of bears, hogs, and wolves, to spoil people: 'the very month before, added he, we killed an old witch, for having used destructive charms.' Because a child was suddenly taken ill, and died, on the physician's false evidence, the father went to the poor helpless old woman who was sitting innocent, 754

[16a] This is ɬlali, "I come," followed by a simple exclamation. The being "Oea" is contributed by Adair's imagination.

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754 and unsuspecting, and sunk his tomahawk into her head, without the least fear of being called to an account. They call witches and wizards, *Ishtabe*, and *Hoollabe*, 'man-killers,' and 'spoilers of things sacred.'[17]

"My prophetic friend desired me to think myself secure from those dangerous enemies of darkness, for (said he) *Tarooa Ishtohoollo-Antarooare*, 'I have sung the song of the great holy one.'[18] The Indians are so tenacious of concealing their religious mysteries, that I never before observed such an invocation on the like occasion—adjuring evil spirits, witches, etc. by the awful name of the deity."[19]

This exorcism probably gives a clue to one of the reasons why the doors of the winter houses opened eastward; also the reason for the eastward orientation of most of the chiefs' houses in the square ground.

From the Texas Alabama I learned that a witch operated by taking a small raveling of wool which he talked to and blew upon and then sent through the air to the person he wished to injure. It would go into this person and prevent him from breathing, or hurt him in some other way, so as to endanger his life unless the trouble were located. If a doctor were called in he would take a sharp bit of glass, make some incisions over the place where the raveling had lodged, and, applying a horn to the spot, suck the foreign body out. These bodies looked black, red, or blue. My informant had seen the operation performed and the bodies that were removed. Besides woolen ravelings, ravelings of other kinds might be used, charcoal, and probably bones also. The injuries inflicted by charcoal were very serious.

Sometimes a man or woman who disliked a hunter would make medicine in order to keep him from killing game. The Alabama called this impiafõtcĭ, "to make him kill nothing."[18a] The hunter might go to a doctor, however, and have him make medicine to counteract that of the witch. A man once saw an eagle catching fish and used the impiafõtcĭ against it so that it could get nothing and almost starved to death. The eagle went out in all directions and caught nothing, but finally he went up into the sky and caught a fish there. Next day the same thing happened and now the man who had tried to bewitch the eagle began to get thin, and finally he died. The eagle had beaten him.

From the same source I learned that a man who had acquired the black art would sometimes wake up in the morning and see a hatchet or a knife on his breast. Then, when he killed someone by means of

[17] Ishto, big; abi, to kill; holo, what is sacred; abi, to kill.
[18] Takoa, song; ishto, big; holo, sacred; ontaloali, or intaloali, I have sung to them.
[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 176–177.
[18a] Piafo signifies "unlucky"; impiafõtcĭ, "to cause one to be unlucky."

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his arts, he was sure to be found out and killed himself by the man's relatives with the same kind of weapon he had seen in his vision. 754.

In speaking of doctors I have mentioned the native belief that they owed their power to animals of various kinds, but that if these became too strong they would kill the doctor and leave him. The same idea appears in witchcraft, although my information here is specifically from the Alabama and Koasati. When a man became a witch these Indians believed he was full of lizards, which compelled the person of whom they had possession to kill someone every little while. If he did not they would begin to bite him and would finally devour him. Such a person could be cured, however, by undergoing a treatment to expel the lizards.

After a would-be wizard had completed his course of training, the teacher directed him to begin by killing one of his own family. He gave him medicine and told him to go and do so immediately. If he said he would not kill his own people, the instructor answered "Go on! you said that is what you wanted to do." But if he urged him repeatedly to no purpose, he said, "All right! kill a fox squirrel and bring it here!" After he had done so, the instructor said, "Throw it on top of the house." The wizard-novice did this, and after the body had remained so long that it stank, the other said, "Eat it!" Then the instructor conducted him to a place where there was water and said, "Vomit on the water." So he threw up and discharged lizards until the water was covered. The witching powers went with them.

The Koasati cured a wizard by binding spunk wood all over his chest and belly, taking him to a place where there was water, and rolling him over and over there, when he would throw up lizards in the manner described.

A milder form of witchcraft was that exercised by a man or woman to inspire love in a person of the opposite sex. The following account of such a conjuration is also from the Alabama of Texas. 789

When a youth fell in love he would sometimes, especially if he were rejected, go to a male or female conjurer for assistance. Then the conjurer would take some tobacco, put it into a small deerskin sack, sing, and repeat the girl's name, and blow into it through a short cane. After doing this four times he would wrap it up in a handkerchief and give it to the young man. The latter would then put on his head band and his other fine clothing, sprinkle some tobacco over his clothes, make a cigarette, and blow the smoke all over himself. Then the girl would fall in love with him. A girl could make a man fall in love with her in precisely the same way. Sometimes, however, this would be tried in vain several times. Then the conjurer would go to a small brook and make a little water hole, perhaps half a foot deep. He would blow into this four times through a cane, repeating the girl's name each time. The youth

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Oh thlan etoht [ohlanitat], cover it up
Tetahken [titakin], ready
Oewa [oiwa], water
Ahklopekaht [aklopikat], wash it
Tetanken [titakin], ready

Or—

Great kings are dead
Be ready to dig the grave

Let the people bury them
Let them be ready to cover them

Let the water be ready for washing.[8]

This disease was connected with the whole question of ghosts and preventive measures and medicines against them. The Texas Alabama believed that if a person who had been by a grave came near one who was sick the latter would have fits. My informant claimed that upon one occasion a number of persons who had been near a grave came in where he was lying sick and sat down around him, whereupon he became deaf and acted as if he were out of his head. Such fits were thought to be caused by ghosts, and, to induce them to leave, the doctor would put cedar leaves into a pot over the fire without any water. As these leaves parched the smoke arising from them would fill the house. The ghost would like this and go away. Another Alabama medicine used against ghosts was the leaves of the sweet bay, which were made into a tea, drunk, and vomited up. This was done twice. 753

Among the Creeks generally hitci pâkpâgi was the sovereign deterrent for ghosts, though hilis hâtki or ginseng was also used.

The Texas Alabama believe that if one's hands and feet are pierced by the "poison briar" he will not get well, but I did not hear of any doctoring in connection with this.

The same people also mention a disease called lefka, of the origin of which I am ignorant. It is produced by trying to lift a load beyond the person's real ability, causing perhaps a strained tendon. They treated it by tying about the affected part a briar much like the kanta, called in their language bâkco oktcâko, "blue briar." At the same time they sang and blew upon the place. A white man was once cured in this way by two Indian women, but when one of my informants tried that remedy himself upon another occasion it would not work because he did not know the proper formulæ.

When a person exhibited a horror of other people and, if he found himself suddenly where there were many, always ran away, they said that his disease was due to people—i. e., he was suffering from witchcraft. Says Swan: 754

[8] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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754 "Stitches in the side, or small rheumatic pains, which are frequent with them [the Creeks], are often considered as the effect of some magic wound. They firmly believe that their Indian enemies have the power of shooting them as they lie asleep, at the distance of 500 miles. They often complain of having been shot by a Choctaw or Chickasaw from the midst of these nations, and send or go directly to the most cunning and eminent doctress for relief." [34] Male doctors prescribed for witchcraft equally with women.

114 Some other diseases and some different methods of treating the above are given by Doctor Speck, to whose paper (Mem. Am. An-
753 throp. Assn., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 121–133) the reader is referred. Also cf. the same writer's Yuchi paper, Anthrop. Pubs. Univ. Mus., I, pp. 132–135.

753 Sickness was sometimes attributed to the absence of the soul from the body, and this was probably assigned as a principal cause of disease as well as a secondary cause. It was then the object of the doctor to induce it to come back. I have an Alabama story telling of such an occurrence. This is given by the same people as the specific cause of "slow fever." [34a]

753 Adair gives us in one invaluable paragraph an account of the
177 origin and naming of a new disease. He says:

"In 1767, the Indians were struck with a disease, which they were unacquainted with before. It began with sharp pains in the head, at the lower part of each of the ears, and swelled the face and throat in a very extraordinary manner, and also the testicles. It continued about a fortnight, and in the like space of time went off gradually, without any dangerous consequence, or use of outward or inward remedies: they called it *Wahka Abeeka*, 'the cattle's distemper,' or sickness. Some of their young men had by stealth killed and eaten a few of the cattle which the traders had brought up, and they imagined they had thus polluted themselves, and were smitten in that strange manner, by having their heads, necks, etc., magnified like the same parts of a sick bull. They first concluded, either to kill all the cattle, or send them immediately off their land, to prevent the like mischief, or greater ills from befalling the beloved people—for their cunning old physicians or prophets would not undertake to cure them, in order to inflame the people to execute the former resolution; being jealous of encroachments, and afraid the cattle would spoil their open cornfields; upon which account, the traders arguments had no weight with these red Hebrew philosophers. But fortunately one of their head warriors had a few cattle soon presented to him, to keep off the wolf; and his reasoning proved so weighty, as to alter their resolution, and produce in them a contrary belief." [35]

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[34] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[34a] See p. 666.
[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 122.

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METHODS OF PRACTICING

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The method of bestowing medical treatment seems to have changed progressively after first contact with the whites, the religious features becoming less and less pronounced and the features connected with the administration of the medicine more and more important. Adair's account of the performance among the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century is as follows:

"When the Indian physicians visit their supposed irreligious patients, they approach them in a bending posture, with their rattling calabash, preferring that sort to the North-American gourds: and in that bent posture of body, they run two or three times round the sick person, contrary to the course of the sun, invoking God as already exprest. Then they invoke the raven; and mimic his croaking voice . . . They also place a bason of cold water with some pebbles in it on the ground, near the patient, then they invoke the fish, because of its cool element, to cool the heat of the fever. Again, they invoke the eagle, (*Ooóle*) they solicit him as he soars in the heavens, to bring down refreshing things for their sick, and not to delay them, as he can dart down upon the wing, quick as a flash of lightning. They are so tedious on this subject, that it would be a task to repeat it: however, it may be needful to observe, that they chuse the eagle because of its supposed communicative virtues; and that it is according to its Indian name, a cherubimical emblem, and the king of birds, of prodigious strength, swiftness of wing, majestic stature, and loving its young ones so tenderly, as to carry them on its back, and teach them to fly.[93]

Of the Chickasaw of a later date we read:

"When they are sick, they send for a doctor, (they have several among them,) after looking at the sick a-while, the family leave him and the sick alone. He then commences singing and shaking a gourd over the patient. This is done, not to cure, but to find out what is the matter or disease: as the doctor sings several songs, he watches closely the patient, and finds out which song pleased: then he determines what the disease is: he then uses herbs, roots, steaming, and conjuring: the doctor frequently recommends to have a large feast: (which they call *Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah;*) if the Indian is tolerably well off, and is sick for two or three weeks, they may have two or three Tonsh-pa-shoo-phahs.[94] They eat, dance, and sing at a great rate,

[93] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 173–174.

[94] Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah is tashi ãt pishofa, "the corn is hulled."

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at these feasts; the doctors say that it raises the spirits of the sick, and weakens the evil spirit.[95] 755

Today they call these dances by a shortened form of the name, Pishofa dances; they will be discussed at length in a subsequent paper.

The later Creek performance was much tamer than the ancient ritual. If a person were sick and his family knew what medicine to send for they did so; if not they got the physician's advice and procured the herbs, and other things he ordered. The pot was laid out for him with the medicine plants near it and beside all a cane for him to blow through, also a chair for him to sit in and a small gift to encourage him. Four root stalks or branches of the medicine were generally used, and in gathering these the doctor sometimes faced east and sometimes one of the other cardinal points in accordance with the nature of the remedy. Bark and branches were generally taken from the east sides of the trees. The medicine was piled into the pot at the direction of the physician, along with water, after which he blew into it through the cane four separate times after as many repetitions of a sacred fromula suited to the kind of disease which he supposed the patient had contracted. He came four successive mornings, allowing the gift to remain where it had been placed until the fourth, when he took it with him. This gift might be some cloth—perhaps 10 yards of calico—money, a handkerchief, or, if the doctor were a woman, a shawl. Money has been given only in late times.

The points of the compass are frequently named in these formulæ. 755
The circuit is always sinistral or contraclockwise, and according to 823
the best information I could get it usually begins with the north
and ends with the east because the east is associated with life or 822
the renewal of it. According to one informant, however, it ended with the south, and there may have been variations in the formulæ because the colors attached to these points are admitted to vary. One of my best informants stated that they were either: North (honeta), green; west (akálatká), red; south (wahála), black; and east (hásosa), white; or else north, red; west, green; south, black; and east, white. The black is said to stand for the shade or something of that sort, but it does not seem natural that it should be to the south. The table following contains seven lists of colors applied to the cardinal points by several different bodies of Creeks, and a list from the Cherokee band of Natchez, obtained from several different authorities.

[95] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 316.

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	North	West	South	East
Chekilli, speech to Oglethorpe (Kasihta).	Red and yellow.	Black	Blue	White.[1]
Tuggle, Ms	Red	Yellow	Black	Do.[2]
Lasley Cloud, through F. Speck (Tuskegee).	Black	do	Red	Do.[3]
Big Jack (Hilibi)	Green	Red	Black	Do.
	Red	Green	do	Do.
Z. Cook (Tukabahchee)	Black	do	White	Red.
Silas Jefferson (Tuskegee)	Green	Black	Brown	Yellow.
Texas Alabama	Yellow	do	Red	White.
Watt Sam (Natchez)	do	do	do	Do.

[1] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. i, p. 245.
[2] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[3] Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. ii, p. 23.

Here red and yellow is each applied to the north in three lists, and black and green in two; black is applied to the west in four lists, yellow and green in two each, and red in one; black is applied to the south in three cases, brown in one, red in three, and blue and white in one each; white is applied to the east in seven cases and yellow and red in one each. In conjuring for the dog disease the cardinal points were faced in the same order as that first given, ending with the east, but no colors were mentioned. In others neither the points nor the colors occurred. When he blew into the medicine, however, the doctor almost always faced east. An Alabama doctor would sing one verse of the medicine formula and call upon the north, sing another and call upon the west, sing a third and call upon the south, and sing a fourth and call upon the east. Then he would blow into the medicine and do the same thing again, passing around the circuit four times and blowing into the medicine after each circuit. Afterwards the patient was given some medicine to drink, and, wetting the ends of his fingers in it, the doctor rubbed some on the patient's ears, arms, legs, breast, and in fact his whole body. The north was referred to as the "yellow water," the west as "the black water," the south as "the red water," and the east as "the white water," and they were enumerated in that order, as in the table above.

755 According to my Natchez informant, himself a medicine man, the sick person must be laid with his head to the east. It was like administering poison, he affirmed, to turn the heads of the sick in any other direction, because "the east meant long life and good fortune while the west meant short life." Bark, roots, and other portions of trees or bushes which entered into the remedies were taken from the east side. If a person became weak and emaciated, his name might be changed.

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Blood letting and sucking were frequently resorted to. Swan says that the Indians sometimes believed that they had been supernaturally shot by enemies hundreds of miles away and would then consult a doctress. "The cunning woman tells them that what they have apprehended is verily true, and proceeds to examine and make the cure. In these cases, scratching or cupping is the remedy; or, as is often the case, sucking the affected part with her mouth, she produces to their view some fragment of a bullet, or piece of a wad, which she had purposely concealed in her mouth to confirm the truth of what she had asserted; after this, a few magic draughts of their physic must be administered, and the patient is made whole."[96] Jackson Lewis said that pricks were sometimes made over the affected part with a little piece of glass. The large end of a short piece of cow horn was then placed over them and a quantity of blood sucked out through a hole pierced in the small end. Silas Jefferson states that he was once treated by a snake doctor who simply chewed up a bit of root and, holding it in his mouth, sucked out the poison. Next day he was perfectly restored. But unlike the former European practice, blood letting was not resorted to in cases of fever.[97] 755

Eakins says that bandages and lints were applied in many cases. He continues: "The success with which they treat gunshot wounds, cuts, &c., is generally attributed to the care of the physician. The Creeks never amputate. They are skilful in the use of splints. For removing the wounded they use the litter."[97] 752 727 783

Adair furnishes some information regarding the treatment of those wounded in war.

"The Indians . . . build a small hut at a considerable distance from the houses of the village, for every one of their warriors wounded in war, and confine them there . . . for the space of four moons, including that moon in which they were wounded, as in the case of their women after travail: and they keep them strictly separate, lest the impurity of the one should prevent the cure of the other. The reputed prophet, or divine physician, daily pays them a due attendance, always invoking Yo He Wah to bless the means they apply on the sad occasion; which is chiefly mountain allum, and medicinal herbs, always injoyning a very abstemious life, prohibiting them women and salt in particular, during the time of the cure, or sanctifying the reputed sinners. Like the Israelites, they firmly believe that safety, or wounds, etc., immediately proceed from the pleased, or angry deity, for their virtuous, or vicious conduct, in observing, or violating the divine law.

"In this long space of purification, each patient is allowed only a superannuated woman to attend him, who is past the temptations of

[96] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271. [97] Ibid., vol. i, p. 274.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day." [80]

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

● 755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man
[752 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor
727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the tcokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle."[1] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[2]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
791 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[80] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 136.
[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[2] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 59.

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pected by a soft ear, to have been sufficient to drive out the devil if he lay anywhere hid in the house. When I afterward asked him the name, and the reason of such a strange method of diversion, he told me the dance was called *Keetla Ishto Hoollo*, 'a dance to, or before, the great holy one;'[5] that it kept off evil spirits, witches, and wizards, from the red people; and enabled them to ordain elderly men to officiate in holy things, as the exigency of the times required.

"He who danced to it, kept his place and posture, in a very exact manner, without the least perceivable variation: yet by the prodigious working of his muscles and nerves, he in about half an hour, foamed in a very extraordinary manner, and discontinued it proportionally, till he recovered himself."[6]

755.

The Indians were and still are satisfied that their system of doctoring is vastly superior to that used by the whites, but the system of white doctoring with which the Indians were formerly familiar can not be said to represent upon the whole a very perfect development of the medical art, and there has been more than one occasion for them to complain like the Chickasaw of Adair's time of the performances of "civilized" surgeons. The success of native remedies was due in part without doubt to the real medicinal virtues of the plants used, in part to the good effects of such a simple assistant as sweat bathing, and perhaps to a greater extent to the power of suggestion. Swan was, however, quite right in saying that the results were not ascertain as had commonly been reported.[7]

WEATHER CONTROLLERS

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Besides the healers there were men and women who professed to be able to cause rain or drought, to blow away the clouds, or "blow the rain" as they described it. When a storm was coming up an Alabama doctor would blow into his clasped hands, rub them together, and then wave them upward and outward. Then, even if it rained, the wind would not blow. The same person claimed to be able to cause rain or drought.

Hitchcock says: "There are people who affect to think they can make it rain and they go to a piece of shallow water and roll and wallow in the muddy water every morning for four mornings in succession. They have a pot of medicine in one hand and a buffalo tail in the other and sing continually for an hour or more. During this time they take black drink every morning."[8]

He also gives some interesting particulars regarding the meteoro logical activities of Megillis Hadjo, the prophet or kila of Tukabah-

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[5] Hila ishto holo, "dance of the spirit or spirits"; hila, "dance"; ishto, "big"; holo, what is "holy, sacred," or "supernatural."

[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 175.

[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.

[8] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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men who had obtained eagle feathers,[96] and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer. 703 554

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kila), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mysteries were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries. 756 538 791

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation: 177 888

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[96]

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[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 30.

[96] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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596 539 to the end, so he says. I propose to provide some amusement for our women, so he says. So I enjoin upon our women that they promptly take their places; and as they understand the custom of our forebears, they are asked to carry them out on this occasion, so he says.

796 During the busk names and titles different from those ordinarily used were employed. The women were called Hõmpita haya ("food preparers"), or Tcukole'idji ("having a house"). This last term is said to have been extended also to the children—that is, it included all of those who remained in the houses instead of going to war or the chase. According to Cook it was applied in Tukabahchee only to the four women who acted as leaders in the women's dance. It was very bad form to refer to a woman or to women by the common terms. In important speeches the people of the Raccoon clan often said "I am of the Shawanogis," and this term also extended to related clans like the Potato and Fox. This applied particularly to Tukabahchee and was based on the close friendship between the Tukabahchee and the Shawnee. According to Alindja, one of the best Tukabahchee authorities, it was extended really to the whole of Tukabahchee town, the term Tciloki bringing about a separation. The Raccoon clan at Tukabahchee also called themselves Isti mikàgi doiyàt ("chiefs that we are") or isti tcilokogi doiyàt ("Tcilokis that we are"). The towns often had particular busk names. The Abihka would be known as Abihka nàgi, the Coweta as Kawita mahma'ya, the Kasihta as Kasihta łàko. The Okchai called themselves by that name and the almost as common term Łàłogàlga. The Okfuskee and Tulsa people called themselves Kos i'stàgi ("people of Coosa"). The Pàkàn tallahassee used the word Pàkana.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

General Remarks

756 Just as among the beings and objects in nature there were certain which possessed or acquired exceptional supernatural powers, so there were certain men who were possessed of such power or were mediums for its expression. They were also versed in the powers possessed by other created things and hence were partly prophets or soothsayers and partly doctors, while some of them occupied official or semiofficial positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.[85] If this means that the female doctors were more numerous than the male he is probably incorrect, since very little is said of female doctors by anyone else, and I have heard little about them personally. Perhaps Swan had reference in part to the common practitioners,

[85] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.

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persons who did not assume to have much supernatural power but were none the less acquainted with remedies and were called in in cases of minor importance. It is likely that such persons existed in almost every large family group and probably they were more often women than men. The old women were naturally the midwives. As with us there were home remedies known to almost every one, still others known only to certain of the old people, and finally medicines and medical processes which were the sole property of the various grades of shamans. 756

The "Knowers"

The principal individuals who combined medical and priestly functions were the kīlas or "knowers," usually called by the whites "prophets," and the priests or doctors proper, known as alektca, or medicine makers, hilis-haya. There were only a few of the former and they are said always to have been men, but the second were more numerous, and had more to do directly with healing. While the kīla might also be a good doctor his work in that line was generally confined to a determination of the kind of disease with which the sick person was afflicted.* He might best be described as the diagnostician, though his diagnosis consisted merely in the examination of an article of clothing belonging to the sick man. From this he claimed to be able to determine the nature of the disorder and he sent back word accordingly. Of course, many doctors, partly from having seen so many cases diagnosed by the kīla, would be so expert that they would not ordinarily need to refer to him. The kīla was something of a clairvoyant and probably a juggler also, and about this class many wonderful tales are told. It was thought that the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient kīla. Natchez and Cherokee informants stated that twins would be prophets until they were 8 or 10 years old, when the gift would leave them, but if they were carefully watched they would become prophets when they grew up. My Cherokee interpreter had a brother and sister who were twins. His father, a man often outlawed, said that they frequently warned him of impending trouble. It was thought that triplets might know still more. In one case triplets told their father, who had been acquitted several times before the courts, that the next time he would be hung, and in consequence he took good care to keep out of trouble. It was the kīla who learned events from birds as narrated on page 496. He could foretell death, sickness, or crime, and in the last case he would sometimes send his dogs to punish the offenders. 741 756

* The people of Tukabahchee and neighboring towns believed that Magillis Hadjo [mike hills hadjo?], the prophet of Tukabahchee, met by Hitchcock in 1842, had control over the elements and could make the weather pleasant or disagreeable. They thought he could see into the future and predict events, and in case of sickness he was frequently called upon to divine and to define the cause.—Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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The "Fasters" or Doctors

The doctors or priests—at least a great majority of them—belonged to a class of learned men called isti poskálgi ("fasting men"), already referred to, who had received their training in certain schools of higher learning, if we may so denominate them. This training was called by the same name, pŏskita, "to fast," as that given to the great town ceremonial, because in both fasting was an essential element. It was generally undertaken in summer when a person can lie out of doors comfortably and proceeds about as follows, according to Jackson Lewis, who had taken five courses in this aboriginal college. From one to four young men—Lewis did not remember parties of more than four—would go into the town and engage some old Indian who was known to have passed through the course and was prepared to teach them. Then all repaired together to a stream of water, usually a densely wooded creek bottom where they were not likely to be observed. As a further protection they threw together boughs so as to screen themselves still more completely, for during their stay there they did not want to be so much as seen. The "red root," miko hoyanīdja, was dug by each candidate, pounded up and put into a pot already provided, and the pot filled with water. Then the instructor came in and blew into the medicine through a cane. After blowing into it and singing over it he went away. This was supposed to give the medicine virtue. Then the novice drank great quantities of medicine at intervals of an hour or more, so arranging it that by noon he would have taken it four separate times. At noon the instructor came back and then began to tell the novice either by words or songs some of the most elementary things he had to learn. After talking for some time he went away. When the sun was just above the western horizon he came back and gave more instruction and left the man in the woods again.

The first thing that would be taught was how to treat gunshot wounds. There were three ways of treating these: (1) For flesh wounds, (2) for bowel wounds, (3) for head wounds. The instructor would tell what to do and what songs to sing in order to give virtue to the medicine they made for the wounds. Then the instructor said, "You sing this. Sing it as I have sung it to you." Sometimes these are merely recited formulas. When the novice had repeated as best he could what the instructor had told him the instructor criticized, and corrected him where he had made mistakes. Then he instructed him again and said, "Now go over it as I have." He did not stop because his pupil had repeated it correctly once but made him go over it often later, because unless it was gone over in just such a manner it would not be effective when used. After this

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756 he would teach the novice the proper treatment for any disease that the latter might desire to learn about. This instruction was continued for four successive days. Then the novice stopped because the teacher thought it better for him to think these things over and repeat them to himself for a while before learning more. After a month or two, during which the novice went back to the town, he could return to the woods and take another course. There were only slight variations between the methods of instruction of different teachers. Few ever took a complete course. After the fifth or sixth 4-day period one could ask the teacher to put him through the 8-day session, and after that he could ask the teacher to put him through the 12-day session, which was the last. There were very few teachers because very few had passed through the 12-day course. This instruction seems to have required fasting and isolation from noise because nothing was written and everything must be imprinted on the mind. Noises would disturb the process. After the first 4-day session had been gone through a blanket was thrown about the novice and water was poured upon hot stones inside of this until steam was raised, and after the novice was thoroughly steamed he went to bathe in a cold creek. Then he went home feeling very hungry but unable to eat much because his stomach was drawn up from fasting and the frequent taking of the red root emetic. None of the other tribes with which Lewis was acquainted had anything similar to this. After the education had been completed the old teacher would dig a trench in the ground, put a cane in the novice's mouth so that he might breathe through it, cover him with earth, put leaves over all, and set fire to them. Then he would order the novice to get up and, having done so, he was ready for any emergency in life. Lewis knew of many who had not gone as far as he but pretended to be proficient in all branches. One who had gone as far as himself was entitled to embellish his headdress with a feather of the horned owl, "which many fellows who actually know little wear to-day." It also entitled him to wear a buzzard feather, the insignia of the man able to treat gunshot wounds. Lewis once cured his son, who had been shot through the breast so that the air seemed to be coming out of the vent. The buzzard's feather was used because that feather was employed in cleaning out the wound before treating it. Lewis could appropriately wear a fox's skin, because he could cure a snake bite. These insignia ought to be worn only when a body of people is going to war or is collected on account of some danger. They served to single out the persons who were to be approached in case of trouble. If you find an Indian with a streak of red paint in one corner of the mouth extending down to the side it means he is capable of treating a person injured in an affray. The fox's skin is worn because foxes catch and eat snakes,

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showing that they, like the wearer of the fox skin, can conquer them. 756
A person who can cure a snake bite also has a tobacco pouch made of opossum skin, because an opossum can kill and eat a snake like a fox. In early times these men were always preparing young people for war, and, as much of this work had to be done at night, fine eyesight was requisite. The old teacher also taught his pupil how to trail and locate an enemy and he believed he was teaching him how to acquire extraordinary vision at night. That was why the latter used an owl feather.

When the novice fasted it was expected that he would have a 756
dream (or vision). Lewis himself dreamed that a very clear, beauti- 787
ful day had dawned upon him and a number of white birds were coming toward him. When his teacher heard it he said, "That is a very good sign, a clear day and white birds. You will be a good doctor of gunshot wounds."

The only other account of this poskita known to me is the following, 756
from Hawkins: 785

"At the age of from fifteen to seventeen, this ceremony is usually performed. It is called Boos-ke-tau, in like manner as the annual Boosketau of the nation. A youth of the proper age gathers two handsfull of the Sou-watch-cau, a very bitter root, which he eats a whole day; then he steeps the leaves in water and drinks it. In the dusk of the evening, he eats two or three spoonfuls of boiled grits. This is repeated for four days, and during this time he remains in a house. The Sou-watch-cau has the effect of intoxicating and maddening. The fourth day he goes out, but must put on a pair of new moccasins (Stil-la-pica). For twelve moons, he abstains from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, peas and salt. During this period he must not pick his ears, or scratch his head with his fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons he must have a fire to himself, to cook his food, and a little girl, a virgin, may cook for him; his food is boiled grits. The fifth moon, any person may cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one spoon and pan. Every new moon, he drinks for four days the posseau, (button snakeroot,) an emetic, and abstains for these days, from all food, except in the evening, a little boiled grits, (humpetuh hutke.) The twelfth moon, he performs for four days, what he commenced with on the first. The fifth day he comes out of his house, gathers corn cobs, burns them to ashes, and with these, rubs his body all over. At the end of this moon, he sweats under blankets, then goes into water, and this ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended to four, six, or eight moons, or even to twelve days only, but the course is the same.

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"During the whole of this ceremony, the physic is administered by the Is-te-puc-cau-chau thluc-co, (great leader,) who in speaking of a youth under initiation, says, 'I am physicing him,' (Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to-misce-cha,) or 'I am teaching him all that is proper for him to know,' (nauk o-mul-gau e-muc-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha.) The youth, during this initiation, does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a like course with himself, and if he dreams, he drinks the possau." [88]

Those who had gone through with this training were held in high esteem, and there appears to have been no fast for persons not intending to become doctors except at the great annual ceremony. In lore of this kind the Shawnee are believed to be very rich. The following quotation from Adair shows that, in spite of Lewis's claim that this ordeal was peculiar to the Creeks, a similar institution existed among the Chickasaw, except that admission was secured through inheritance:

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"*Ishtohoollo* is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest: those friend-towns, which are firmly confederated in their exercises and plays, never have more than one *Archi-magus* at a time . . . They, who have the least knowledge of Indian affairs, know, that the martial virtues of the savages, obtains them titles of distinction; but yet their old men, who could scarcely correct their transgressing wives, much less go to war, and perform those difficult exercises, that are essentially needful in an active warrior, are often promoted to the pontifical dignity, and have great power over the people, by the pretended sanctity of the office" . . . [89]

It appears that this order of "magi" were the custodians not only of medical secrets but of secrets supposed to be of value in warfare, of the sacred myths, and of various branches of learning.

At the head of the priesthood in each town was the hills-haya or "medicine maker," who communicated the necessary spiritual qualities to the medicines at the annual busk, had general charge of the public health, protected all from ghosts, and so on. While fitness was regarded rather than descent in selecting this high priest, some towns at least preferred to take him from a certain clan, oftenest the clan of the miko. According to the last miko of Chiaha the medicine maker of that town was elected for four years only, at the end of which period he might be reelected or displaced. Speaking of the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century, Adair says: "the title of *old beloved men*, or *archimagi*, is still hereditary in the *panther*, or *tyger family*." [90] Bartram calls this functionary the "high priest." The Creeks "have," he says, "an ancient high-priest, with juniors in

[88] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 78-79.
[89] Ibid., p. 81.
[90] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 81.

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every town and tribe. The high-priest is a person of great power and consequence in the state. He always sits in council, and his advice in affairs of war is of the greatest weight and importance, and he or one of his disciples always attends a war party." "It sometimes happens," he adds, "that the king is war-chief and high-priest, and then his power is very formidable and sometimes dangerous to the liberty of citizens, and he must be a very cunning man if the tomahawk or rifle do not cut him short." [91]

The following statement by the same writer bears out what Jackson Lewis says regarding the insignia of graduates and adds some details.

"The junior priests or students constantly wear the mantle or robe, which is white; and they have a great owl skin cased and stuffed very ingeniously, so well executed, as almost to represent the living bird, having large sparkling glass beads, or buttons, fixed in the head for eyes; this ensign of wisdom and divination, they wear sometimes as a crest on the top of the head, at other times the image fits on the arm, or is borne on the hand. These bachelors are also distinguishable from the other people by their taciturnity, grave and solemn countenance, dignified step, and singing to themselves songs or hymns, in a low sweet voice, as they stroll about the town." [92]

They were, of course, men who had taken some courses in medicine. Regarding the headdress it is instructive to compare those in some of Le Moyne's drawings of the Florida Indians.[92a]

A graduate in medicine, or at least one of a certain degree, could paint a black circle round each eye when he went out at night. This was in imitation of the markings of the raccoon and signified that he could see anything in the dark. If a man had been killed at night a doctor having this power would paint these circles about his eyes and track the murderer right to his own house. He could see his tracks "like a spider's web" and follow them. One of the means for attaining this ability to see in the dark was by using the "star medicine" (kodjodjâmbâ hiliswa). According to Silas Jefferson, a man with a "skunk's pouch" was considered a great medicine man capable of charming any kind of animal. There was no uniformity, however, in the costumes worn by doctors. Outside of certain generally understood insignia each dressed to suit himself. One doctor is said to have carried big spiders and snakes about in order to scare people.

Frequent scratchings were resorted to by the medicine men that they might keep in health. A graduate in medicine was not allowed to eat catfish, for if he did it was thought that the fish bones would cause weevil to bore into the beans.

[91] Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 34. [92a] Le Moyne, Jacques, Narrative, Trans., Boston, 1875.
[92] Bartram, Travels, p. 502.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day." [99]

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man
[752 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor
727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the tcokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle."[1] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[2]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
741 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[99] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 125.
[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[2] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 89.

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kerchief at a tree up which it ran like a squirrel. His opponent then produced a number of centipedes which ran about everywhere but hurt no one. The first then began to try to reach his antagonist in the shapes of various animals, sometimes burrowing under the earth to get at him. Finally, however, the other created a centipede which bit him in the hand and killed him. 756• 791

As noted above, Shawnee doctors were in particular esteem among the Creeks, an esteem shared by all the other peoples in contact with them. Even the Texas Alabama know the reputed powers of Shawnee doctors well and told me the following story regarding the accomplishments of one of them. 756

Some Alabama were once traveling along with this doctor. One night they heard what sounded like the whinnying of horses. The Shawnee told them, however, that it was produced by some Comanche Indians, and when day came they discovered four of these Indians in a tree. By his medicine he caused these persons to fall asleep and then tumble to the ground without waking up. In a river bend near by was a great crowd of Comanche, but the Shawnee rendered himself and his companions invisible, so that the Comanche did not see them, and they passed safely on.

It was claimed that when a doctor died all of the medicine he had taken ran away from him in the forms of animals of various kinds, such as lizards and snakes. He died because or when these creatures became too powerful for him. As long as he kept his power over them they remained in him and were his strength. This is from Creek sources and is confirmed in substance by what is said about witchcraft, to which we will turn presently.

The following from Adair leads one to suppose that the medicine maker and other doctors whose positions were official or semiofficial were forced to undergo a special fast and purification before taking their posts, but I have no other evidence regarding it.

"The Indian priests and prophets are initiated by unction. The Chikkasah some time ago set apart some of their old men of the religious order. They first obliged them to sweat themselves for the space of three days and nights, in a small green hut, made on purpose, at a considerable distance from any dwelling; through a scrupulous fear to contracting pollution by contact, or from the effluvia of polluted people—and a strong desire of secreting their religious mysteries. During that interval, they are allowed to eat nothing but green tobacco, nor to drink any thing except warm water, highly imbittered with the button-snake-root, to cleanse their bodies, and prepare them to serve in their holy, or beloved office, before the divine essence, whom during this preparation they constantly invoke by his essential name, as before described. After which, their priestly

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garments and ornaments, mentioned under a former argument, page 84, are put on, and then bear's oil is poured upon their head."[3]

Certain things were done to ward off misfortune before any actual ill effects had been experienced—an aboriginal application of the ounce of prevention axiom. Hitci pâkpâgi, the "old man's tobacco," was kept on hand as a protection against the souls of the dead, and a great deal was paid for it. Some of the busk medicines were carried home to help guard the family from harm during the succeeding year, and just outside of and above the door of one of my informants was hung the adilōga or mixed medicine used at that time, while the other medicine, the miko hoyanīdja, was hung just to one side within. This is said to be a common custom with the old-time Indians. At intervals it was thought best to scratch the grown-up men in order to let out bad blood, supposed to have become clogged up inside of them. An Okfuskee Indian told me that he had only recently performed such an operation on 13 men at Nuyaka. These were adults; usually only the young people were scratched.

When a hunting party set out and as soon as it had gotten to the edge of the town, an old man would fall back behind the rest, chew up some sassafras or angelica root, and spit it out toward each of the cardinal points four times. Then he would walk back, singing, and do the same thing four times more. This ceremony was supposed to counteract anything that the spirits of the living might do to injure the hunt by thinking or talking too mich about the hunters or by making sport of them. When they came into the settlement on their return they built a fire in a place apart by themselves and sang and danced the stomp dance there all night to prevent the fires they had lighted during the hunt from creating diseases among the families.[4]

The following performance belongs in the same category as the phenomena just considered.

"In the Summer-season of the year 1746 [says Adair], I chanced to see the Indians playing at a house of the former Mississippi-Nachee, on one of their old sacred musical instruments. It pretty much resembled the Negroe-Banger in shape but far exceeded it in dimensions: for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight strings made out of the sinews of a large buffalo. But they were so unskillful in acting the part of the Lyrick, that the *Loache*, or prophet who held the instrument between his feet, and along side of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilst a lusty fellow held the other; by sweating labour they scraped out such harsh jarring sounds, as might have been reasonably ex-

[3] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 122.

[4] Further information on hunting ceremonies will be found on pp. 444-445.

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753 the medicine for it. Then again, what-is-inside-of-me said he was the cause of one and made the medicine for it."[20a]

Mooney's Cherokee version of the "Origin of Disease and Medicine"[21] agrees with the above in tracing diseases to the animals, but according to this the animals created diseases in self-defence, and the plant creation volunteered the remedies which were to counteract them. The two stories agree, however, in tracing diseases mainly to the animals. This my Natchez informant also confirmed.

Long as is the list given by Speck's informant it by no means exhausts the alleged sources of disease and it is difficult to see how some of these could have prescribed their own cures. The myth does not perhaps represent the philosophical idea held by all doctors but it is universally true of the Creeks that animals along with many other things were supposed to occasion diseases, that there were cures for each, and that the remedies used often had some kind of resemblance, real or supposed, to the reputed causes. We will take up these causes of disease in order with the information which I have obtained regarding the method of treating each malady. The greater part of this information was obtained from Jackson Lewis, to which I have added a small amount from various other Indians and what could be gleaned from earlier writings.

756 The same evolution which had carried the Creeks to a point where they had schools of medicine, even though rudimentary in their nature, had brought about specialization both in the medicines used and in the practice of the different physicians. I have already spoken of the separate class of kīlas or diagnosticians and the common or family doctors. Among regular practitioners, however, there was a further specialization. Each doctor did not pretend to cover the whole field of medicine. One would treat for the deer, one for the many snakes, one for the disorders contracted from graves, and so on. It was a common thing to specialize on diseases due to thunder. A doctor might tell what he knew of the disease but refer the patient to another if the method to be employed in treating it had not been given to him.

According to my Natchez informant one who had been struck by lightning and had afterwards recovered could cure diseases of all kinds.

753 The diseases were named from those animals or objects which the symptoms seemed to simulate or recall. Thus the water animals brought diseases of the stomach, bowels, liver, etc., the fish and snail (lâbo), which exude slime like phlegm, caused diseases of the lungs, and so on. Sometimes the medicine contained only one thing, sometimes several. It would vary also with the class of creatures causing the trouble and the particular representative of that class.

[20a] Memoirs Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 145–149.
[21] 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, pp. 250–252.

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Besides the accounts of diseases and their cures already given I have considerable information regarding medicine plants and their uses in diseases for which I have no native explanation, although in some cases the name of the plant probably contains the supposed cause of the disease. The greater number of these were obtained from Jackson Lewis, another portion was from a Wīogufki Indian named Caley Proctor, a brother of the leader of the "Snake Indians," Eufaula Hadjo. He stated that he learned these things from an old Indian named Nokos īmała just before he died. To this I have added what I could learn among the Alabama of Texas, and some information from one of the few surviving Natchez Indians. The former varies somewhat from the rest on account of a difference in the Texas flora, while the latter has probably absorbed a great deal from the Cherokee among whom the surviving speakers of Natchez are living. A certain disorder was injected into Creek medical practice by the removal of the tribe west of the Mississippi, though Eakins's statement that "The roots and herbs they were accustomed to use in the '*old nation*' they have not yet been able to discover in their new country," must not be interpreted in a too sweeping manner.[36]

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For the identification of the various plants I am indebted to Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the United States National Museum.

1. Miko hoyanīdja (a species of *Salix*, willow), "passer by of the chiefs," the medicine being supposed to pass by of its own power (G. W. G.) or perhaps "sovereign purgative." This is one of the two great busk medicines and as a remedy seems to have been thought more of than the pasa. It is known colloquially as the "red root," the roots of some being blood red and others pale red. Jackson Lewis said that it was used as part of the medicine in a great many complaints, such as fever with nausea and vomiting. According to Caley Proctor it was put in water and drunk by the patient, either cold or hot, in cases of internal fever, malaria, and biliousness. According to another informant it was used as "a graveyard medicine"—i. e., as he explained it, a medicine for dropsy—and also to cure the deer sickness. The patient was also bathed in it. It was used in conjunction with the spicewood (kápapāskà) in cases of rheumatism and swellings. According to another informant the miko hoyanīdja and pasa together will cure "the clap" almost immediately. Eakins says simply that it was used in fevers.[36]

2. Pāsa. This is the "buttonsnake-root" of the whites, also sometimes called "bear grass," and its scientific name is *Eryngium yuccaefolium*. The Natchez called it awe'lwaih; the Koasati pase'. As above noted, it was the second of the two important busk medicines. Its use in conjunction with miko hoyanīdja has been mentioned. According to Caley Proctor, it was pounded up, mixed with water and drunk cold in cases of neuralgia and in kidney

[36] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 274.

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•757 troubles. It was also administered in cases of snake bite, and Jackson Lewis gave this as its principal use, in which he is confirmed by as old an authority as Adair.[37] Jackson Lewis added that it was used in conjunction with the "deer potato" in cases of rheumatism. Zachariah Cook said it was used for diseases of the spleen. According to another informant it was a great medicine to cleanse the system and purify the blood, and still another declared that its function at the busk was not so much to combat positive diseases as to produce a feeling of peace and tranquillity, an access of health as it were. Swan and other early writers, however, call this "the war physic."[38] Adair says "they frequently drink it to such excess as to impair their health, and sometimes so as to poison themselves by its acrid quality."[39] The Alabama and Koasati swallowed small sprouts of this plant in spring in order to make themselves strong and healthy during the ensuing year.

3. Hilis hátki, "white medicine." This is ginseng and it was a very highly esteemed remedy. Caley Proctor said that when one suffered from shortness of breath the roots of this plant were cut up and put into boiling water and the infusion drunk. It was not used externally. Jackson Lewis also mentioned its use in cases of shortness of breath, and he added croup in children and a very low general condition. It constituted one of the elements in many compound remedies and generally relieved the patient. When a person was sick with fever and could not sweat new ginseng was boiled with ginger, then both were mixed with alcohol and a little given to the patient, when sweat would break out all over him. It was also used, according to both Caley Proctor and Jackson Lewis, to stop the flow of blood from a cut. The latter by its means cured a woman who had been shot in the head. Before applying the medicine in such cases the wound was cleaned out by the use of the long wing feather of a buzzard. At that time no one must be near, especially no woman, and above all a woman at the time of her monthly period. Elsewhere I have mentioned its employment to keep away ghosts, and Adair says "the Indians use it on religious occasions."[40]

Caley Proctor gave me the following formula used over this medicine in cases of shortness of breath:

> nokī' salatī' nokī' le'slai salatī'
> nokī' lesfánk salatī' kaka' kaka'

It is not known whether the words have any meaning. When this medicine is used to stop the flow of blood from cuts the following meaningless formula is hummed:

> katadás howē' kati lanidī'
> apátánalanidī' saii

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[37] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 103.
[38] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 268.
[39] Adair, op. cit., pp. 102–103.
[40] Ibid., p. 362. It was employed, for instance, during the busk at Kasihta (see p. 578).

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4. Notosa. This is the angelica, the roots of which were used in various physical ailments. Bartram calls it "the angelica lucida or nondo," and says "it is in high estimation with the Indians as well as with the white inhabitants, and sells at a great price to the Southern Indians of Florida, who dwell near the sea coast where this never grows spontaneously."[41] In another place he remarks that "its friendly carminitive qualities are well known for relieving all the disorders of the stomach, a dry belly-ache and disorders of the intestines, colic, hysterics, etc. The patient chews the root and swallows the juice, or smokes it when dry with tobacco. Even the smell of the root is of good effect. The Lower Creeks (Seminole), in whose country it does not grow, will gladly give two or three buckskins for a single root of it."[42] According to Jackson Lewis it was given to children as a vermifuge and to adults to alleviate pains in the back.

5. Wilāna. This is the wormseed (*Chenopodium ambrosioides*). It was used to purify the busk ground and in the final cleansing of the fasters at that time. According to Caley Proctor it was a kind of family medicine, apparently a sort of spring tonic, and was also used in cases of fever. Jackson Lewis said it was employed in a great many ailments.

6. Atcina, cedar. According to Caley Proctor cedar was used as a spring tonic, to thin the blood. The Alabama in Texas bandaged it, after it had been boiled, over a place where there were rheumatic pains. According to Jackson Lewis the sprigs and leaves were applied warm to places where pains and aches were felt. It was not taken internally.

7. Kápapāska, spicewood (*Benzoin aestivale*). When pains and aches were experienced an infusion was made of the branches and taken internally or the body steamed in the liquid in order to produce a perspiration. It was also taken in conjunction with miko hoyanīdja to produce vomiting, "which after some time purifies the blood greatly." Sometimes it was used as we use tea.

8. Kofûteka łáko, horsemint (a species of *Monarda*). The entire plant was used in an infusion in order to bring on a perspiration. When one was delirious he could be cured by the use of horsemint and everlasting boiled together and administered internally. According to Caley Proctor it was boiled with miko hoyanīdja to cure dropsy and swellings in the legs. The patient drank it hot and also bathed in it. The Alabama called it tcinok tilaile, and it was used after a person had died, to ward off the rheumatism which was likely to ensue and also to cure all kinds of rheumatism. It was mixed with cold water, conjured by the doctor, and then each member of the household washed his body in it up to the ears, besides drinking some. It was used on the morning or evening after the death and was for protection against the ghost of the dead, which otherwise might afflict one with deafness.

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[41] Bartram, Travels, p. 320.
[42] Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, p. 47.

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9. Kadohwa, honey locust. This is used not to cure disease but to ward it off. The sprigs, thorns, and some of the branches are chopped up quite fine and boiled in water. After the infusion has been thoroughly boiled the members of the family bathe in it to ward off contagions such as smallpox and measles. It should be employed for four successive days.

10. Ala (Alabama ayona), buckeye (*Aesculus*). This is a very strong medicine and but little can be taken at a time. The roots are employed in cases of pulmonary consumption. It is also used to stupefy fishes.

11. Aloniski or holoniski, the devil's shoestring (*Cracca virginiana*). Jackson Lewis said that this was used in the same way as the buckeye and for the same purpose. Caley Proctor said that eight roots were pounded up, mixed with water, and the resultant infusion drunk cold in cases of bladder trouble. Together with yelungadjādi it was used in cases of loss of manhood, being prepared in the same manner. Like the preceding, it was employed to stupefy fish.

12. Adokłà làsti, "black weed" (*Baptisia*), has a papilionaceous flower, yellow in color, and grows in clumps to a height of 2½ to 3 feet. The roots of this plant were boiled in water and administered to children who seemed drowsy and lifeless and on the point of coming down with some sickness. They were bathed in it and a little was given to them to drink.

13. Tcato hiliswa, "rock medicine," grows in clumps and has a beautiful blue flower which appears early in spring. The roots are hard to get out and are as bitter as quinine. It was not used like the other medicines but apparently only when the old medicine men were making the novices fast.

14. Yanasa hiliswa, "bison medicine." It was formerly customary to put some medicine made from the roots of this on the tongue of a newborn child to make him strong, robust, and daring. Some of it grows in the old Choctaw country.

15. Tcito yektca hiliswa, "medicine of the strong snake" (sarsaparilla). The roots were used when there was difficulty in urinating and blood was passed and there was pain about the lower part of the abdomen and in the back. Eakins says they resorted to it in cases of pleurisy.[42] The Choctaw and Chickasaw also use it, but they have a different name for the plant.

16. Sokha hiliswa, "hog medicine," boneset (apparently). When women complained of aches and pains in the hips they were steamed in a medicine made by boiling this. The Choctaw and Chickasaw called it cilup tiłeli, which means "something to scare away the spirits." A decoction was made from the roots and when persons had epilepsy they were steamed in it.

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[42] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 274.

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17. Tuhiligu, mistletoe (*Phoradendron flavescens*). The leaves and branches were used as one of the ingredients in medicines for lung trouble, consumption, etc.

18. Akhātka, "white down in" (the bottom), the sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*). Chips from the tree and bark were used to make a medicine taken internally in cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. The following three medicines were used for the same purpose:

19. Aktcelalāskà the white birch (*Betula*) of Oklahoma.

20. Tculi niha, (yellow) "pine rosin."

21. Hikûlwà, the black gum (*Nyssa*). The bark and chips of the wood were boiled and the decoction taken internally, or else the patient was bathed in it.

22. Tawa tcāti, "red sumac." This is the smooth sumac (*Rhus glabra*). The roots were boiled and the infusion taken internally in cases of dysentery. It was the leaves of this variety which they formerly mixed with their smoking tobacco, and Pope says "this preparation of *Sumach* and *Tobacco*, the *Indians* constantly smoke, and consider as a sovereign Remedy in all cephalic and pectoral Complaints." [44]

23. Tawa lāsti, "black sumac" (*Rhus copallina*). The roots were used like those of the preceding.

24. Ahwāna, willow (Alabama, ito loica). The roots were boiled in water and the infusion kept in the house in the summertime so that the family might bathe in it and drink it and thereby ward off fevers.

The Texas Alabama used this to cure fevers. The roots were put into cold water, and the doctor came every morning for four mornings and blew into the infusion, after which the patient drank of it and bathed in it all over.

25. Kī, mulberry (*Morus rubra*) (Alabama, bihala). The roots were used as an emetic. The Texas Alabama boiled and drank an infusion of these roots four or five times a day in cases of weakness accompanied by the passage of very yellow urine.

26. Tcoskà, post oak (*Quercus stellata*). The bark is used to make a drink which Jackson Lewis used in cases of dysentery. Other physicians employed it in various other ways, but he did not know how.

27. Pàkānaho, the wild plum (*Prunus*). The roots were boiled in water, and the infusion was taken internally in cases of dysentery.

28. Itco impàkānà, "deer's apple," a kind of wild crabapple (*Malus*). Jackson Lewis believed he had cured numerous persons of hydrophobia by taking the patient as soon as possible after he had been bitten, boiling some of this until a strong decoction had been made, and having the patient drink frequently of it, besides bathing him in the liquid and steaming the wound with it.

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[44] Pope, Tenn., p. 45.

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29. Tâfōso, elm (*Ulmus*). Jackson Lewis knew that this was used in cases of toothache and he thought that the branches were taken, but there was a secret about its use which the doctors who knew about it did not divulge and he was not acquainted with it.

30. Pâłko łâko, "big grape," the "summer grape." The use of this in snake bite has been mentioned already.[45] It was also employed in cases of tonsilitis, when the tendrils were steeped in hot water and cloths put into this and bound about the throat. With it must be little parings of ginseng.

31. Hayopalīdjâ łâko, the wild rose. The roots were boiled and administered internally to women when they were irregular in their periods.

32. Hayopalīdjâ tcutci, a dwarf variety of wild rose. The roots of this were used with sumac in cases of dysentery. Either this or the preceding was employed by the Natchez in similar cases. My informant could not recall the Natchez name, but it is named in Cherokee tsistuunigist uhsti, "little rabbit food."

33. Tałdakâ, cottonwood (*Populus*). When an arm or leg had been broken cottonwood bark was boiled and the resulting liquid poured over the fractured part. Splints were made from the inner bark of this tree and it is asserted that the bone would then knit very soon. It was also used when ankles or other joints were sprained. If this tree is identical with the ito tâsikaya, or "warrior tree," it was also used in cases of dropsy, when the patient was bathed in an infusion made by boiling the roots.

34. Adâphâ, dogwood (*Cornus*). Jackson Lewis had seen this used but had never employed it himself and had forgotten the nature of its supposed virtues. The Texas Alabama, however, boiled the inner bark of the dogwood and used it in cases of flux.

35. Imbâkbâki tcati, "red blossoms," a plant growing in clumps in Oklahoma, with strong, rough, tuberous roots which are used as medicine in cases of pneumonia and to bring on perspiration and secure a reaction in what is called "winter fever." The bunches of this plant sometimes have red flowers and sometimes yellow ones.

36. Tinetki hiłswa, "thunder medicine," has very bitter roots and is used in fevers.

37. Itco imâha, "deer's potato," a *Lacinaria*, was used to cure the deer disease—i. e., rheumatism. The roots were pounded up and boiled, and the infusion rubbed on the affected parts. Some was also drunk. According to Jackson Lewis pāsa was used in connection with it and a little sprig of cedar was also put in. Caley Proctor did not mention these accessories.

38. Hitci omâ, "like tobacco," mullen (*Verbascum thapsus*). The roots were boiled and used internally for coughs, but there must be added to them the roots of a plant growing in wet places called

[45] See p. 641.

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"button willow" in English and by the Creeks sâksa imito, "crawfish wood." This last reaches a height of 5 or 6 feet. The identification of this is somewhat doubtful as I showed a piece of mullen to Caley Proctor and he called it waga inhidji and said it was used for shooting pains in the chest and joints. The leaves were boiled and the patient bathed in the infusion while it was still hot.

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39. Tcokiliba, the elderberry (*Sambucus canadensis*). The tender roots of this plant were pounded up, stirred into hot water, and bound on the breast of a woman suffering from a swollen breast. If the roots can not be gotten, the skin scraped off of the stalk may be employed.

40. Katco lâko, "big briar," the greenbriar (*Smilax*). The roots of this plant, which are exceedingly hard, are pounded up, boiled, and the liquid poured over ulcers, particularly ulcers on the legs.

41. Ahâlobaktsi, or Halobâktci, *Gnaphalium obtusifolium*, was used, according to Jackson Lewis, in cases of mumps. A great many leaves were collected, even in winter when they are dried up, a strong infusion was made by boiling them in water, cloths were dipped in this, a little lard added, and the whole tied around the throat. According to Caley Proctor this was put with several other medicines, among which he mentioned atcīna, miko hoyanīdja, pāsa, wīlana, and kofutcka lâko, to add a perfume. They were boiled by themselves, and the infusion drunk when one was unable to keep anything upon the stomach. The patient also bathed in the liquid. To cure bad colds the tops were boiled, the odor inhaled, and the infusion drunk. The faces and heads of old people were bathed in it and some drunk when they could not rest well and woke up with a start as soon as they had fallen asleep.

42. Iswiani tcaitcga, "a purgative" (the only name known) (*Euphorbia*?). This is a small weed with small smooth leaves, and bears a bunch of flowers at the top. When broken it exudes a little milk. The roots are taken in an infusion to bring on an action of the bowels and it is a very violent remedy.

43. Wiso, sassafras (*Sassafras variifolium*). This was used as a medicine but I have no information as to how it was employed.

44. Puya fiktca hiliswa, "spirit medicine," is a weed a foot high which produces a little yellow fruit just where the leaf comes away from the stalk. This is said to be very fine for rheumatism and it is declared that it will cure gonorrhea. A bundle of roots is taken sufficiently large to fill the palm in the space inclosed by the thumb and second finger when the tips are brought together.

45. Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens*). Jackson Lewis knew no native name for this plant. It is good for women with urinary troubles or having pains about the small of the back. The person taking this medicine must not eat butter, milk, or bacon.

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46. Afàla oma, "like the ivy," the woodbine (*Parthenocissus*). The root of this is good medicine in cases of gonorrhea. Its use was learned from the Comanche.

47. Stilàst iga ("black man's medicine"), a plant with a yellow flower popularly known as "nigger head." The roots were boiled and used in cases of consumption.

48. Pisi hiliswa, "woman's-breast medicine," a plant the roots of which were mashed, mixed with warm water, and applied externally by women suffering from swollen breasts.

49. Ifulo hiliswa, "screech owl medicine," is found far out in the woods, growing in small bunches. An entire bunch was boiled so that the infusion might be as strong as possible. The water then turns red and is good for persons with watery eyes or other chronic eye troubles.

50. Kistowa, known popularly to the whites as "red root," a woody shrub with leaves along the stem and hard, woody, red roots. The roots are cut into long strips and put into a bottle with cold water. Afterwards the infusion is employed when blood is spit from the lungs.

51. Hitci pàkpàgi ("tobacco bloom"), native tobacco, some species of lobelia(?). This is said to grow to a height of about 10 inches, but otherwise to resemble the common tobacco exactly and to have the same kind of flower. Jackson Lewis said that he knew that the Creeks, Yuchi, and Shawnee had this but was not aware of its existence among any other Indians. It is of rare occurrence and very highly valued. Traditionally this plant was with the Creeks from the very beginning, and it is supposed to be older than the smoking tobacco. Nevertheless Tuggle seems to have preserved a myth recounting its origin.[41a] It derives its name from the fact that the flowers were the part used in medicine, four of them being generally placed in the pot. It was used in all kinds of cases, sometimes when a person was sick to the point of delirium, and it was used to ward off ghosts. Incidental references to this medicine have been made in other places.

The following medicines were described to me by Caley Proctor:

52. Awanhi hiliswa. This plant grows to a height of about 3 feet and bears a yellow flower. It is not used externally, but the roots are boiled and the infusion drunk to cure an enlarged spleen.

53. Yelungàdjàdi hiliswa, a species of *Stillingia*, is a plant about a foot and a half tall and has a bushy top with no blossom, or probably an inconspicuous one. The roots were mashed and boiled and a woman who had just given birth to a child drank the liquid and was bathed in it. A woman suffering from irregular periods bathed in this, prepared with the addition of devil's shoestring.

[41a] See p. 569.

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54. Fatdjâdjĭ has a bunchy top, small yellow flowers, and short, very white roots. These last were boiled in water and the mixture drunk hot in cases of flux. When a small baby is very weak it is made to drink some of this and it is bathed in it.

55. Totkop lâko, a species of *Impatiens*, is boiled with kofûtcka lâko and spicewood and the mixture drunk hot in cases of dropsy. The patient also bathes in it.

56. Nuti hiliswa, "tooth medicine," yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*), was used, as its name implies, to cure any sort of toothache.

For some diseases objects shaped like the old atasa or war club were put into medicines. A white man long acquainted with the Indians said that one kind of treatment was to pour great quantities of cold water over the patient. Liver complaint is called in Creek wĭ'ak wiligi.

Alabama Medicines

57. Nâtikâca litcĭ, "cooler of the teeth," *Zanthoxylum americanum* Mill., popularly known as "prickly ash." The inside bark was beaten up and some of it was inserted into the cavity in an aching tooth, while more was placed around it and the whole wrapped up in a cloth. If a person itched all over, some was boiled in a pot and rubbed over him. When a man was out hunting and his dog did not follow the trail well he would sometimes put some of this bark into cold water and rub the dog's nose with it to improve his scent.

58. Hâk-himbâlka, "wild goose's berries," *Callicarpa americana*, popularly called the French mulberry. The roots and limbs were put into a pot together, boiled, and then poured into a big pan. This was then placed beside a person suffering from malarial fever ("sick one day and well the next") in a sweat house made like that of the Creeks. After he had perspired all over he came out and was bathed in water. The treatment was repeated until the patient was cured. Sometimes the pan was placed beneath the chair of a person having rheumatism and blankets were then fastened about him. This was also to induce perspiration and it was repeated four times if necessary. Slow fever was treated in the same manner but my informant assured me that it was unsuccessful in such cases, as he himself had tried it.

59. Comalĭ, a species of *Meibomia*, the popular name of which is "tick trefoil." A bad state of the lungs or sometimes a bad cold was cured by drinking a tea made of this before breakfast and then vomiting it up.

60. Ahisi lâksa, "bitter or strong medicine," *Gnaphalium obtusifolium* L., popularly known as "rabbit tobacco."[a] Lâksa indicates a taste between bitter and sour. This was often used mixed with other medicines, but my informant did not know what. It was used, furthermore, when a man was nervous, woke up frequently, and

[a] There is doubt of this, as the same name is given to an *Antennaria*, popularly known as "pussy toes."

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wanted to run away. It was then boiled in water along with cedar and the face of the patient washed in it until he got well. This sickness was thought to be brought on by ghosts and the medicine was intended to drive them off. Another way to effect the same end was by burning this plant and cedar together.

61. Hâtăcipa, or Hâthăcipâ, a species of *Solidago*, popularly known as "goldenrod." A tea was made out of the roots and drunk to cure a bad cold. Sometimes the root, which is bitter, was put into the cavity in a tooth to stop the ache.

62. Yenasa imilpa, "buffalo eat it," *Ceanothus americanus* L., the popular name of which is "New Jersey tea." The roots were boiled in water for two or three hours, the whole allowed to cool, and then it was used to bathe the feet or legs of one who had been injured in those members. This was done three times a day for one week, two weeks, or even for a month—i. e., until the injury was healed.

63. Wâsâko'tcĭ, a species of *Vaccinium*, the blueberry. It was used as a remedy for many different ailments but my informant did not know what these were.

64. Nita imilpa, "bears eat it," has black berries. It was used for the same purposes as the Nâtikăca litcĭ and in the same way. A poultice was made from it and applied in cases of pneumonia.

65. Ito hici' kocōma, "fragrant leaves," the sweet bay (*Myrica*). This was put into a big pot along with another medicine, perhaps cedar, and boiled. It was then administered to a person after a burial had taken place in order to secure him from disease. He did not retain it in his stomach, but went outside and vomited it up, after which he could eat.

66. Omâgăga, "open eyes," *Ascyrum multicaule*, popular name "St. Peter's-wort." When one had a bad case of dysentery these plants were put into a pot entire and boiled for a long time, and the infusion taken cold four or five times a day. In two or three days the patient would get better. It derives its name from the fact that a tea was also made from it with which to wash out the eyes.

67. Hăcă'lâpo. The twirling stick used in producing fire in ancient times was made from this. A tea was made from the stalk and leaves of it, and given internally and externally to a person suffering from a disease locally known as "the itch," which seems to be prickly heat, shingles, or something of the kind.

68. Tcūyi, the pine. The inside bark of pine saplings was boiled in water and drunk to cure flux.

69. Ahisi home, "bitter medicine." The roots and the inside bark of the stalk were beaten up and put into water. After soaking thoroughly the medicine was tied up in a clean cloth and placed over any part of the body where a pain was felt, which it relieved, although it raised a blister. It was also put against the cheek outside of an aching tooth in order to destroy the pain—sometimes into the cavity of the tooth itself.

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70. Itichálōkpa, the holly (*Ilex*). The inside bark was scraped off and boiled for a long time, perhaps four hours, in water, after which it was applied to sore eyes as a wash. It was administered three or four times a day.

71. Łatco, red oak. The bark was boiled, and in the morning before food had been taken the infusion was drunk and then vomited out by a person afflicted with lung trouble. It was sometimes used to wash bad smelling sores that had broken out on the feet or the head. When children old enough to walk were too weak to do so, red oak bark, tree moss, omágāga, and oyimpák'o (tall bushes which grow near rocks) were mashed up together and boiled in a pot and the whole used as a wash. Sometimes a doctor was employed in connection with this; sometimes not. Boiled red-oak bark was also resorted to in cases of sore throat.

72. Tákactaya, or Łakāstāyà, *Cercis canadensis* L., popularly known as the "redbud" or "Judas tree." The roots and inside bark were put into a small bucket with water where they were sometimes conjured by the doctor and sometimes not. The mixture was then drunk from four to six times a day to cure a kind of "congestion" which causes one to become hot all over and is soon fatal if not checked.

73. Ahisi hátka, "white medicine," perhaps ginseng. The roots were broken off and the milk that comes from them rubbed on sores.

74. Bákca, bark of the slippery elm (*Ulmus fulva*). When a woman was in labor and the delivery was delayed this was sometimes administered to her after it had been boiled in water along with gunpowder. The reasons assigned involve sympathetic magic.

75. Łopotle, "acting on or moving [the bowels]," *Sebastiana ligustrina* (Michx.) Muell. The roots of this were chewed to produce a movement of the bowels.

76. Dropsy was treated as follows: A limb was taken from the east side of each of four trees. These were put into a pot of water and boiled and the patient given a sweat bath. When he perspired profusely all over, he was washed in the same medicine and dressed in clean clothes. The same thing was repeated three times every day until he got well. Every morning, while this was going on, the doctor came and blew into the medicine. It was done for four successive days and if the treatment was ineffective it was repeated.

77. White-flour corn. To treat slow fever they pounded up four kernels of flour corn, mixed them with water, and poured the whole through a sieve held over the patient's head until all was gone. Next day the doctor did the same thing over again, calling upon the North, West, South, and East, blowing into the medicine and pouring it over the patient. Afterwards the patient's body was rubbed in order to bleach it, and that is why the white flour corn was used.

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In this way the soul of the sick man which was supposed to have gone up to the sky was recalled to its body.

78. Itco intcastuge, "deer's peas," *Erythrina herbacea*. The roots were pounded up, put into water, and the infusion drunk cold by a woman who had pains in the bowels.

79. Kàtsgimilpa, "catfish eat it," or "catfish food." This is the famous "black drink" or "cassine" (*Ilex vomitoria*) referred to by all early writers on the southern Indians. The Creeks commonly called it àsi, meaning simply "leaves," but sawàtcka is said by some to have been the true name.[46a] However, there appears to be some difference of opinion about this. I did not learn of any strictly medicinal purpose to which it was put by either the Alabama or the Creeks, though it was daily employed by the old people in early days to clear out the system and produce ceremonial purity. That it was supposed to possess more specific curative properties is shown by the following quotation from Adair:

"The Yopon, or Cusseena, is very plenty, as far as the salt air reaches over the low lands. It is well tasted, and very agreeable to those who accustom themselves to use it; instead of having any noxious quality, according to what many have experienced of the East-India insipid and costly tea, it is friendly to the human system, enters into a contest with the peccant humours, and expels them through the various channels of nature: it perfectly cures a tremor in the nerves." [47]

A toothache medicine was known to an old woman, now dead, living among the Alabama in Texas but belonging herself to the Biloxi or Pascagoula tribe. It is said to be only a few inches tall and to have a red blossom. Mrs. James McKee, wife of the farmer with whom I boarded while in Texas, told me that "old Sally," as this woman was called, had cured a toothache for her almost instantly by putting some of the root of this plant into the cavity. The first application was accompanied by intense pain which soon disappeared and never returned. Apparently the nerve had been killed. Afterwards she asked the old woman repeatedly to show her the plant but the latter refused to do so lest it should lose its efficacy.

Natchez Medicines

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The following medicines were enumerated to me by one of the few surviving Natchez Indians. As the latter are living among the Cherokee it is probable that they are as much Cherokee as Natchez, and indeed for some of them I could obtain only the Cherokee names. Unless otherwise stated, the native name is in Natchez.

80. Cherokee name kowaya yüst', "syphilis medicine," a species of *Ascyrum* popularly known as St. Andrew's cross. A tea was made from it and given to children unable to pass urine.

[46a] Possibly sawàtcka is from àsi, "leaves," and swotaltcita, "to make vomit," or sawotka, "emetic."
[47] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 361.

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When a man became sick at the stomach and vomited it was believed that a dead person had been eating out of the same dish with him. 753

Water from certain springs was also used as a remedy. There is a prairie in the Cherokee Nation formerly known as Medicine Spring Prairie (Gun ŏm gunâts) but now called Greenleaf Prairie (Tsu otol hăyăp). The medicine spring from which it was originally named is 4 miles east of Braggs and the water is good for rheumatism, fevers, backache, headache, pains in the breast or stomach, weak or sore eyes, and has especial value for children. The water makes one belch a great deal, and "when you first drink it you do not like it but after a time you get used to it and think it the finest water in the world." 757 312

In the mountains 5 or 6 miles farther east is another spring with the very same kind of water, and a third 2 to 3 miles above Gore, on the bank of the Illinois River. A long time ago the Indians used to throw things into these.

To these may be added some mention of medicines by early writers. Adair speaks of an aquatic plant, probably a species of yellow flowered water lily (*Nymphaea*), the seeds of which were used as food. After noting this fact he continues: "It is a sort of marsh-mallows, and reckoned a speedy cure for burning maladies, either outward or inward—for the former, by an outward application of the leaf; and for the latter, by a decoction of it drank plentifully." He adds that the Choctaw called one of their head towns by its name.[48] 757

Swan says: "The cassia fistularius, or pod of the wild locust, which grows here in abundance, furnishes them late in autumn with a kind of sweetmeats, which they gather and bring home wherever they can find it; and it is esteemed a good antidote in the complaints of their children."[49] It is quite certain that this is in reality the honey locust (*Gleditsia triacanthos*).

After mentioning whooping cough and worms as diseases from which Creek children frequently suffered Bartram says: "But (besides their well-known remedy, *Spigelia anthelmintica*), to prevent the troublesome and fatal effects of this disease, they use a strong *lixivium* prepared from ashes of bean-stalks and other vegetables, in all their food prepared from corn (*zea*), which otherwise, they say, breeds worms in their stomachs."[50]

Below we read: "The vegetables which I discovered to be used as remedies, were generally very powerful cathartics. Of this class are several species of the *Iris*, viz, *Ir. versicolor*, *Ir. verna*. And for the same purpose they have a high estimation of a species of either *Croton* or *Styllingia*, I am in doubt which." He adds that this last

[48] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 410. I have been unable to identify the name of the town.
[49] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[50] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 43.

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757 had been used very successfully by a white physician in North Carolina "in curing the *yaws*." [51]

Still farther on he says: "Several species of *Smilax*, the woody vines of *Bignonia crucigera*, some of the *bays* (*laurus*), are of great account with the Indians as remedies . . .

"The caustic and detergent properties of the white nettle (roots) of Carolina and Florida (*Jatropha urens*), used for cleansing old ulcers and consuming proud-flesh, and likewise the dissolvent and diuretant powers of the root of the convolvulus panduratus [*Ipomoea pandurata*], so much esteemed as a remedy in nephritic complaints, were discovered by the Indians to the inhabitants of Carolina." [52]

One or two other items may be added from notes taken by the Agent Eakins from an Alabama Indian:

"The big prairie-weed is used as an emetic, taken as a tea. For cathartics they have a number of roots and weeds, prepared as a tea . . . They have two modes of treating eruptions of the skin: First, the external application of a decoction of herbs; and, Secondly, by steaming with the same decoction. The cause of their known and general failure to treat small-pox, or varioloid, is, First, their limited knowledge of the nature of the disease; and, Secondly, their belief that it is contagious prevents their administering for its cure. In no cases, whatever, do men assist in parturition. After parturition, [844] they use a simple root or weed. For paralysis, their treatment is not, in all cases, successful, which is generally by roots or herbs. They use the vapor bath efficaciously." [53]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

746 Through the kindness of Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., I am able to add the following notes regarding a Creek busk witnessed by the artist J. M. Stanley and Mr. Sumner Dickerman in the summer of 1843, the year after the busk described by General Hitchcock. They were contained in a letter written at "Bayou Menard, Cherokee Nation, August 4, 1843," by Mr. Dickerman and printed in a newspaper, and give little more than an account—a very good one nevertheless—of the women's dance. The town was probably Tukabahchee, but this is uncertain. Mr. Dickerman, as well as his companion, seems to have had some artistic ability, since the services of both gentlemen were utilized by the Indians in painting a banner for the occasion. "On one side was painted the American Eagle, with the motto, 'E Pluribus Unum,' and the thirteen stars; on the other the crossed pipes, hatchet, and clasped hands, with the motto of 'Peace and Friendship.'" After Mr. Dickerman had run this up on a pole about 21 feet high, at one corner of the square, the Indians took it down and inverted it so that the eagle might be seen from the inside of the square as the wind was then blowing.

Mr. Dickerman describes the ceremonial ground as measuring "about 35 feet square," and says, "on each side is a small house with open front, facing the interior, and an entrance from each end of the house. Seats were arranged in

[51] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., p. 44.
[52] Ibid., pp. 44-47.
[53] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 274.

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775 man looked and discovered the nature of his companion. Then he began to climb down and when he was nearly to the ground took off his moccasins and threw them, one in one direction and one in another. The ghost, however, ran after the moccasins, picked them up, and then pursued the man, whom he threw down and killed.

Speaking of the site of old Okmulgee, Adair says that the Indians "strenuously aver, that when necessity forces them to encamp there, they always hear, at the dawn of the morning, the usual noise of Indians singing their joyful religious notes, and dancing, as if going down to the river to purify themselves, and then returning to the old town-house: with a great deal more to the same effect." [76] Adair adds that they attributed his own inability to hear such things to the fact that he was "an obdurate infidel that way." [77]

Says Pope:

"The *Creeks* in approaching the Frontiers of *Georgia*, always encamp on the right hand side of the Road or Path, assigning the left, as ominous, to the *Larvæ* or Ghosts of their departed Heroes who have either unfortunately lost their scalps, or remain unburied. The Ghost of an Hero in either Predicament, is refused Admittance into the Mansions of Bliss, and sentenced to take up its invisible and darksome Abode, in the dreary Caverns of the Wilderness; until the Indignity shall be retaliated on the Enemy, by some of his surviving Friends." [78]

Pope's authority is not the best, but this certainly establishes the fact that the Creeks had the same belief as the Chickasaw regarding the necessity of placating spirits of the slain.

761 Adair is probably correct in attributing fatalistic beliefs to the southern Indians as to the time when each man's life was to come to an end. He says that they had a common proverb "*Neetak Intahāh* [Ni'tak intaha], 'The days appointed, or allowed him, were finished' [the days finished for him]. And this is their firm belief; for they affirm, that there is a fixt time, and place, when, and where, every one must die, without any possibility of averting it. They frequently say, 'Such a one was weighed on the path, and made to be light.'" [79]

[581] He also says that many believed marriages to be equally fated.[80]

775 We learn from Adair, in places already quoted, that the Chickasaw discharged guns and whooped in order to drive the ghost of a dead man to his fixed abode, but that it was believed that if he had been slain in war his soul would haunt the eaves of the house until equal blood had been shed for him.[81] All accounts agree that after the soul had been induced to leave the neighborhood of his living relatives he traveled westward, passed under the sky and proceeded

[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 36. [77] Ibid., p 37. [78] Pope, Tour, pp. 63-64. [79] Adair, op. cit., p. 33. [80] Ibid., p. 26. [81] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 310.

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After the Civil War they began to bury in the ground, lining the grave with split logs and also covering it with them. Then, too, only about four persons did the work. While they were so employed they had their faces painted red, and this paint was called tisi'. For the space of four months after the duty had been accomplished they had to eat apart out of a separate dish. If they belonged to different houses each man had his own dish. If the burial was in winter they hoed away the grass, leaves, branches, etc., from the grave so that the grave house would not be burned. 764

Before the Civil War there was a chief of the Mikasuki named Kapitca miko (Mikasuki Kapitc miki). When he died they laid his body away, south of Wetumka, in the old manner, without digging a grave. Afterward the Negro slaves went there and piled a great quantity of stones above it. Sonak hadjo himself saw it in that place after the war. This was not a regular custom, but the Indians did it at that time because they had Negro slaves to command and because they thought a great deal of that chief. [567]

"While the Yamacraw Indians were in England with Tomochichi one of their number died and was buried by his companions in the ground, strapped between two boards." [63]

Bossu has the following regarding the burial customs of the Alabama in the middle of the eighteenth century:

"The Allibamons bury their dead in a sitting position; in order to justify this usage they say that the man is upright, and has his head turned toward the heaven his dwelling, and that it is for this reason that they bury their fellowmen in this attitude; they give him a calumet and tobacco to smoke in order that he may make peace with the people of the other world; if he is a warrior he is buried with his arms, which are a gun, powder, and balls, a quiver provided with arrows, a bow, a casse-tête, whether a wooden club or a hatchet, and moreover a mirror, and some vermilion with which to make his toilet in the world of souls.

"When a man kills himself whether from despair or in sickness, he is deprived of burial, and thrown into the river, because he is then considered a coward." [64] [762]

In another place he speaks of the mourning on account of a war chief in the following terms:

"When a great war chief of the nation dies the mourning consists in refraining from painting oneself and bathing; the men daub the whole of their bodies with soot which they dilute with bear's oil; in a word they renounce all kinds of diversions." [65]

As the southern Indian world of the dead was overhead Bossu's explanation of their reason for burying the body sitting up probably

[63] Jones, Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 185.
[64] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 40-50.
[65] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

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344 old coverings are never removed. they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[86] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat. Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The west side [86] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cook-
[532 ing black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
614] of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

[621 "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always
531] been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square, which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

•[714] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[86] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[86] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

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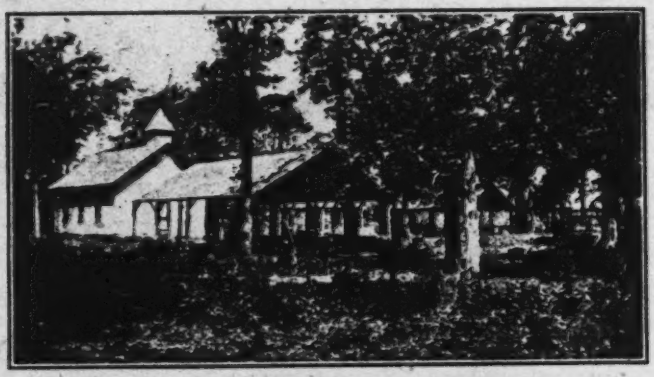

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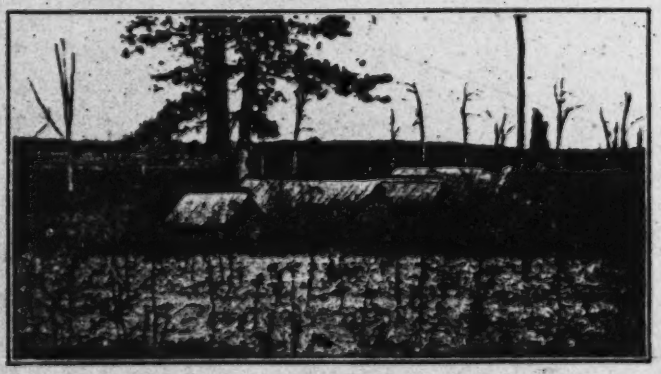

CREEK CHURCHES AND BURIALS

[facing p. 190]

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181 562 [593] of relationship.[44] In the quotation given above he[1] makes another blunder when he assumes that from the apparent indifference exhibited by an Indian couple when they meet after a long separation a constitutional "phlegmatic coldness and indifference" may be inferred. The self-restraint and seeming unconcern exhibited was simply a native custom from which nothing at all regarding the real feelings could be deduced. It may be added that the hard life of Indian women to which he refers was not usually considered hard by them but as the customary and essential, and it was in large measure but their share of a life which was harder all around than the lives of many civilized human beings. It was certainly not as hard as the lives of many of our sweatshop and mill operatives, and there is this to be said for it besides that it did not exist side by side with and thereby shame a theoretically lofty moral standard. On the other hand the "care and attention" which Creek women bestowed upon their men must be read in connection with the drastic regulations to which a widow was subjected.[44a] Collective virtues and vices are so closely bound up with economic conditions that it would be easy to show how both as they exist among Indians show to advantage or suffer in comparison with virtues and vices among ourselves. It is probably true also that white contact by putting an [177] end to intertribal warfare and to hunting, the chief occupations of the men in olden times, has shown up the division of labor between men and women with some disadvantage to the men, because the old traditions regarding division of labor have persisted into a period when a new arrangement is rendered necessary. This is not said with the idea of justifying Indian or European customs. Some of these were doubtless due to economic conditions which were indeed their sufficient excuse at one time. Many, too, may be perversions of customs which once had some reason for their existence though the perversions themselves have not and never had any such basis. In these cases history may furnish a palliation and an excuse but it can not give a justification, and the sooner such custom is abolished the better.

It is not just then to condemn the Creeks on account of some of their customs or to praise them overmuch on account of others. But, abstracting the customs themselves from the people, we may say that those of the Creeks were upon the whole on a distinctly higher level than the customs of most of the hunting tribes of American Indians and indeed than those of most of the agricultural tribes about them.

BURIAL

764 In the accounts of burial customs, as well as in those of marriages, there are considerable differences, and here again it is evident that

[44] See p. 376. [44a] See pp. 383-384.

1 [i.e., Swan. -- Analyst]

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the customs themselves were diverse. As usual, I place first what Adair has to say upon the subject, his account being one of the oldest. It probably contains the best exposition of the ancient rites among the Chickasaw. In these as in so many other matters the Chickasaw were nearer to the Creeks than to the related Choctaw.

After stating that the bones of those who had died at a distance from home were gathered and brought back and that in burying they separated them carefully from the remains of other people—by which he probably means not only other tribes but other clans of the same tribe—Adair continues as follows:

"When any of them die at a distance, if the company be not driven and pursued by the enemy, they place the corpse on a scaffold, covered with notched logs to secure it from being torn by wild beasts, or fowl of prey; when they imagine the flesh is consumed, and the bones are thoroughly dried, they return to the place, bring them home, and inter them in a very solemn manner. They will not associate with us, when we are burying any of our people, who die in their land; and they are unwilling we should join with them while they are performing this kindred duty to theirs. Upon which account, though I have lived among them in the raging time of the small-pox, even of the confluent sort, I never saw but one buried, who was a great favourite of the English, and chieftain of *Ooeasa* as formerly described.

"The Indians use the same ceremonies to the bones of their dead, as if they were covered with their former skin, flesh, and ligaments. It is but a few days since I saw some return with the bones of nine of their people, who had been two months before killed by the enemy. They were tied in white deer-skins, separately; and when carried by the door of one of the houses of their family, they were laid down opposite to it, till the female relations convened, with flowing hair, and wept over them about half an hour. Then they carried them home to their friendly magazines of mortality, wept over them again, and then buried them with the usual solemnities; putting their valuable effects, and as I am informed, other convenient things in along with them, to be of service to them in the next state. The chieftain carried twelve short sticks tied together, in the form of a quadrangle; so that each square consisted of three. The sticks were only peeled, without any paintings; but there were swans feathers tied to each corner, and . . . they called that frame, *Tereekpe tobeh*,[46] 'a white circle,' and placed it over the door, while the women were weeping over the bones. . . .

"When a warrior dies a natural death (which seldom happens) the war-drums, musical instruments, and all other kinds of diversion, are

[46] Byington gives *tikkpi* as an ancient word meaning "shield" and distinct from the word for circle. *Tobbi* is "white."

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laid aside for the space of three days and nights. . . . [And whether the deceased is a warrior or not] "they wash and anoint the corpse, and soon bring it out of doors for fear of pollution; then they place it opposite to the door, on the skins of wild beasts, in a sitting posture, as looking into the door of the winter house, westward, sufficiently supported with all his movable goods; after a short eulogium, and space of mourning, they carry him three times around the house in which he is to be interred, stopping half a minute each time, at the place where they began the circle, while the religious man of the deceased person's family, who goes before the hearse, says each time, *Yàh*, short with a bass voice, and then invokes in a tenor key, *Yo*, which at the same time is likewise sung by all the procession, as long as one breath allows. Again, he strikes up, on a sharp treble key, the fœminine note, *He*, which in like manner, is taken up and continued by the rest: then all of them suddenly strike off the solemn chorus, and sacred invocation, by saying in a low key, *Wàh*. . . . This is the method in which they performed the funeral rites of the chieftain before referred to; during which time, a great many of the traders were present, as our company was agreeable at the interment of our declared friend and patron. . . .

"When they celebrated these funeral rites of the above chieftain they laid the corpse in his tomb, in a sitting posture, with his face towards the east,[49] his head anointed with bear's oil, and his face painted red, but not streaked with black, because that is a constant emblem of war and death; he was drest in his finest apparel, having his gun and pouch, and trusty hiccory bow, with a young panther's skin, full of arrows, along side of him, and every other useful thing he had been possessed of,—that when he rises again, they may serve him in that tract of land which pleased him best before he went to take his long sleep. His tomb was firm and clean inside. They covered it with thick logs, so as to bear several tiers of cypress bark, and such a quantity of clay as would confine the putrid smell, and be on a level with the rest of the floor. They often sleep over those tombs; which, with the loud wailing of the women at the dusk of the evening, and dawn of the day, on benches close by the tombs, must awake the memory of their relations very often; and if they were killed by an enemy, it helps to irritate and set on such revengeful tempers to retaliate blood for blood. . . .

"These rude Americans . . . imagine if any of us were buried in the domestic tombs of their kindred, without being adopted, it would be very criminal in them to allow it; and that our spirits would haunt the eaves of the houses at night, and cause several misfortunes to their family. . . .

[49] In later times, when the body was buried at full length, the head was consequently toward the west. This seems to have been the custom of most of the Southeastern Indians.

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"To perpetuate the memory of any remarkable warriors killed in the woods, I must here observe, that every Indian traveller as he passes that way throws a stone on the place, according as he likes or dislikes the occasion, or manner of the death of the deceased.

"In the woods we often see innumerable heaps of small stones in those places, where according to tradition some of their distinguished people were either killed, or buried, till the bones could be gathered; there they add Pelion to Ossa, still increasing each heap, as a lasting monument, and honor to them, and an incentive to great actions. . . .

"The Indians place those heaps of stones where there are no dividings of the roads, nor the least trace of any road. And they then observe no kind of religious ceremony, but raise those heaps merely to do honor to their dead, and incite the living to the pursuit of virtue. . . .

"To prevent pollution, when the sick person is past hope of recovery, they dig a grave, prepare the tomb, anoint his hair, and paint his face; and when his breath ceases, they hasten the remaining funeral preparations, and soon bury the corpse. One of a different family will never, or very rarely, pollute himself for a stranger; though when living, he would cheerfully hazard his life for his safety; the relations, who become unclean by performing the funeral duties, must live apart from the clean for several days, and be cleansed by some of their religious order, who chiefly apply the button-snakeroot for their purification, as formerly described: when they purify themselves by ablution. After three days, the funeral assistants may convene at the town-house, and follow their usual diversions. But the relations live recluse for a long time, mourning the dead. . . .

"The modern Indians bury all their movable riches, according to the custom of the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, insomuch, that the grave is heir of all. . . .

"Notwithstanding . . . they never give them the least disturbance; even a blood-thirsty enemy will not despoil nor disturb the dead. The grave proves an asylum, and a sure place of rest to the sleeping person, till at some certain time, according to their opinion, he rises again to inherit his favorite place,—unless the covetous, or curious hand of some foreigner, should break through his sacred bounds."[30]

Adair cites an instance of reform, however, in the case of Malahche, chief of Coweta, and a long-standing friend of the whites, who left all of his property to his relations instead of allowing it to be buried with his corpse.[31] [428]

In another place Adair says that—"When any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at

[30] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 178-181.

[31] Ibid., p. 178.

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a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [the souls of the departed]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed place, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise." [52]

In still another place he notes that immediately after anyone had died the father or a brother of the deceased took a live firebrand, brandished it two or three times about his head with lamenting words, dipped it into the water with his right hand and let it sink down.[53]

Romans states that—

"The dead are buried in a sitting posture, and they are furnished with a musket, powder and ball, a hatchet, pipe, some tobacco, a club, a bow and arrows, a looking glass, some vermillion and other trinkets, in order to come well provided in the world of spirits." [54]

Pope says that the articles buried with the deceased included, besides inanimate objects, "horses, cows, hogs, and dogs," and he cites the case of a girl with whose corpse a favorite pig was buried.[55]

It seems improbable that large animals like horses and cows should be disposed of in such a manner, yet Hitchcock supports Pope's statement in the matter of horses and dogs.[55a]

Bartram's account perhaps applies to a period when the custom of burying things with the deceased had begun to decline. He says:

"The Muscogulgees bury their deceased in the earth. They dig a four-square deep pit under the cabin or couch which the deceased lay on, in his house, lining the grave with cypress bark, where they place the corpse in a sitting posture, as if it were alive; depositing with him his gun, tomahawk, pipe, and such other matters as he had the greatest value for in his life time. His eldest wife, or the queen dowager, has the second choice of his possessions, and the remaining effects are divided amongst his other wives and children." [56]

The Creek burial is thus described by Swan:

"When one of a family dies, the relations bury the corpse about four feet deep, in a round hole dug directly under the cabin or rock whereon he died. The corpse is placed in the hole in a sitting posture, with a blanket wrapped about it, and the legs bent under it and tied together. If a warrior, he is painted, and his pipe, ornaments, and warlike appendages are deposited with him. The grave is then covered with canes tied to a hoop round the top of the hole, and then a firm layer of clay, sufficient to support the weight of a man. The relations howl loudly and mourn publicly for four days.

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[52] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.
[53] Ibid., p. 405.
[54] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 68-69.
[55] Pope, Tour, p. 58.
[55a] See p. 396.
[56] Bartram, Travels, pp. 513-514.

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If the deceased has been a man of eminent character, the family immediately remove from the house in which he is buried, and erect a new one, with a belief that where the bones of their dead are deposited, the place is always attended by 'goblins and chimeras dire.'" [37]

Elsewhere he says:

"If a man dies in the town the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage." [38]

Hitchcock's notes shed new light upon the subject:

"The custom of firing four guns, one at each corner of a grave, has for its object to send the spirit of the deceased off. This custom is still prevalent.

"At a burial everything of the nature of personal property is buried with the body of the deceased. Formerly horses were killed and buried, a dog, and the like. The clothing is still buried with the dead. The dead have no shoes or moccasins on, but are buried in stockings or barefooted. Their friends don't wish to hear them walking about. The face of the dead is painted red and black, ear bobs are put on, etc., and their friends frequently throw tokens into the grave. The dead are buried with a handkerchief in each hand. If a man dies from drunkenness, a bottle of whiskey is buried with him, as they say that, dying from liquor, he will want a dram when he awakes in the other world.

"The male and female friends of the dead, meet for four successive mornings after the burial and cry. When a chief dies his friends take the black drink eight successive mornings and live on gruel or white sofkee made without salt. All those who are engaged in the burial of a dead body are obligated to wash their hands in the same bucket of water before they touch anything. They think that to touch a child or anything a child eats from before purification will make the child sickly. It is a common belief that only the relations of the dead must bury the dead and that if any other person, not a relative, touches a dead body that person will be the next to die. In consequence of this, when sickness prevailed to a great extent and great numbers died in 1837 and 1838 many were not buried, but their bones yet whiten upon the surface of the ground in various parts of the nation." [39]

[37] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270. [38] Ibid., p. 268. [39] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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He does not speak of the grave as situated under the house floor in the above account but in another place he indicates that, if it were not then the custom to place it there, it had been such only a short time before.

"Mr. Chapman told me at the North Fork that there were not more than 300 remaining of Black Dirt's party of Seminoles, about 200 having died. 'There are two under that bed,' said he, pointing to the bed where I had slept the night preceding. I looked toward the bed, when he added 'and one under our feet' (just in front of the fire place). When Black Dirt first came to this country [by the Canadian in Oklahoma] from Florida in 1836 he settled on the North Fork and occupied the house we were then in and, it seems, had buried some of his family or friends under it. That was the friendly part of the Seminoles who separated from the hostiles in 1835 on the death (murder) of Charley Emathla, who was killed by the hostiles for consenting to emigrate."[60]

Following is Doctor Speck's account of the burial rites in use among the Tuskegee Creeks:

"The body, as soon as the soul, residing in the heart, has left it, is treated as follows: The male members of the family take their guns and go outside of the house and there fire them off to make known the death to the rest of the village. The friends and relatives then assemble at the house and spend some time in mourning and expressing grief. No one, however, cares to touch the corpse in fear of evil consequences. It is said that during an epidemic some time ago there was such difficulty in getting persons to dispose of the dead that the bodies lay around the village unburied until the people had to leave. Only persons who have been properly fortified by magic rituals dare handle the body.

"The corpse is then carried to the burying ground, where a grave has been dug, and lowered in. Some relative then discharges a rifle toward the four cardinal points. Slabs of elm-bark are put over the body, and as soon as the earth is thrown in they clap their hands and shout and laugh. Coffee is put in a cup over the left shoulder and clothes are laid along the side of the body. The fresh earth dug from the grave is believed to produce sickness in the form of rheumatism in the person who steps on it. A small house, either of logs or of boards, is then constructed over the grave. A fire is kindled at the head of the grave and tended for four days by the relatives until the soul is believed to have reached the passage to the sky. As soon as they reach home after the interment the members of the family put some powdered ginseng, or white root, into a cup and blow it around the house and yard to keep the spirit of the dead from returning. Formerly horses were killed at the grave in order that their spirits might carry the soul toward the spirit land.

[60] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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"The fire, which was always burning in the house, was allowed to go out when a death occurred, so when the mortuary rites were concluded a new fire was kindled with a ceremony and song called tū' tkamodjása ingasúpid, 'fire new its cooling.' "[a]

Jackson Lewis told me that in Alabama, where he was born, burial inside the house was usual. The grave was dug in one corner flush with the wall, for there were then no floors, and after the body had been placed within, they raised a little house over it, 2½ or 3 feet high, and covered it with split plank laid close together. They daubed the sides and top with a thick coating of clay and used the grave as a bed. But before doing so they made some medicine and sprinkled the walls, the ceiling, and in fact the entire house with it in order to counteract any evil influences that might emanate from the body. Jackson Lewis's own father, who had been killed by a white man in the old country, was cared for in this manner. After moving to Oklahoma the Creeks buried mostly away from the houses. The body was drawn up and placed in a sitting posture facing the east, because that quarter is associated with the renewal of life. The grave was lined with split planks, and a rug, or else some cloth, was laid on the bottom. The man who dug the grave and handled the body had been provided with a medicine made of four herbs—horsemint, maremint, spicewood, and everlasting—and he anointed himself with this from time to time. After they had placed the body in the grave each of those present brought a handful of earth and threw it in. Then, at the direction of the man who had charge of the ceremony, all marched down to the creek and plunged under water four times, after which they rubbed medicine on their bodies. No food was placed by the body, only certain articles of which the deceased had been very fond. A fire was lighted near by and kept burning for four days, because, as one informant explained, the ghost of a dead man stays about for that length of time. When his soul was supposed to be taking its departure from his body guns were discharged. The ceremony of throwing earth on the corpse was also related by a Cherokee Indian as a custom of his people, and it may have been introduced by the whites, although the man who gave me most of the above information was advanced in years and well up in the old customs of his people. The Cherokee Indian just mentioned was present once at the burial of a Creek woman, and he says that all sorts of things were inhumed with the body, including nice dresses and the varieties of food that she liked best. When the first earth was being put in they added some live coals. Then the body was covered over completely, and the medicine man blew into a pot of medicine in which everyone present washed his or her face and hands, sprinkling some over the clothing. The medicine man

[a] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. 2, pp. 118, 119.]

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also had all of them drink a little of it. The mention of food is in disagreement with what I was told by others, and no one else seemed to know about the live coals. The doctor, however, was a Natchez, and the customs observed may have been in part Natchez customs. A little structure of logs laid lengthwise and surmounted by a shingled roof was built in later times over each grave, and made just large enough to cover it (pl. 1, *c*). A half mile south of Seminole, Okla., I saw a grave in which slabs of stone took the place of wood. Eakins says that "The ages of deceased persons or number of scalps taken by them, or war-parties which they have headed, are recorded on their grave posts by this system of strokes,"[82] meaning single strokes for units and crosses for tens. This recording of ages can have been only in very late times, if at all, as they were generally ignorant of these. During the period of mourning the relatives of the deceased painted their faces black all over. Unlike the custom in many tribes, the name of the deceased could be mentioned, but he was always referred to in the plural as "they."

From Sonak hadjo, chief of the Mikasuki, I obtained the following information which is of particular importance because there is evidence that the Mikasuki are a branch of the Chiaha Indians and through them related to the ancient Yamasee and the Indians of the Georgia coast.

In very old times when a Mikasuki died they took his body to a forked tree and laid it in the fork face down and head to the west. They burned his property. Later they left it by his body instead. Before the Civil War, however, they changed the custom of burying. They then laid down some split logs, placed the body upon these, and arranged other split logs at the sides and over the top. Then they set up a couple of logs at each end in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, laid another log upon the crotches, and along each side placed a row of short logs, with their upper ends resting on the long log. A number of persons prepared this grave, working at night, and they laid the body in it. After they had gotten through and had returned to the house from which the body had been taken a pot of medicine was prepared, the medicine man blew into it, and they then had to drink this and vomit it up. After that they could eat. The persons who performed this service were taken from several different clans.

A fire was formerly built at the head of the grave, and it was kept up for four days. At the end of that time the fire was put out in the house where the man had died and a new one was built. Before the Civil War, if a man had a horse that he loved very much, they shot it close to his grave; they also broke his favorite gun on a tree and threw the pieces by the body. The same thing would be done to the leg-rattles of a woman, and they also burned up her property.

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[82] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 5, p. 258.

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After the Civil War they began to bury in the ground, lining the grave with split logs and also covering it with them. Then, too, only about four persons did the work. While they were so employed they had their faces painted red, and this paint was called tisi'. For the space of four months after the duty had been accomplished they had to eat apart out of a separate dish. If they belonged to different houses each man had his own dish. If the burial was in winter they hoed away the grass, leaves, branches, etc., from the grave so that the grave house would not be burned. 764

Before the Civil War there was a chief of the Mikasuki named Kapitca miko (Mikasuki Kapitc miki). When he died they laid his body away, south of Wetumka, in the old manner, without digging a grave. Afterward the Negro slaves went there and piled a great quantity of stones above it. Sonak hadjo himself saw it in that place after the war. This was not a regular custom, but the Indians did it at that time because they had Negro slaves to command and because they thought a great deal of that chief. [567]

"While the Yamacraw Indians were in England with Tomochichi one of their number died and was buried by his companions in the ground, strapped between two boards." [63]

Bossu has the following regarding the burial customs of the Alabama in the middle of the eighteenth century:

"The Allibamons bury their dead in a sitting position; in order to justify this usage they say that the man is upright, and has his head turned toward the heaven his dwelling, and that it is for this reason that they bury their fellowmen in this attitude; they give him a calumet and tobacco to smoke in order that he may make peace with the people of the other world; if he is a warrior he is buried with his arms, which are a gun, powder, and balls, a quiver provided with arrows, a bow, a casse-tête, whether a wooden club or a hatchet, and moreover a mirror, and some vermilion with which to make his toilet in the world of souls.

"When a man kills himself whether from despair or in sickness, he is deprived of burial, and thrown into the river, because he is then considered a coward." [64] [762]

In another place he speaks of the mourning on account of a war chief in the following terms:

"When a great war chief of the nation dies the mourning consists in refraining from painting oneself and bathing; the men daub the whole of their bodies with soot which they dilute with bear's oil; in a word they renounce all kinds of diversions." [65]

As the southern Indian world of the dead was overhead Bossu's explanation of their reason for burying the body sitting up probably

[63] Jones, Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 185.
[64] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 40-50.
[65] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

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764 involves one real aboriginal explanation of the custom. His account of the treatment accorded the body of a suicide I have seen nowhere else.

The Alabama now living in Texas give the following account of their old burial customs:

Nowadays several persons dig a grave, but in former times a single old man performed the office. While he was at work upon it he ate by himself, for it was thought that anyone who ate with him would fall sick. He did not smoke, and, no matter how hot the sun was, he drank no water. Anciently the body was bundled tightly together, wrapped about, and placed upon a board which was then sunk into the earth, head to the east, so that when his spirit got up it would be in the right position to start on the spirit trail westward.[66] A framework of poles was afterwards put all about the grave. Afterwards the gravedigger washed his clothes, took some of the button-snake root, and vomited. Then he could eat, and the relatives of the deceased gave him a horse in payment. Those who attended to burials in later times must duck all over in the creek four times no matter how cold the weather. My informant had done this when ice was on the water and the snow flying, and he almost fainted from the cold. Blankets were put under the head of the corpse as a pillow and a butcher knife in his hand with which to fight off an eagle supposed to infest the trail of the dead. For four days the wife or husband and the children and near relatives visited the grave every morning before breakfast and every evening before supper, and at their evening visits they lighted a fire at the head. After each of these visits they went to a stream, bathed all over, and washed their clothing before they ate. For four days they must eat no food that contained salt, and during the same period they remained quiet and made no noise. Not only the family but all of the people abstained from playing ball then, though they might do some hunting.

Although the later accounts do not mention the custom of discharging a gun the moment a death took place, it appears from Gregg that it was maintained until after the Creeks had removed west.[67]

[845] Among all of the Creek tribes a miscarriage, a stillborn child, or a very young child was laid away in a hollow tree where it was nicely ceiled in. Otherwise it was thought that there would be a drought, that a pestilence would break out, or that deaths from other causes would occur.

The Diurnal Cycle

512 805 Adair has the following regarding divisions of the day recognized among the Chickasaw, with which those of the Creeks were practically identical:

[66] This means that the body was laid flat on its back. The orientation must have been different from that common among the Creeks generally.

[67] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. XX, p. 334.

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RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND MEDICAL PRACTICES OF THE CREEK INDIANS

By John R. Swanton

GENERAL REMARKS

114 The southern Indians, like other peoples, dealt not only with their
•771 environment as it was but with their environment as they conceived it to be, and one of the most important branches of ethnology is that which concerns this latter concept. Unfortunately, at the present day comparatively little may be gathered regarding their attitude on the broader aspects of belief that is free from suspicion of white influence, while on the other hand no early traveler among the Indians was sufficiently interested in them and sufficiently sympathetic to obtain and transmit a correct account of it. The writer who most nearly filled these requirements was the trader Adair so often quoted in previous papers, but unfortunately his assistance on this particular side of aboriginal life is seriously injured by a prepossession that the Indians were descendants of "the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel," and he read this prepossession into all of the religious activities of the people observed by him. Particularly he concluded that the meaningless vocalic sounds used by his red friends in songs were so many forms of the name Jehovah and that their repetition was a conscious or subconscious adoration of the Hebrew deity. Nevertheless he was an acute and honest observer and faithful recorder of the things he actually heard and saw, so that it is usually possible to separate the facts from his deductions. With his help, the little that is furnished us by other writers, the information that I have myself been able to collect, and that obtainable from native myths and legends, the following outline of Creek religious beliefs has been put together.

THE COSMOS

772 Like all other primitive peoples, the southeastern Indians conceived of the earth as a flat plane overarched by a solid vault. To General Hitchcock Tukabahchee miko expressed the opinion that the world is square. Eakins, whose information comes principally from an Alabama Indian, says "they generally entertain the belief that the earth is a square figure, and entirely surrounded by water; and by going to the verge of the plain, they could step off."[1] And, in another

[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 269.

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Elsewhere he states that "when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it."[96] Again "the Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil.[97] He was informed by those whites who had become used to living in the Indian manner "that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed venison; but that otherwise they decline it."[97]

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Of course most of these are merely taboos connected with the hunting of deer. Pope says on this point:

"The *Creeks* regularly make a Burnt Offering of what they conceive to be the most delicious Parts of every Animal taken in Hunting, before they presume to taste a Mouthful. The Parts they commit to the Flames are proportioned to the Size of the Animal, probably about 2 or 3 lb. from a *Buffalo*, and still less in a regular gradation down to the smallest Quadrupede, Fish or Bird."[98]

I have no confirmation or contradiction of the gradations of sacrifice here mentioned, but it is well known even to the living Indians that the old people used to put a little food into the fire before eating. The same thing is noticed in Adair's account of the Creek who railed upon the fire for burning him after the good treatment he had given it.[99] One of my informants had seen the Nuyaka Indians "feed the fire" with turkey during their fall festivities accompanied by hunting and ball games.

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TABOOS

The religion of these people, and, as we shall presently see, their medicine, was seamed through and through with the idea that similarity in appearance means similarity in nature, that similarity in one property involves similarity in all the other properties, and that association of any kind will result in communicating properties from one thing or person to another. This is particularly true about things which are taken into the system by eating and drinking, but applies in other ways as well. Adair says on this point:

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"They believe that nature is possest of such a property, as to transfuse into men and animals the qualities, either of the food they use, or of those objects that are presented to their senses; he who

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[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 137-138.
[97] Ibid., p. 115.
[98] Pope, Tour, p. 50.
[99] See p. 484.

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METHODS OF PRACTICE

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The method of bestowing medical treatment seems to have changed progressively after first contact with the whites, the religious features becoming less and less pronounced and the features connected with the administration of the medicine more and more important. Adair's account of the performance among the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century is as follows:

"When the Indian physicians visit their supposed irreligious patients, they approach them in a bending posture, with their rattling calabash, preferring that sort to the North-American gourds: and in that bent posture of body, they run two or three times round the sick person, contrary to the course of the sun, invoking God as already exprest. Then they invoke the raven; and mimic his croaking voice . . . They also place a bason of cold water with some pebbles in it on the ground, near the patient, then they invoke the fish, because of its cool element, to cool the heat of the fever. Again, they invoke the eagle, (*Ooóle*) they solicit him as he soars in the heavens, to bring down refreshing things for their sick, and not to delay them, as he can dart down upon the wing, quick as a flash of lightning. They are so tedious on this subject, that it would be a task to repeat it: however, it may be needful to observe, that they chuse the eagle because of its supposed communicative virtues; and that it is according to its Indian name, a cherubimical emblem, and the king of birds, of prodigious strength, swiftness of wing, majestic stature, and loving its young ones so tenderly, as to carry them on its back, and teach them to fly.[93]

Of the Chickasaw of a later date we read:

"When they are sick, they send for a doctor, (they have several among them,) after looking at the sick a-while, the family leave him and the sick alone. He then commences singing and shaking a gourd over the patient. This is done, not to cure, but to find out what is the matter or disease: as the doctor sings several songs, he watches closely the patient, and finds out which song pleased: then he determines what the disease is: he then uses herbs, roots, steaming, and conjuring: the doctor frequently recommends to have a large feast: (which they call *Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah;*) if the Indian is tolerably well off, and is sick for two or three weeks, they may have two or three Tonsh-pa-shoo-phahs.[94] They eat, dance, and sing at a great rate,

[93] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 173-174.

[94] Tonsh-pa-shoo-phah is ta·shi ăt pishofa, "the corn is hulled."

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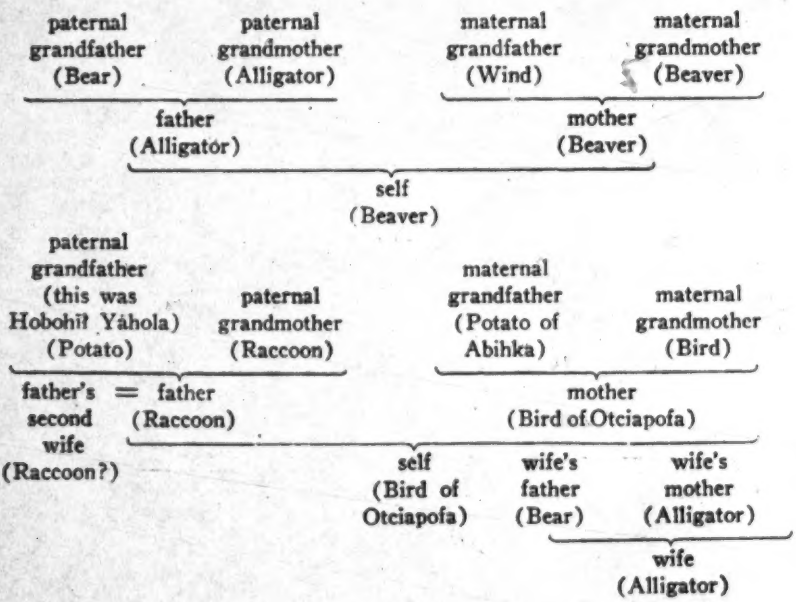
GENEALOGIES

The two brief genealogies which follow will illustrate in some measure the influence of the clan system on marriage. The first is the genealogy of Jeff Canard of Łapłáko; the second that of Earnest Gouge of Hanna, the latter of especial interest because it includes the famous orator Hobohīł Yáhola.



CONCLUSION

The busk undoubtedly represents a long period of development, and as the stages through which it passed and the elements entering into it have been lost, we can never understand it fully. Its main purpose, however, was evident. It was to restore the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rupture. Hence the new fire, extracted from its abiding place in the wood and not as yet sullied by contact with humanity. Hence the rigorous fast accompanied by administration of medicines divinely revealed to the ancestors, the general pardon of offenders, the sabbath calm prescribed for that period of regeneration, the use of white paint, and the employment of the term white—"the white day," "the white smoke," "the white drink"—in various parts of the ritual. The one discordant note seems to have been provided by the women's dance, since the leaders

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182 of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is
•771 every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some
796 of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe. Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

77 The universe with which the Creeks sought reconciliation was not,
776 however, a material one. What they had in mind was rather the mind or minds believed to be operant there. While we know of some supernatural beings connected primarily with the busk and numerous spirits associated with natural objects were anciently believed in, it seems fairly certain that the peculiar patron of the ceremony was a solar, or rather celestial, being generally called Hisagita-immisi, "the breath controller," and also Ibofánga, "the one above," and that the busk fire was in some way an earthly representation of the great solar fire overhead. While it is probable that Hisagita-immisi was
[177] not in ancient times the monotheistic deity he has now become, there is every reason to think he was already, before White contact, the supreme being of the Creeks.

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[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 269.

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place he observes "they believe the sky to be a material mass of some kind" and "that it is of a half-circular form, but that its truncations do not touch the earth."[3] The vault or sky was supposed to rise and fall upon the earth at intervals so that, by watching his opportunity, a person could pass under its edge. According to the same authority and my native informant, Jackson Lewis, the old people believed that the stars were stuck upon the under side of the sky, some of them, along with the sun and moon, revolving around the earth.[2] The constellation of the Great Dipper was called Pīlo hagi, "the image of a canoe." The North Star was known as Kolasniegu, "the stationary star," the Morning Star as Hayàtitca, "bringer of daylight," and the Pleiades as Tukàbofkà.[3] A few other constellations and stars were also named.[4] Meteors were supposed to be "excrement cast upon the earth," and they mixed what they took for this with their medicines.[5]

Comets were thought to portend war. Some Natchez and Cherokee beliefs regarding them may here be inserted. In the language of the former a comet was called an'c tsū'nà, "chief of war"; it was believed to portend trouble for the whole people and a short life for the chief, or for the white men's President. The Cherokee are said to have called it "the big lion"; with them it was also a sign of war. The following story of a comet well illustrates the belief regarding such bodies and incidentally shows the small value of information when it comes from the superstitious. Watt Sam was my chief Natchez informant.

"Thirty one or thirty two years ago [from 1912] Watt Sam's grandmother, his brother, his sister, and Nancy Taylor, all of whom except the last are dead, had the following very singular experience. They lived close to Twin Springs, a mile to three-quarters of a mile north of where Watt Sam now lives. They were going to the cow lot a little after dark to turn the cows out when they heard a noise wī'dzidzidzidziti, and, looking up, they saw a snake chasing the moon. They were so frightened that they ran back to the house without letting the cows out. The snake chased the moon to a point half way between the zenith and the western horizon and stopped. Then it began moving its head back and forth, and they could see something green that looked like a snake's tongue. Its body extended half way across the sky, the tail being pointed toward the east. They could see something at the end of its tail which looked like rattles four feet long and a foot wide. The markings were like those of a diamond-backed rattlesnake. Its head was

[3] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 260.

[2] Loughridge and Hodge have tenk-lofka.—English and Muskokee Dictionary.

[4] From the Natchez I heard of a right-angled constellation which they called dū'gūl gonō'gop, "the elbow stars." A tailed star, probably a meteor, was known as a "smoke star" (dū'gūl bu'p'guble).

[5] Schoolcraft, op. cit.

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about four feet broad. They walked out into the yard and looked at it while the snake and moon remained still. Then they got frightened and went into the house, and the three children went to sleep. Their grandmother, however, was in distress, and did not know what to do. She went to the door every little while to look at the snake. By and by she got sleepy and fell into a doze. Then she awoke, went to the door, and looked again. She could not see it very plainly because it had grown dim. Then she went to bed again and slept a very long time, and when she looked once more she could see nothing of the snake and the moon had gone back to the east, to the place from which it had started. Watt was at Muskogee at that time with his mother. He has asked a number of people but never learned of anyone else who had seen this snake. At the time when this happened Creek Samy, an old Cherokee Indian, was out in the yard of his house with some other Indians playing cards. They did not see it either, but when they heard about it they said it was a lion that had flown across the sky. They claimed that a lion flew across the sky twenty or twenty-five years before that."

The galaxy was called poya fik-tcâlk innini, "the spirits' road."[7] The aurora borealis was supposed to indicate changes in the weather "and always for the worse."[8]

The sun and moon were considered the abodes of powerful beings, or at least as connected with such beings; the former was evidently associated with the chief deity of the southern Indians to be considered below. Tukabahchee miko quoted the old people to the effect that the sun must be a great way off, "for if it came near it would burn everything up." When the sun or moon was eclipsed they said that a great toad (sâbâkti) was about to swallow it, and in order to help drive it away they discharged their guns at it and shot at it with arrows until they "hit" it. Instead of a toad, Eakins was told of a "big dog," representing perhaps a distinctively Alabama idea.[9] My own informants asserted that the moon was not shot at when eclipsed, but this is an error. Tuggle adds his testimony to what has been given and on the occasion of a total eclipse of the moon, October 22, 1790, Caleb Swan says: "The Indians in all the surrounding [Creek] villages are yelling with fear, and firing guns in all directions. They have an opinion, on those occasions, that a frog is swallowing the moon; and make all their most hideous noises to frighten it away."[10] Adair tells us that the Indians of his acquaintance rejoiced at the appearance of the new moon[11] from which

[7] It was known to the Natchez as wâcgup ñ'lo, "dog trail," because it is supposed to have owed its origin to a dog who dragged a sack of flour along it, spilling the flour as he went, but this is also a Cherokee story (Mooney, Cherokee Myths, p. 259). A Cherokee informant added that his people sometimes said that the dog caused this whiteness from having gotten his paws into mortar.

[8] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 289.

[9] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 289.

[10] Ibid. p. 254.

[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76; see also Bartram, Travels, p. 496.

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772 it is probable that they considered its waxing and waning either as a successive birth and death of entirely distinct bodies or as a wasting away and regrowth of one and the same. Another idea is suggested by Bartram in a footnote: "I have observed the young fellows very merry and jocose, at the appearance of the new moon, saying, how ashamed she looks under the veil, since sleeping with the sun these two or three nights, she is ashamed to show her face, &c." [12] In this connection might be quoted a speech which Pope states was delivered by an old doctor to the Coweta, Kasihta, and Broken Arrow people, after a very wet season, in which he says that the moon "had covered her face with a bear-skin" and concealed the stars with the tails of numerous beaver.[13] These declarations sound genuine though there is abundant evidence of "reading in" in parts of this speech. The moon was supposed to be inhabited by a man and a dog. Eakins, who makes this statement, also refers to a native idea that it is "a hot substance." [14] This smacks of white acculturation.

The rainbow was believed to be a great snake called Oskin-tatcâ, "cutter off of the rain," its connection with clearing weather being well understood. "The old people knew," says Tuggle, "when they saw 'O-cee-kee-eer-tah-cher' that the rain would stop and that enough rain would never fall to drown the earth." He adds the important information that the rainbow cut off the rain by resting its two ends "on great springs of water." The Natchez call it et gwâht, "house neck." People spoke of running past it.

They believed in inhabited worlds—i. e., planes, both below and above that on which we dwell. Tuggle says:

"The earth is a very small island. . . . Indians live [on this and] also in the world under the earth. The third world is the sky world. The people of 'Esar-kee-tum-me-see' the Source of Life, the Life Controller, live in the sky world.

"Some say people (Indians) came down from the sky world, others say that they sprang from the earth, the soil, and hence the earth is man's mother and therefore sacred, and man cannot sell his own mother."

Tukabahchee miko told General Hitchcock that there are people living in the water and under the ground as well as upon the ground, and that the old people told him they had heard the drum [to accompany their dances].[15] Eakins heard of a succession of inhabited planes underneath ours.[16] On the other hand no one seems to have 775 mentioned a belief in more than one world above. This world above was thought to be the realm of departed souls as well as the dwelling place of many supernatural beings. The latter were considered benef-

[12] Bartram, Travels, p. 496.
[13] Pope, Tour, p. 61.
[14] Schoolcraft, op. cit.
[15] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[16] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 269.

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This curious mixture contains an attempt to explain the eagle on our national seal, and includes a version of the "cowhide purchase," reference to the American Revolution, a story said to be drawn from the life of Tecumseh, and the treaty by which the Creeks were deeded their lands west of the Mississippi. The episode of the whisky barrel—which of course could not have been a whisky barrel—gives significant prominence to a potent source of Indian misfortunes. An old Tukabahchee informant had the following to say:

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"It was predicted by the great Ruler that the Creeks were to be at the doorway of this continent and that the white people were to come there and treat with them. And the coming of the white people was in this manner. The Indians, looking out upon the ocean, thought that they saw a duck floating there. It came nearer and nearer and proved to be a boat. When the Indians saw people get out of this boat they became frightened and ran away to hide behind trees from which they could watch the strangers. Then they saw the strangers bring some barrels ashore and drink from them. Afterward the whites withdrew to a distance and the Indians came to the barrels to examine them. Finding that the stuff which they contained had a pleasant odor they drank some of it and became tipsy. Then the white people ran forward and tried to capture them but they got only one. The others called to them to bring their companion back but they would not let him go until he had learned to speak their language. Then they sent him back to them and he told them that the strangers talked fair but wanted land. For a time the Indians refused to sell any, but the whites were so insistent that the ninety native chiefs finally agreed to treat with them and let them have some. The word given to the Indians by the white people at that time was 'I will be the father of your tribes,' and consequently the Indians call a white man 'white father.' "

Some amusing things are told of the uses to which these primitive Indians put the articles which the white people gave them. On receiving some flour, for instance, they mistook it for white paint and painted their bodies with it.

Prophecies Regarding the Fate of the Indians

Besides the very general prophecies regarding their fate which contact with the whites naturally brought out, there were prophecies which seem to have belonged in part at least to the original body of myth of the tribe. As we have seen, one informant supposes that the Indians having come out of the earth will go down into it again, which indeed happens with each individual's body at death. According to another man this disappearance was to take place just where their emergence had occurred, at "the navel of the world." Preceding this "the busk would begin to suffer from neglect, the people refuse

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to obey orders, and the whole ceremony came to an end." According to yet another story the destruction was to be brought upon the Creek people by the loss of their women, who were to be taken away to an island, though by what agency is not stated. An old man of Tukabahchee, now long dead, is quoted by Zachariah Cook as having said that at the end of all things the world would shrivel up to "the mother of trees," which was at or identical with "the navel of the world," and then all of the people would be destroyed except four, who would be carried up to Ibofanga (The-one-above) on a block of wood.[48d]

Again it was said that by and by the Creeks would come to sing the Kilisto (Christ) song, and that would be an indication that as a distinct tribe they were to come to an end. Or according to another version, when the Kilisto song came to be adopted by the Creeks the old tradition would be driven away, the busk would fall into disuse, and then the Indians would decline in numbers. When the last of the Indians had disappeared their land would disappear also, presumably under the waters of the ocean.

The Indian agent who supplied Schoolcraft with information regarding the Chickasaw was told that at the end of all things the world would be destroyed by fire, and that then or shortly before it would "rain down blood and oil." This notion would appear to be in part at least from Christian sources.[49] In another place Schoolcraft gives the following information regarding the Muskogee, furnished by Mr. D. W. Eakins:

"They have no cycle, or fixed or stated period, at the end of which they believe the world will come to a close. But they say it will be destroyed by fire; and when this period arrives, the earth will be filled with war; and a body of people will appear among the Indians, and they will be destroyed; and then the Great Spirit will destroy the earth, to keep others from getting possession of it. They do not believe that the Indian priests cause its renewal." [50]

The rain of blood was also known to Hitchcock's informants:

"Before the world comes to an end there is to be a general peace of all peoples, white and red (the blacks they seem to take no account of). After the peace, for a time it will rain blood and when trees are cut the sap will be blood. After that it will be seen that the world will be coming to an end and all people will go to one place to die.

"The old people used to say that those who are to be saved will go up, that the others will have towns under the earth. (Here he [the Indian informant] explained, as if anxious to impress it upon me, that this was what the old people had told him.)

"There will be but a few that will go up, the good people; the bad people will go below." [51]

In this last, Christian influence is very evident.

[48d] Tuggle heard that at the end of the world all things would be swept to one place from the four corners of the earth. See next paper, p. 487.

[49] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, I, p. 310. [50] Ibid., p. 272. [51] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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Of an entirely different type is the following trivial tale which pretends to account for the separation between the Bear and the Wolf:

"There were two old women who were sisters, each having a great number of children and grandchildren. One time one sister said to the other: 'We have been together a long time and have many children; I will go this way.' The other said, 'And I will go this way.' All the children of the first were Wolves; the children of the second were Bears."

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Regarding the origin of clanship itself, which is practically bound up with the origin of several of the larger clans, such as the Wind, Bear, Panther, Raccoon, Alligator, and Deer, there are several stories, some simple, some more complex, but all we have left is evidently only a fragment of the original mass of lore on the subject. While I was told, as a matter of common report, by certain very good informants that the people of each clan were descended from the totem animal,[87] such a suggestion is almost always lacking in the myths dealing with the subject, as, for instance, the Wolf-Bear myth just related. According to Legus Perryman, each clan, or, rather, each exogamous division, was descended from an eponymous female ancestor called Bird-woman, Panther-woman, etc. The female ancestor of the Bear clan was not, however, named from the common black bear, but from one called the Howling or Whooping Bear. The people now identify it either with the grizzly bear or the polar bear.

Doctor Speck's Tuskegee informant said that clans were "created in the beginning by the Master of Breath, deriving their animal characteristics from certain traits displayed by beings as they passed in review before him. He enjoined them not to marry their own kind lest they die out, and since that time they have observed the exogamous principle."[88]

A Coweta Indian stated that in the beginning human beings and animals were coming across the ocean in a gar-skin boat. On the way the human beings named themselves after the different animals. One said "I belong to the Panther family," another, "I belong to the Bird family," and so on. They kept on this way until they were about to land, when all of the animals were used up. One man remained, however, and they said to him, "To what clan will you belong?" He answered, "To the clan of that which you hear making a noise above my head." He referred to the wind humming overhead, and therefore his family came to be called the Wind clan. According to another informant the people formerly came to a body of water,

[87] The descent of the Wind clan was explained by saying that it came from the Skunk, the Skunk clan being a branch of the Wind. Also see Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

[88] Speck, in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 115.

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and they jumped into it one after the other As they did so one said, "I'll be a Bird;" another, "I'll be a Bear;" and so on. In accordance with still another legend, people came out from a cavern in the earth, and as they emerged a man standing at the entrance bestowed their various clan designations. In fact, they seem to have been in animal forms or to have been accompanied by animals, for it is related that when the Beaver appeared he plunged into a near-by pond, and on a tree by the bank the Bird was sitting. Then the Bear came out so fast that he slid on into the water where was the Beaver. That is how the clans so named came to be together as Whites.[86a]

The association of the White clans in this manner brings us to a series of stories which seem to be versions of some common myth detailing the origin of at least a part of the major clans. A man belonging to Eufaula Hobayi said that, according to the story he had heard, in the ancient times people were sitting about in groups enveloped in darkness. When light began to break in upon them they caught sight of animals, first one, then another. As the various groups saw these they called out successively, "I will be a Bear," "I will be a Deer," and so on, according to the animal which first met their gaze. Finally a wind arose "which swept the remainder of the darkness away"; therefore the last group called itself the Wind clan.

The following was told by Big Jack, a Hilibi Indian:

"The Bird, Beaver, Panther, and Wind people were enveloped in a fog. The Panther was chief (mĭko) among them; the Beaver was his heniha. The Panther undertook to parch some âsi (*Ilex vomitoria*), stirring the mixture with his tail. His tail was scorched, however, and turned yellow, so he gave it up. The Beaver then used his tail, but it got too hot and he dived into the water. The Bear then took his turn, rooting about in the âsi with his nose. In this way the ring was formed which is about the nose of the bear. Afterward Wind was sent to blow away the fog, and as it was sent to them part of the people adopted it."

This rather gives an account of the doings of the eponymous animals than the origin of the clans, but the intention is to show that the later association between these clans was founded on events which took place at that supposedly early date.

The following myth from the Tuggle collection is in part another version of the preceding, but it has additional interest as showing the relation of the Fish clan to the Panther and Wind. Tuggle entitles it "The origin of the Tiger clan."

"In the beginning a great fog covered the earth. In a certain valley there was a large fountain. Close to this fountain a tiger (Cooch-ar [really the panther, Katca]) lived.

[86a] See pp. 156-166.

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"The Wind came to Coochah and said: 'What are you doing? It is dark and gloomy.'

"Coochah said: 'I am making my tea, my black drink,' and he stirred the tea, which he was parching, with his tail.

"The Tiger said, pointing to the fountain, 'There are my friends, my mates, the fishes. When I make my black drink they drink with me.'

"The Wind said: 'If you will make peace with me, I will blow the fog away and all will be bright.'

"Coochah consented to make peace with the Wind.

"The Wind blew the fog away and all was clear and beautiful.

"Coochah made his tea, and his mates, the fishes in the fountain, drank with him.

"They sang a song of joy and friendship, and since that time the Tiger clan has been at peace with the Wind clan, and Fish clan, and when trouble comes to one the others always give aid."[20]

The ever present element of the fog driven away by the wind appears again in a myth related by William McCombs to the late G. W. Grayson and by him kindly placed at my disposal. It is as follows:

"When the Creek Indians came to know anything of themselves, it was to find that they had been for a long series of generations completely buried and covered as it were in a dense fog impenetrable to their powers of vision. Being unable to see, they were dependent on their other senses, especially that of touch, in their efforts to obtain subsistence.

"In their quest for food the people very naturally became separated, straying away from each other in groups, and each group was aware of the existence and locality of its neighbors only by calling to them through the obscuring fog, each adopting the precaution not to stray out of calling distance of some other of the scattered groups.

"After a great while there arose a wind from the east that gradually drove the fog from the land. The group of people who first saw clearly the land and the various objects of nature now rendered visible by the dissipating fog, were given the name of the Wind clan. It is related that, among the many things they were now able to see, the first animate objects observed by the people of the Wind clan were a skunk and a rabbit which appear to have accompanied them during their existence in the obscuring fog. While the people did not adopt either of these as their patronymic, they did declare them their nearest and dearest friends. So well is this understood by the full blood Creek Indian, that it is universally understood to be the duty of the sons of the Wind clansmen always to extend to these animals protection and defense from physical injury or ridicule, saying 'They are my fathers.'

[20] Tuggle Coll. of myths, Mss., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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"As the fog continued to recede and disappear before the driving east wind, other groups of people came to light; and, as each looked about, it adopted as the patronymic of the clan by which it would thereafter be known, the first live animal which had emerged from the fog along with it.

"In this manner three other clans—the Beaver, the Bear, and the Bird—were established, who, together with the Wind, have always been known as Hut-hak-ul-kee [Hathagálgi] (the Whites) and recognized as leaders in the establishment and maintenance of peace in the nation. The Wolf clan is kindred to the Bear clan, but without the political prestige of the latter. All the other clans, which are very numerous, were formed in the same manner, and are known as Tsi-loak-hok-ul-kee [Tcilokogálgi] (speakers of a different language) as distinguished from the Hut-hak-ulkee, or Whites."[80]

There is a story in the Tuggle collection intended to explain the origin of the Bear clan specifically. It is as follows:

"At first the Indians had no horses and when they hunted they traveled in canoes, carrying their wives and children.

"One day they went up a stream and landed in a wide bottom or valley. They cut a trail through the woods with their knives. Then they sent the women and children to drive the bears towards this trail, and they took their stand near it so that they could see the bears when they ran across.

"One of the little girls while driving the bears was lost in the woods. The people hunted everywhere, but could not find her. An old she-bear met her and said 'Come and live with me.' She took the little girl home with her and kept her four years, treating her as her child.

"One day the old bear said to the little girl: 'The hunters are coming again with fire. They will kill me, but you must run to Cho [Deer] mountain. After the hunters have passed us a little shaggy dog will run to the place where we are standing and bark at us. Then all the other dogs will come. I will run away, but they will pursue me and kill me. You must escape and, when the hunters have gone, you must return. You will find a coal of fire which the hunters have left. Take this fire and return to your people. They will receive you and you will become the mother of the Bear clan. Name your first son "Bear."'

"It happened as she had said. The hunters came and the old bear was killed. The little girl did as she was directed and escaped. She

[80] In 1924 Mr. McCombs himself told me this story and in much the same words. He expressed his belief that when these events took place the Muskogee were coming from the south, perhaps from South America, and that the fogs arose from the low, marshy countries near the sea. The first group of people to see the sunshine said: "We were the first to see the sunshine; therefore we shall be the first of the clans and shall own the wind, rabbit, and skunk." Another group saw a plot of wild potatoes and near by a raccoon and a fox, and therefore they had those things, and hence the Potato, Raccoon and Fox clans are one people.

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found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan."[a]

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Tciloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Tciloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

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This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

"The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families.— By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns."[b]

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The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

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[a] Tuggle Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[b] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.

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One of these two
moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tági or Hola'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste. 616 [619]

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans. 616 773 539

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began." 526

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the 621 616 101

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It is interesting to compare with this the notes on the subject by Tuggle, written at a much earlier period: 776 821

"The Muskogee say of lightning that a little man rides a yellow horse, and when he shoots his arrows, it thunders. Sometimes he shoots at a tree.

"When lightning—'Ah-tee-ya-hal-tee' (Atoyahàti)—strikes a tree and slightly injures it, some say this is caused by the terrapin. When the tree is torn to pieces, this is caused by the big noise (thunder)."

Tuggle recorded the following regarding the wind:

"The Wind was very destructive. The people wanted him to go away.

"The Wind said: 'I am going away to the other end of the world. I will sometimes send some of my servants back to visit you. Some will be soft and gentle, some will be rough and loud. When the end comes, the last day, I will come with great power and will sweep all to one place from the four corners of the earth.'

"So the Wind went away."

Reference to the earth as an island has already been quoted. Further light on the native conception of it may be gained from the several creation stories, which are in fact stories of how the present order of things was instituted out of a previous order of things of an analogous nature. I have been told that there was once a long myth of this kind, most of which has been lost. The following fragments will, however, present the native idea in general outlines very well. The creation story and the flood story are so mingled that it will be well to include both. 773 [538]

The agent Eakins, who obtained most of his information from an Alabama Indian, says on this point:

"They believe that before the Creation there existed a great body of water. Two pigeons were sent forth in search of land, and found excrements of the earth-worm; but on going forth the second time, they procured a blade of grass, after which, the waters subsided, and the land appeared."[29]

Speck secured the following myth from a Tuskegee medicine maker:

"The time was, in the beginning, when the earth was overflowed with water. There was no earth, no beast of the earth, no human being. They held a council to know which would be best, to have some land or to have all water. When the council had met, some said, 'Let us have land, so that we can get food,' because they would starve to death. But others said, 'Let us have all water,' because they wanted it that way.

"So they appointed Eagle as chief. He was told to decide one way or another. Then he decided. He decided for land. So they

[29] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 298.

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looked around for some one whom they could send out to get land. The first one to propose himself was Dove, who thought that he could do it. Accordingly they sent him. He was given four days in which to perform his task. Now, when Dove came back on the fourth day, he said that he could find no land. They concluded to try another plan. Then they obtained the services of Crawfish (sàkdju). He went down through the water into the ground beneath, and he too was gone four days. On the fourth morning he rose and appeared on the surface of the waters. In his claws they saw that he held some dirt. He had at last secured the land. Then they took the earth from his claws and made a ball of it. When this was completed they handed it over to the chief, Eagle, who took it and went out from their presence with it. When he came back to the council, he told them that there was land, an island. So all the beasts went in the direction pointed out, and found that there was land there as Eagle had said. But what they found was very small. They lived there until the water receded from this earth. Then the land all joined into one." [40]

According to one of the fragments collected by myself, water covered everything in the beginning and no living beings existed except two red-headed woodpeckers, which hung to the clouds, with their tails awash in the waters.[41] When the water went down it left marks on their tails which remain to-day. It also left a muddy island, and on this seven persons were created, apparently by The One Above. By extending their thoughts these seven persons extended the boundaries of this island until it took on the dimensions of the present dry land. This fragment was from Tàl mutcàsi, late medicine maker of the Fish Pond and Àsilanabi towns. Big Jack, a leading repository of native lore among the Hilibi, said that anciently there was a flood of waters, upon which floated a canoe in which were some human beings and animals of all kinds. The opossum hung to the side of the canoe with its tail in the water, and that is how it happens to have a tail practically devoid of hair at the present time.[42] The red-headed woodpecker hung to the sky and the tip of his tail was discolored permanently. Afterwards the creatures wanted to get some earth. First the earthworm started down after it, but the fishes seized him and ate him up. Next the crawfish started down, but he did not come up again. Finally the dove flew away and brought earth from beyond the horizon, and from this the dry land of to-day was formed.

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[40] Memoirs Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 145-146.

[41] According to Tuggle they were sitting on the side of the ark, a later Christian adaptation. While Tuggle calls this bird "Phe-tuk-kee" (fituki), the yellow-hammer, my Alabama informants considered it was a bird a little larger than the common red-headed woodpecker (wahàwàgwà), called in their language itika.

[42] See also Tuggle Ms.

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This last story and the one obtained by Doctor Speck are interesting because they combine the peculiar Southeastern tale in which a bird brings the first land with the well-known quest for earth beneath the waters, a story found over the whole of the eastern part of North America. 773

According to the idea of the southern Indians, something of the supernatural attached to every created thing, every animal, plant, stone, stick, body of water, geographical feature, and even to objects which man himself had made. While these things did, indeed, have certain characteristic appearances and activities which were "natural"—that is, the things normally expected from them—they owed these to a certain impression made upon them in the beginning of things, or at least at some time in the distant past, and it was not to be assumed that they were all the powers which such beings and objects—or, assuming the Indian point of view, we might say simply beings—possessed. The expected might give way at any moment to the unexpected. In such cases the thing itself might exert power in its own right or it might be a medium of power from another being. It might manifest this power at one particular time to one particular person, it might have the faculty of exerting its power constantly, or its power might be brought out from it by the observance of certain regulations. In such cases the response might be an infallible result of performing the regulations, or the charm might be capable of exercising a modicum of volition. 778

An ability to talk on occasion was attributed to animals. Once a prophet heard an owl and a dog talking to each other. The owl said, "People must be afraid of me." The dog answered, "No, but if there is a big stick lying across the road they will be afraid of that." "Would they be afraid of a bush?" inquired the owl. "They would not be afraid of that; they would go around it." "But would they not be afraid if I should get on top of the bush?" "If you do it, they will kill you." They disputed about this for some time and at last the owl perched on a bush in the middle of the road to try and scare passers-by, but in vain. 825

The beings most important in the lives of the Indians or those which, for any reason, were most conspicuous were of course the ones which attracted the most regard from them, were oftenest referred to in their stories, and were made the occasion of something approaching a cult. Still this statement needs modification, since some of their conceptions were the result of evolution, and can not be said to have been due to any apparently greater significance of the objects or creatures in the lives of the present-day Indians. It is even uncertain that they ever were of cardinal significance; some chance association, or the influence of foreign peoples, may have given them 776

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821 If the bodies of young children were not put into trees in the way elsewhere described it was thought there would be a drought.[93] If, after they had been so disposed of, it began to get dry, the people would go to the tree where the body had been placed and sprinkle water all about it.

823 That locations might be considered lucky was shown in the case of my Alabama interpreter. After he had lost two wives in succession the people said that something about the situation of his house was "wrong," so he changed it.

821 973 An Indian preacher, who, of course, was glad to see Biblical resemblances in native lore, told me that there was a story of a great and long-continued drought in which the people were fed on bread and meat by The One Above. This bread is said to have been "something like white peas" (lady peas).

796 The annual busk was the principal occasion with them. Bartram observed in one town that they kept Sunday in his time out of respect to the white people,[94] but this custom could never have been very widespread.

SACRIFICES

782 224 Sacrifices or offerings similar in kind were made by all of the southern Indians. Adair says:

"They sacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, both in their summer and winter hunt; and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health and for their former success in hunting; or that the divine care and goodness may be still continued to them. . . . Formerly, every hunter observed the very same religious economy; but now it is practised only by those who are the most retentive of their old religious mysteries. . .

"The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology. . .

"The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in their divine presence, singing Yo Yo, etc. for their success and safety [in case they have lost none of their companions]: but . . . both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill. . .

"They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned; unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity."[95]

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[93] See p. 398. [94] Bartram, Travels, pp 455-456. [95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 117-119.

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men also affirmed that all Creek towns had such a "can" of medicine, but I am not certain of this. Perhaps they were thinking of the custom of removing ashes from the old fire. However, the Tulsa Indian to whom reference has been made asserted that there was such a custom, and that when the Coweta and Kasihta Indians separated they divided the contents of the medicine "can." The "can" at Coweta was declared to be about 14 inches long by 4 in diameter.

An Okmulgee Indian told me that when the old Lutcapoga busk ground was laid out, the Creeks would not use animals to bring out the posts and other timbers but carried them 4 or 5 miles on their shoulders or by means of other sticks run under them.

The Great Annual Ceremony or Busk

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The word "busk" is a traders' corruption of the native Creek poskita or boskita meaning "a fast." This term was of course applied to many different kinds of fasts, but to two above all, first the fast undergone by those desiring to become doctors or learned men, in the manner to be described presently,[35] and second the great annual ceremonial ushering in the Creek New Year.

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Without doubt there was a long myth relating the origin of this observance and probably detailing how it was to be conducted. Probably there were several such myths. Indeed fragments are preserved in Chekilli's migration legend and in those recorded by Hawkins, Gatschet, and others,[35a] but the Creeks of the present day for the most part know only that it was established in the beginning of things for the benefit of the Indians and that its observance is thought to keep them and their families in good health throughout the ensuing year. A Kasihta informant said that when God made the earth he put in these medicines to be used for the good of the Indians and decreed that they must obey the instructions of the old people. A Coweta Indian also said that the busk customs were given by God when he made the world. Big Jack of Hilibi affirmed that Ibofánga (The-One-Above) gave the Indians the pasa and the miko hoyanīdja to keep as long as time should last. Alindja, a Tukabahchee, maintained also that Ibofánga laid the foundation of the fire and gave the medicines to go with it. A Hilibi Indian said that the busk was given by God in earliest times for the good of the Indians, and it was said that all would be well so long as it was kept up. Jackson Lewis merely stated that the origin of the busk had "gone into the mist."

More specific was the information obtained by one of the Tulsa Indians from an old Alabama. This was to the effect that the busk medicines were sent down from God by two old gray-headed men.

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[35] See pp. 617–620.

[35a] See pp. 33–68.

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As soon as the old men had delivered them they disappeared, returning to the sky. According to Tál mutcási, the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łálogálga, seven selected men were putting the four logs together to make a foundation, and, as they were making the foundation, "there was a fire built" and it was said of the four main sticks: "They shall be the white path. There shall be peace and harmony." At this time were established the laws by which the people were to be ruled. They were also given the medicine roots and were told "This shall be your medicine. This shall be respected and appreciated as long as time lasts." 796 773

Still another story is from Sanger Beaver, a Tcatoksofka Indian. He had heard that in ancient times the people were continually fighting, scalping, and killing, were without law, and went about nearly naked, clothed only in the skin breechclout. A certain man among them meditatèd much on this troublesome way of living. He fasted and thought for a long time, and finally he declared that he had received "the white day" (ni'ta hátki). This had been given to man through him by Ibofánga along with the miko hóyanīdja, the pasa, the sawátcka, and the ási, and songs for each medicine. These were, to quote the language of this anonymous person, "for the building up of our future generations, to make grow up the women and the children." Having said this he started the fire of the confederacy by using four sticks of wood, and the other Indian tribes came there and obtained their fires from the one kindled by that old Indian. For this reason the Creeks claimed to be the originators of all of the national fires of the various Indian nations. Beaver added the important information that most of this story is contained in a kind of song that had been handed down from the old Indian that received the "white day." There is, of course, very much more to the story, but he did not know the rest. From such an origin grew the customs and practices of the busk, and it is said that the tribe was instructed that so long as it adhered to the use of these medicines, customs, etc., it would grow strong, but if at any time they became lax in attending to them they would grow weak and perish. The busk and the stomp dances which preceded it were all for the sake of the tribal health.

Many of the Indians claim that the first busk fire was built in the town of Tukabahchee and that all of the other towns derived their fire from that source, but I have shown elsewhere that this is a later explanation. It is admitted, nevertheless, by nearly all of the other Upper Creek towns. By some, all of their laws and regulations are traced to the Ispokogis and presumably the busk fires also. It is also said that when the Shawnee came east into the country of the Creeks they found that the stomp ground and the busk were not quite "right" and they remodeled them. Then they returned to 796 173

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721 From Adair's account it will be seen that killing and scalping had
775 a religious as well as a social basis, the former being the necessity the people felt themselves under—in this respect like the ancient Greeks—of placating the souls of the dead. There is every reason to think that ancient Creek belief was practically the same, but this side of the institution appears to have died first, the social advancement to be won through scalps being a more persistent motive.

361 In the most ancient times stockades, in which natural features
712 were taken advantage of and which sometimes had moats, played a great part in warfare, especially in regions often harried by war parties. It is significant that the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition do not mention such structures until they reached the tribes near Tennessee River—i. e., the frontiers of the Muskhogean peoples toward the north.[54] In this quarter they were probably subject to incursions of Cherokee, Iroquois, and Shawnee and other Algonkian peoples. Stockades were again found along Alabama River, and from thence to the Mississippi—i. e., on the western Creek boundary. Ulibahali and a deserted town near it were stockaded, also Mabila, Chickasaw, and Alibamo.[55] The following description of a stockade is given by Ranjel:

"Three days march southeast of Tuasi (Tawasa) and two days before they came to Talisi (Tulsa) the Spaniards "came to an old village that had two fences and good towers, and these walls are after this fashion: They drive many thick stakes tall and straight close to one another. These are then interlaced with long withes, and then overlaid with clay within and without. They make loopholes at intervals and they make their towers and turrets separated by the curtain and parts of the wall as seems best. And at a distance it looks like a fine wall or rampart and such stockades are very strong."[56]

Similar to this is Elvas's account of the stockade of Ulibahali. "The fence," he says, "which was like that to other towns seen afterwards, was of large timber sunk deep and firmly into the earth, having many long poles of the size of the arm, placed crosswise to nearly the height of a lance, with embrasures, and coated with mud inside and out, having loopholes for archery." [57]

Methods of constructing fences of this character were well known throughout the Southeast, and Le Moyne gives what purports to be a picture of one seen in Florida, though it appears to be utterly unreliable.[58]

411 When De Soto and his companions entered the temple, or rather ossuary, of Talimeco they found there "breastplates like corselets

[54] Bourne, Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 15, 108.
[55] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 85, 90, 104, 108; vol. II, pp. 18, 34, 115, 123, 125, 136.
[56] Ibid., vol. II, p. 115.
[57] Ibid., vol. I, p. 85.
[58] This description is given in Bulletin 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 379-380. Cf. also Bulletin 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 129-134.

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772 it is probable that they considered its waxing and waning either as a successive birth and death of entirely distinct bodies or as a wasting away and regrowth of one and the same. Another idea is suggested by Bartram in a footnote: "I have observed the young fellows very merry and jocose, at the appearance of the new moon, saying, how ashamed she looks under the veil, since sleeping with the sun these two or three nights, she is ashamed to show her face, &c." [12] In this connection might be quoted a speech which Pope states was delivered by an old doctor to the Coweta, Kasihta, and Broken Arrow people, after a very wet season, in which he says that the moon "had covered her face with a bear-skin" and concealed the stars with the tails of numerous beaver.[13] These declarations sound genuine though there is abundant evidence of "reading in" in parts of this speech. The moon was supposed to be inhabited by a man and a dog. Eakins, who makes this statement, also refers to a native idea that it is "a hot substance." [14] This smacks of white acculturation.

The rainbow was believed to be a great snake called Oskin-tatcà, "cutter off of the rain," its connection with clearing weather being well understood. "The old people knew," says Tuggle, "when they saw 'O-cee-kee-eer-tah-cher' that the rain would stop and that enough rain would never fall to drown the earth." He adds the important information that the rainbow cut off the rain by resting its two ends "on great springs of water." The Natchez call it et gwàht, "house neck." People spoke of running past it.

They believed in inhabited worlds—i. e., planes, both below and above that on which we dwell. Tuggle says:

"The earth is a very small island. . . . Indians live [on this and] also in the world under the earth. The third world is the sky world. The people of 'Esar-kee-tum-me-see' the Source of Life, the Life Controller, live in the sky world.

"Some say people (Indians) came down from the sky world, others say that they sprang from the earth, the soil, and hence the earth is man's mother and therefore sacred, and man cannot sell his own mother."

Tukabahchée miko told General Hitchcock that there are people living in the water and under the ground as well as upon the ground, and that the old people told him they had heard the drum [to accompany their dances].[15] Eakins heard of a succession of inhabited planes underneath ours.[16] On the other hand no one seems to have 775 mentioned a belief in more than one world above. This world above was thought to be the realm of departed souls as well as the dwelling place of many supernatural beings. The latter were considered benef-

[12] Bartram, Travels, p. 496.
[13] Pope, Tour, p. 61.
[14] Schoolcraft, op. cit.
[15] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[16] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 269.

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icent and are said by Adair to have been called by the Chickasaw "Hottuk Ishtohoollo" (Hàtàk ishtò holo, holy great men) or "Nana Ishtohoollo" (Nana ishto holo, holy great persons). With them he contrasts the "Hottuk ookproose (Hàtàk okpulosi), or "Nana ookproose (Nana okpulosi)," "very bad men," or "very bad people," who, he says, were supposed to inhabit the dark regions of the west.[17] While Adair and other writers were likely to have interpreted Indian beliefs in the light of Christian teachings I believe this statement to be in the main correct. Swan mentions a good and bad region to which the souls of the dead go, and he says that a good spirit was over the one and an evil spirit—isti fàtcasigo, "person not good"—over the other.[18] This has a still stronger appearance of Christian influence, and, as I do not find the bad ruling spirit spoken of again by other writers, it may be doubted whether there was such a conception. 775

THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Unlike the case of the bad spirit, a great good spirit ruling in the world above is mentioned by all early writers yet it is a question whether this was a native conception or not; the ease with which this spirit could be identified with the Christian deity and the fact that it was so identified in later times render the aboriginal character of the entire conception somewhat doubtful. The older Creeks assert that the name by which this being is now generally known, Hisagita imisi—now abbreviated to Hisagita misi—"the breath holder," is not the original term, but came in use after contact with white people. In explanation of the name it should be said that when an official was sent out in charge of a body of men at the time of the busk he was called an imisi, or "holder," because he held the body of men together. According to one informant the old name for God was Puyàfiktca làkàt, "the great spirit," but this man was a Baptist preacher and I believe the idea originated with the white people. Jackson Lewis, one of my best native informants, said that he recollected very well when the old people instead of calling the deity Isagita imisi used the term Ibofànaga (or Ibofànga), which means "the one above us." Nevertheless, as we find the name Hisagita imisi used by Adair[19] and all those of his contemporaries who enter deeply into the subject of Creek religion, we must assume that it is at least as ancient as the other term. What Lewis had in mind is probably indicated by another statement of his that in order not to use the term "Master of Breath," which was a very sacred name, directly, people often spoke of "the ones over and above us." The plural form in use here 776

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 8[illegible].
[18] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 269-270; Hitchcock (Ms. notes) reports a similar belief.
[19] Adair, op. cit., p. 105.

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778 in the families of the town, destructive wind storms, and various other sinister phenomena would occur. So, when one was asked why they did not take the plates out and wash and brighten them up as was the early practice, the answer came promptly, 'Because there is none competent.' They must neither be handled nor touched by water lest great evils result. Moreover, they seem to speak of them with care and caution, closely bordering on fear, lest some evil befall them as a punishment for having spoken too freely of such sacred objects."

But some of these plates are now reported to be broken and parts lost, which is not to be wondered at, as for a long time they were kept in a box back of the miko's bed, along with the atasa carried by the women, exposed to any inquisitive passer-by not overblessed with scruples. In 1914, however, they were still held in the greatest esteem and fear by the leading Tukabahchee. The chief of the town at that time said he could never handle them without becoming sick, and when I drew outlines of the plates from my memory of Adair's figures he recommended that I tear them up and throw them away or ill would certainly befall me before I got home. The continued handling is supposed to drive one crazy. If some of these are brass, as stated by Adair and conceded by subsequent writers who have had a chance to examine the plates, the European origin of at least a portion of them is assured, and it is plainly indicated also by the letters, if they have been correctly copied. Barent Dubois, mentioned above in the quotation from Pickett, who is said by him to have "long lived among the Tookabatchas," believed that these plates owed their origin to De Soto and his companions.[71] There can be little reasonable doubt that they are of Spanish origin, but, as the Shawnee and "Kaskinampos"[72] were trading at St. Augustine in the latter part of the seventeenth century it is equally possible that they were obtained there at that period. They share with certain objects among the Plains tribes in a veneration bestowed upon European articles when they first made their appearance, and which they would certainly have failed to elicit at a later time after that familiarity had developed that "breeds contempt."

THE FATE OF SOULS

775 776 According to Adair the good spirits of the world above attend and favor the virtuous while the bad spirits in the west accompany and have power over the vicious,[73] but this probably gives a somewhat distorted view of the actual native belief. It is probable that the good spirits of which he speaks included most of those who became human helpers, whether in the sky or in other parts of the universe,

[71] Pickett, Hist. Ala., p. 84. [72] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 214. [73] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.

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while the bad spirits were the ghosts of the dead, or at any rate spirits associated with the western world through which the soul first passed. This is suggested by what he states immediately afterwards. "On which account, when any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [i. e., the evil spirits of the west]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed places, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise."[74] The good spirits could be attached to individuals somewhat like the personal manitous of the Algonkian tribes. This is also made evident in the case of the Chickasaw by Adair, who says: "Several warriors have told me, that their *Nana Ishtohoollo*, 'concomitant holy spirits,' or angels, have forewarned them, as by intuition, of a dangerous ambuscade, which must have been attended with certain death, when they were alone, and seemingly out of danger; and by virtue of the impulse, they immediately darted off, and, with extreme difficulty, escaped the crafty, pursuing enemy."[75] At the present time it is not thought that spiritual experiences are enjoyed by any except those who take the higher courses of training already spoken of, most of whom are doctors. It may be that the persons who gave the above information to Adair belonged to that class, or it may be that personal manitous were more widely enjoyed in primitive times than later became usual, but of this last there is no proof. Even in the cases of the graduates the power acquired through their training no longer appears to be associated with supernatural guardian spirits. Such, however, was evidently the case in former days.

The fear of ghosts expressed in the quotation from Adair given above was marked and has persisted down to our own times. Certain diseases, to be considered presently, are attributed to dead bodies. Anciently, when an Indian passed a graveyard, in order to drive away the ghosts he would take a little ginseng (hilis hâtki) into his mouth, chew it, and spit it out on each side alternately until he had spit four times each way. People would not eat cold food that had been kept overnight for fear the ghosts had partaken of it. Sometimes encounters with ghosts were fatal. Thus there is a Texas-Alabama story about a man who went out to hunt raccoons and on the way was joined by a ghost under the guise of a person well known to him. By and by they saw a raccoon run up a tree, and the ghost climbed up and threw it down. Presently they came to a tree where there was another raccoon, and this time the man climbed up. After he had gotten up 30 feet or so the ghost shouted, "Look at me." The

[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36. [75] Ibid., p. 37.

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• 775 man looked and discovered the nature of his companion. Then he began to climb down and when he was nearly to the ground took off his moccasins and threw them, one in one direction and one in another. The ghost, however, ran after the moccasins, picked them up, and then pursued the man, whom he threw down and killed.

Speaking of the site of old Okmulgee, Adair says that the Indians "strenuously aver, that when necessity forces them to encamp there, they always hear, at the dawn of the morning, the usual noise of Indians singing their joyful religious notes, and dancing, as if going down to the river to purify themselves, and then returning to the old town-house: with a great deal more to the same effect." [76] Adair adds that they attributed his own inability to hear such things to the fact that he was "an obdurate infidel that way." [77]

Says Pope:

"The *Creeks* in approaching the Frontiers of *Georgia*, always encamp on the right hand side of the Road or Path, assigning the left, as ominous, to the *Larvæ* or Ghosts of their departed Heroes who have either unfortunately lost their scalps, or remain unburied. The Ghost of an Hero in either Predicament, is refused Admittance into the Mansions of Bliss, and sentenced to take up its invisible and darksome Abode, in the dreary Caverns of the Wilderness; until the Indignity shall be retaliated on the Enemy, by some of his surviving Friends." [78]

Pope's authority is not the best, but this certainly establishes the fact that the Creeks had the same belief as the Chickasaw regarding the necessity of placating spirits of the slain.

761 Adair is probably correct in attributing fatalistic beliefs to the southern Indians as to the time when each man's life was to come to an end. He says that they had a common proverb "*Neetak Intahāh* [Ni'tak intaha], 'The days appointed, or allowed him, were finished' [the days finished for him]. And this is their firm belief; for they affirm, that there is a fixt time, and place, when, and where, every one must die, without any possibility of averting it. They frequently say, 'Such a one was weighed on the path, and made to be light.'" [79]

[581] He also says that many believed marriages to be equally fated.[80]

775 We learn from Adair, in places already quoted, that the Chickasaw discharged guns and whooped in order to drive the ghost of a dead man to his fixed abode, but that it was believed that if he had been slain in war his soul would haunt the caves of the house until equal blood had been shed for him.[81] All accounts agree that after the soul had been induced to leave the neighborhood of his living relatives he traveled westward, passed under the sky and proceeded

[76] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 36. [77] Ibid., p 37. [78] Pope, Tour, pp. 63-64. [79] Adair, op. cit., p. 33. [80] Ibid., p. 26. [81] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 310.

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upward upon it to the land of The One Above or the Breath Holder. The name "spirits' road" given to the milky way shows that this was regarded as the trail upon which they went.

The Alabama "land of the blest" was also above. Eakins says: "They say their paradise, or happy hunting-grounds, is above; but where, they have no definite idea."[82] Bossu obtained a longer if not a more accurate statement, without, however, any localization of the realms of the hereafter:

"I have asked them what they thought of the other world, and they have answered that if they have not taken away any other man's wife, if they have not committed theft, nor killed anyone during their lives, they will go after death into an extremely fertile country, where they will lack neither women nor good grounds for hunting, which will become very easy for them; that if on the other hand they have done foolish things, if they have made fun of the Great Spirit, they will go after death into a sterile country full of thorns and brambles, where there will be neither hunting nor women; this is all I have been able to learn concerning the belief of these people regarding the other life."[83]

According to the living Alabama, who perhaps preserve the ancient conception in the best form, the souls had to encounter several dangers on this journey. First they came to a body of water, but this divided to right and left at their approach. Next they reached a place where were great numbers of serpents. These they passed safely by wrapping bäksha branches about their bodies so that the fangs of the reptiles could not reach them. Finally they came to a place where a battle was in progress, but they avoided this by blowing out tobacco smoke which rendered them invisible. Still another danger to be encountered, in just what order with reference to the others I do not know, was a great eagle, and that this might be fought off a large "butcher knife" was buried with the body of the deceased. From the extent to which property was buried with the dead it is evident that this was also supposed to accompany them into the hereafter. According to my Alabama informants the ghost remains near its body for four days. Adair is our only early authority for the expected ultimate return of souls to earth,[84] but there appears to be no good reason to doubt that such an idea prevailed with certain Indians, and he is confirmed by the Chickasaw interviewed on Schoolcraft's behalf during the middle of last century. "They believe," he says, "that the spirits of all the Chickasaws will go back to Mississippi, and join the spirits of those that have died there; and then all the spirits will return to the west before the world is destroyed by fire."[85]

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[82] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 273.

[83] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 48–49.

[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 178, 182, 397.

[85] Schoolcraft, op. cit., vol. i, p. 310.

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Bartram and Swan both testify to Creek belief in a future state of existence. The former says:

"They believe in a future state, where the spirit exists, which they call the world of spirits, where they enjoy different degrees of tranquility or comfort, agreeably to their life spent here: a person who in his life has been an industrious hunter, provided well for his family, an intrepid and active warrior, just, upright, and done all the good he could, will, they say, in the world of spirits, live in a warm, pleasant country, where are expansive, green, flowery savannas and high forests, watered with rivers of pure waters, replenished with deer, and every species of game; a serene, unclouded and peaceful sky; in short, where there is fulness of pleasure, uninterrupted." [56]

Says Swan:

"They believe there is a state of future existence, and that according to the tenor of their lives, they shall hereafter be rewarded with the privilege of hunting in the realm of the Master of Breath, or of becoming Seminoles in the regions of the old sorcerer.

"But as it is very difficult for them to draw any parallel between virtue and vice, they are most of them flattered with the expectation of hereafter becoming great war leaders, or swift hunters in the beloved country of the great Hesakkdum Esee." [57]

He adds elsewhere that the land of the good was "some distant, unknown region, where game is plenty, and goods are very cheap; where corn grows all the year round, and the springs of pure water are never dried up," while the other is "a great ways off, in some dismal swamp, which is full of galling briars," and that there is no game or bear's oil in all that country.[58]

In reply to the queries of Hawkins, Ifa hadjo, the great Medal chief of Tukabahchee, and speaker for the Creek Nation in the national council, affirmed that his people believed that "the spirit (po-yau-ficpchau [poya-fiktca]) goes the way the sun goes, to the west, and there joins its family and friends, who went before it." He also affirmed "that those who behaved well, are taken under the care of E-sau-ge-túh Emis-see and assisted; and that those who have behaved ill, are left there to shift for themselves; and that there is no other punishment." [59]

Upon the whole, it is rather likely that native belief postulated the alternative that some of the souls of the dead, necessarily the bad ones, would not get past the great eagle and the other dangers to be encountered on the way to the land of souls and would remain in the realm of ghosts and other evil spirits in the west, but the reward of the good hereafter was identified for the most part with

[56] Bartram, Travels, p. 496.
[57] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[58] Ibid., pp. 269-270.
[59] Hawkins, Sketch, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 80.

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their reward here, positions of esteem in the tribe, plenty to eat and wear, and plenty of enemies to kill, for the Creek social system rewarded so well in this world virtue of the kind these Indians recognized that it was not necessary to postpone all enjoyment of it to an uncertain hereafter.[90] 775

Bartram adds that according to native belief not merely man but every living creature had a spirit or soul that could exist apart from the body and that some had reported that "a pattern or spiritual likeness of everything living, as well as inanimate, exists in another world."[91] This, of course, is true of practically all primitive peoples, the only question being whether the term "other world" may be properly applied here.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Dreams and visions seen in trances were one means of learning about the spirit world, and they were very generally credited. Bartram says: "They relate abundance of stories of men that have been dead or thought dead for many hours and days, who have revived again, giving an account of their transit to and from the world of souls, and describing the condition and situation of the place and spirits residing there."[91] A curious expression was used by the Creeks when they were about to go to bed. They would say Posàlkàn hoboyālānās, "I am going to hunt a dream." If a man made a noise like an animal in his sleep those who heard him would say "that is his sleep (or dream) [inutcka, his sleep; imboitcka or imposàlga, his dream]. If any person in a family dreamed of fire it foreboded sickness, especially bilious fever, and all of them took miko hoyanīdja and afterwards dipped in the creek four times. If they happened to have no medicine they at least bathed. 787

When a person sneezed it was supposed that someone was saying something good about him, and he would remark "Oh yes, that is what they always say about me." There is a jesting relation regarding a man who began sneezing and kept repeating the above words, while he was really coming down with pneumonia. Next day, when his friends were asked about him, they said: "Yes, some one was saying something good about him yesterday, and now we are afraid we are going to lose him." 827

According to a Natchez informant, sneezing when eating meant that one would hear of a death; also that someone was talking about him. If one sneezed when he had pneumonia it was a sign he would get well.

When it began to rain after a dry spell the old Creeks would not take things in under cover too hurriedly lest the rain should stop. 821

[90] For some further light on this subject see the section on burial customs, pp. 392-396 in the preceding paper.

[91] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 27.

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776 SPIRITS AND GODS--conception of supernatural beings of a higher order than disembodied souls; indications of their genetic relationship to ghosts; prevalent types of supernatural beings (e.g., guardian and familiar spirits, tutelary divinities, tribal gods, nature spirits and gods, angels, animal and totemic divinities, fairies and sprites, demons, mythical monsters, deified heroes and saints, divine tricksters, occupational or functional deities, creator gods, rulers of the spirit world, high god or supreme being); attributes of individual deities and of categories of divine beings (e.g., name, sex, form, character, powers, functions, symbols); hierarchical arrangement (e.g., polytheistic pantheon, dualism, henotheism, monotheism); etc. See also:

Totemic beliefs associated with kin groups . . . 61 Hero worship 789
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icent and are said by Adair to have been called by the Chickasaw "Hottuk Ishtohoollo" (Hátàk ishtò holo, holy great men) or "Nana Ishtohoollo" (Nana ishto holo, holy great persons). With them he contrasts the "Hottuk ookproose (Hátàk okpulosi), or "Nana ookproose (Nana okpulosi)," "very bad men," or "very bad people," who, he says, were supposed to inhabit the dark regions of the west.[17] While Adair and other writers were likely to have interpreted Indian beliefs in the light of Christian teachings I believe this statement to be in the main correct. Swan mentions a good and bad region to which the souls of the dead go, and he says that a good spirit was over the one and an evil spirit—isti fátcasigo, "person not good"—over the other.[18] This has a still stronger appearance of Christian influence, and, as I do not find the bad ruling spirit spoken of again by other writers, it may be doubted whether there was such a conception. 775

THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Unlike the case of the bad spirit, a great good spirit ruling in the world above is mentioned by all early writers yet it is a question whether this was a native conception or not; the ease with which this spirit could be identified with the Christian deity and the fact that it was so identified in later times render the aboriginal character of the entire conception somewhat doubtful. The older Creeks assert that the name by which this being is now generally known, Hisagita imisi—now abbreviated to Hisagita misi—"the breath holder," is not the original term, but came in use after contact with white people. In explanation of the name it should be said that when an official was sent out in charge of a body of men at the time of the busk he was called an imisi, or "holder," because he held the body of men together. According to one informant the old name for God was Puyáfiktca lákát, "the great spirit," but this man was a Baptist preacher and I believe the idea originated with the white people. Jackson Lewis, one of my best native informants, said that he recollected very well when the old people instead of calling the deity Isagita imisi used the term Ibofánaga (or Ibofánga), which means "the one above us." Nevertheless, as we find the name Hisagita imisi used by Adair[19] and all those of his contemporaries who enter deeply into the subject of Creek religion, we must assume that it is at least as ancient as the other term. What Lewis had in mind is probably indicated by another statement of his that in order not to use the term "Master of Breath," which was a very sacred name, directly, people often spoke of "the ones over and above us." The plural form in use here 776

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 8.
[18] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 260-270. Hitchcock (Mss. notes) reports a similar belief.
[19] Adair, op. cit., p. 108.

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776 suggests that originally the Creeks may have intended by the expression and the ceremonies directed toward the sky all of the spirits in the world above collectively. But, while there is probably some truth in this view, it seems pretty clear from the statements of early writers and mention of the "One Above" by the Chitimacha, Atakapa, and most of the other southeastern peoples, that they recognized a chief among these. Such a being was undoubtedly believed in by the Natchez, for their entire social system revolved about him, and there is every reason to think it was a prevailing southern belief. Bossu says that the Alabama called their supreme deity "Soulbiéche,"[20] a word probably derived from solopi, "ghost," or "spirit," and ēsa, or Isa, "to live," to "dwell."

776 821 Adair gives the Chickasaw name of the supreme deity as "Loak-Ishtō-hoollo-Aba" [Luak Ishto Holo Aba], which appears to signify "the great holy fire above," and indicates his connection with the sun. Adair adds that he "resides as they think above the clouds, and on earth also with unpolluted people. He is with them the sole author of warmth, light, and of all animal and vegetable life."[21] His name at once suggests the Uwa' shil ("Big fire") of the Natchez, which was their name for the sun, the highest object of their worship, or rather the abode of that highest object, and a connection between the Chickasaw and Natchez conceptions is thereby indicated. As to the regard in which the sun was held among the Creeks, Bartram says: "At the treaties they first puff or blow the smoke from the great pipe or calumet towards that luminary; they look up towards it with great reverence and earnestness when they confirm their talks or speeches in council, as a witness of their contracts; and also when they make their martial harangues and speeches at the head of their armies, when setting out, or making the onset, etc."[22] The idea involved, however, was probably much broader than that of the mere visible sun, because the latter was not considered a particularly imposing object. Adair says: "The American Indians do not believe the Sun to be any bigger than it appears to the naked eye. . . . Conversing with the Chikkàsah archi-magus, or high-priest, about the luminary, he told me, 'It might possibly be as broad and round as his winter-house; but he thought it could not well exceed it.'"[23] Compare, also, the statement of their beliefs which some Chickasaw are reported to have given to John Wesley: "We believe there are four Beloved Things above; the Clouds, the Sun, the clear Sky, and He that lives in the clear sky."[24]

Little else remains regarding the attributes of this deity which has not been entirely obscured by European beliefs. To show how far such beliefs had worked into the native conception, I will cite the

[20] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 48.
[21] Adair, op. cit., p. 19.
[22] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 26.
[23] Adair, op. cit., p. 19.
[24] Jones, Hist. of Savannah, p. 85.

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following stories regarding the "Breath Holder" which were related to one of my oldest informants, a man born in Alabama before the migration to Oklahoma, by a very old Hitchiti Indian. This man said that a child was born in a certain country and a time came in the history of those people when children were to be killed. Rather than lose their child its parents put it into a basket, pitched it with gum, and set it afloat upon the water. Afterwards it was seen by the king, who told an attendant to bring it in, and he did so. Fascinated by its beauty he adopted it and reared it. One day after he grew up this child was walking along and saw a man planting seed. He asked him what it was and the man answered "I am planting stones." Later he went to this place again, dug into the earth, and found a great many stones there. Another time when he met this man the latter had some white corn flour. He threw a handful of this into the air and it turned into white water herons found along streams, the feathers of which were used in the Creek peace dance. The old man said that the man who did this was Christ and added that "a darn Frenchman came along and killed him." The myth of seed turning into stones is recorded in various versions by Dähnhardt, in his Natursagen, vol. II, p. 95, under the heading Die Verwandlung des Saatfeld. The other is a well-known episode in apocryphal church history. The first part of the narrative is of course taken from the story of Moses. 776 821

One further point regarding this spirit deserves notice, as it is certainly not European in origin, and that is his connection, in the minds of the Indians, with the sacred fire as several times mentioned by Adair. In one place he says, "they worship God, in a smoke and cloud, believing him to reside above the clouds, and in the element of the, supposed, holy annual fire."[25] Further on he goes into this more at length, as follows: 776 372

"Though they believe the upper heavens to be inhabited by Ishtohoollo Aba, and a great multitude of inferior good spirits; yet they are firmly persuaded that the divine omnipresent Spirit of fire and light resides on the earth, in their annual sacred fire while it is unpolluted; and that he kindly accepts their lawful offerings, if their own conduct is agreeable to the old divine law, which was delivered to their forefathers."[26]

Again, he quotes a Chickasaw seer to the effect that "he very well knew, the giver of virtue to nature resided on earth in the unpolluted holy fire, and likewise above the clouds and the sun, in the shape of a fine fiery substance, attended by a great many beloved people."[27] Adair backs these statements up with the following incident, which is of more importance than his bare assertion, and especially in this connection, as it is from the Creeks instead of the Chickasaw:

[25] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 35. [26] Ibid, p. 116. [27] Ibid., pp. 93-98.

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"In the year 1748, when I was at the Koosah on my way to the Chikkasah country, I had a conversation on this subject, with several of the more intelligent of the Muskohge traders. One of them told me, that just before, while he and several others were drinking spirituous liquors with the Indians, one of the warriors having drank to excess, reeled into the fire, and burned himself very much. He roared, foamed, and spoke the worst things against God, that their language could express. He upbraided him with ingratitude, for having treated him so barbarously in return for his religious offerings, affirming he had always sacrificed to him the first young buck he killed in the new year; as in a constant manner he offered him when at home, some of the fattest of the meat, even when he was at short allowance, on purpose that he might shine upon him as a kind God. And he added, 'now you have proved as an evil spirit, by biting me so severely who was your constant devotee, and are a kind God to those accursed nothings [i. e., the white people], who are laughing at you as a rogue, and at me as a fool, I assure you, I shall renounce you from this time forward, and instead of making you look merry with fat meat, you shall appear sad with water, for spoiling the old beloved speech. I am a beloved warrior, and consequently I scorn to lie; you shall therefore immediately fly up above the clouds, . . .'" [28]

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In still another place he says: "The Muskogee call the fire their grandfather—and the supreme Father of mankind Esakata-Emishe 'the breath master,' as it is commonly explained." [29] Fire is called "grandfather" to the present day.[30]

After describing the method of deadening trees and clearing fields among the southern Indians, Adair goes on thus:

"With these trees they always kept up their annual holy fire; and they reckon it unlawful, and productive of many temporal evils, to extinguish even the culinary fire with water. In the time of a storm, when I have done it, the kindly women were in pain for me, through fear of the ill consequences attending so criminal an act. I never saw them to damp the fire, only when they hung up a brand in the appointed place, with a twisted grape-vine, as a threatening symbol of torture and death to the enemy; or when their kinsman dies. In the last case, a father or brother of the deceased, takes a firebrand, and brandishing it two or three times round his head, with lamenting words, he with his right hand dips it into the water, and lets it sink down." [31]

All of the facts brought out must mean that an actual connection was supposed to exist between the sun and the busk fire and thus between the celestial deity behind the sun and this fire, and, as Adair himself points out elsewhere, that the renewal of the fire was an actual renewed presence of the deity among them, the old fire having

[28] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 116.
[29] Ibid., p. 185.
[30] Cf. Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 28.
[31] Adair, op. cit., p. 405.

1/4 [i.e., Adair. -- Analyst]

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become polluted by long separation from its source.[22] It is unfortunate that we have no further information on this important point.

Swan, the only writer who has much to say of a great evil spirit, remarks that "they have an opinion that droughts, floods, and famines, and their miscarriages in war, are produced by the agency of the bad spirit. But of these things, they appear to have confused and irregular ideas, and some sceptical opinions."[23] I have already expressed doubts about the primitive character of the bad spirit but it is possible that a kind of dualism based on the opposing activities of the good and bad spirits collectively may have grown up.

Yahola and Hayū'ya were two important male deities supposed to reside together in the air without any other companionship. When novices were being instructed regarding the sacred medical formulæ and other mysteries in a way to be described presently the teacher sang songs in which the names of these two beings were mentioned very often. From the general drift of these songs it would appear that the two beings were perfect, clean, undefiled, and were in this manner implored to act as guardians and good geniuses of the pupils. To Jackson Lewis, to whom I am indebted for all of this important information, these beings seemed to endow one with strength, physical activity, and clearness of vision and thought. Yahola was also sometimes appealed to in sickness. If a person was shot and appeared to be dying some ginseng would be cut up and placed in a cup of water and a song sung over it containing the name of Yahola and appealing to his aid in this great emergency. Then the drink would be administered to the sufferer and by doing so it was thought that his life could be prolonged until a more thorough treatment could be undertaken. Also in cases of difficult childbirth the doctor would make medicine and over it utter an appeal to Yahola. "And," concluded Lewis, "this is the real Yahola, though you will find persons so named who do not know what the word means." This word was, in fact, employed in numerous war titles, and a cry called "the Yahola cry" and supposed to resemble the call of the deity himself, was uttered when black drink was taken, and on some other occasions during the annual busk. The name Hayū'ya gives us a clew to the four "Hi-you-yul-gee" from the four corners of the world who brought fire to the ancestors of the Creeks.

The being who produced thunder and lightning is identified by Adair with the supreme deity, for in one place he calls the latter "Ishtohoollo Aba Eloa" (the big holy one above who thunders).[24] He tries to represent what he conceives to be the native idea when he says that the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 166, 167.
[23] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[24] Adair, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

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"belonged only to the great beloved thundering chieftain, who dwells far above the clouds, in the new year's unpolluted holy fire." [35] We are here reminded of a doctor encountered by Pope, who spoke of "the great God of Thunder and Lightning and of Rain." [36] The real native idea seems to be set forth, however, in the following quotation:

"The Indians call the lightning and thunder, *Eloha* [Hiloha, is thunder] and its rumbling noise, *Rowah*, . . . and the Indians believe . . . that *Minggo Ishto Eloha Alkaiasto*, 'the great chieftain of the thunder, is very cross, or angry when it thunders' and I have heard them say, when it rained, thundered, and blew sharp, for a considerable time, that the beloved, or holy people, were at war above the clouds. And they believe that the war at such times, is moderate, or hot, in proportion to the noise and violence of the storm.

"I have seen them in these storms, fire off their guns, pointed toward the sky; some in contempt of heaven, and others through religion—the former, to shew that they were warriors, and not afraid to die in any shape; much less afraid of that threatening troublesome noise and the latter, because their hearts directed them to assist *Ishtohollo Eloha*." [37]

Here it is said that the cause of the thunder and lightning was warfare between many celestial beings, not the prerogative of a single one.

Jackson Lewis stated that it used to be said that the thunder was a person who possessed missiles (lĭ, the word employed here, may mean an arrow, a bullet, a sting, or a thunderbolt) and would dart them out toward the earth with great noise. There is also, they said, a long snake that rises out of the water and can produce the same kinds of noises as the thunder man, but the noises of the former are accompanied by blue lightning and are without a bolt. These two sometimes amuse each other, the thunder man making noises and throwing his bolts down while the thunder snake thunders back and shows the blue lightning. The snake is sometimes in the ground or under a rock out of sight when this happens, and the thunder man throws his bolts into the trees or rocks near by. It has been thought by some that the thunder man kills the snake with his bolts. Lewis claimed to have seen thunderbolts (tinitki inli) which looked like crystals, or at least had similar facets. Sometimes they are found where a tree has been shivered by lightning and sometimes in the water, but if one puts his hand into the water to get them the hand will become paralyzed. They are of the colors red, yellow, white, and blue,[38] and thus seem to resemble the sabĭa to be described presently, but they were not identified with these.

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[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 92.
[36] Pope, Tour, p. 60.
[37] Adair, op. cit., p. 65.
[38] In one place I have noted the colors as "blue, black, red, and white."

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It is interesting to compare with this the notes on the subject by Tuggle, written at a much earlier period: 776 821

"The Muskogee say of lightning that a little man rides a yellow horse, and when he shoots his arrows, it thunders. Sometimes he shoots at a tree.

"When lightning—'Ah-tee-ya-hal-tee' (Atoyahâti)—strikes a tree and slightly injures it, some say this is caused by the terrapin. When the tree is torn to pieces, this is caused by the big noise (thunder)."

Tuggle recorded the following regarding the wind:

"The Wind was very destructive. The people wanted him to go away.

"The Wind said: 'I am going away to the other end of the world. I will sometimes send some of my servants back to visit you. Some will be soft and gentle, some will be rough and loud. When the end comes, the last day, I will come with great power and will sweep all to one place from the four corners of the earth.'

"So the Wind went away."

Reference to the earth as an island has already been quoted. Further light on the native conception of it may be gained from the several creation stories, which are in fact stories of how the present order of things was instituted out of a previous order of things of an analogous nature. I have been told that there was once a long myth of this kind, most of which has been lost. The following fragments will, however, present the native idea in general outlines very well. The creation story and the flood story are so mingled that it will be well to include both. 773 [538]

The agent Eakins, who obtained most of his information from an Alabama Indian, says on this point:

"They believe that before the Creation there existed a great body of water. Two pigeons were sent forth in search of land, and found excrements of the earth-worm; but on going forth the second time, they procured a blade of grass, after which, the waters subsided, and the land appeared."[29]

Speck secured the following myth from a Tuskegee medicine maker:

"The time was, in the beginning, when the earth was overflowed with water. There was no earth, no beast of the earth, no human being. They held a council to know which would be best, to have some land or to have all water. When the council had met, some said, 'Let us have land, so that we can get food,' because they would starve to death. But others said, 'Let us have all water,' because they wanted it that way.

"So they appointed Eagle as chief. He was told to decide one way or another. Then he decided. He decided for land. So they

[29] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 286.

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This last story and the one obtained by Doctor Speck are interesting because they combine the peculiar Southeastern tale in which a bird brings the first land with the well-known quest for earth beneath the waters, a story found over the whole of the eastern part of North America. 773

According to the idea of the southern Indians, something of the supernatural attached to every created thing, every animal, plant, stone, stick, body of water, geographical feature, and even to objects which man himself had made. While these things did, indeed, have certain characteristic appearances and activities which were "natural"—that is, the things normally expected from them—they owed these to a certain impression made upon them in the beginning of things, or at least at some time in the distant past, and it was not to be assumed that they were all the powers which such beings and objects—or, assuming the Indian point of view, we might say simply beings—possessed. The expected might give way at any moment to the unexpected. In such cases the thing itself might exert power in its own right or it might be a medium of power from another being. It might manifest this power at one particular time to one particular person, it might have the faculty of exerting its power constantly, or its power might be brought out from it by the observance of certain regulations. In such cases the response might be an infallible result of performing the regulations, or the charm might be capable of exercising a modicum of volition. 778

An ability to talk on occasion was attributed to animals. Once a prophet heard an owl and a dog talking to each other. The owl said, "People must be afraid of me." The dog answered, "No, but if there is a big stick lying across the road they will be afraid of that." "Would they be afraid of a bush?" inquired the owl. "They would not be afraid of that; they would go around it." "But would they not be afraid if I should get on top of the bush?" "If you do it, they will kill you." They disputed about this for some time and at last the owl perched on a bush in the middle of the road to try and scare passers-by, but in vain. 825

The beings most important in the lives of the Indians or those which, for any reason, were most conspicuous were of course the ones which attracted the most regard from them, were oftenest referred to in their stories, and were made the occasion of something approaching a cult. Still this statement needs modification, since some of their conceptions were the result of evolution, and can not be said to have been due to any apparently greater significance of the objects or creatures in the lives of the present-day Indians. It is even uncertain that they ever were of cardinal significance; some chance association, or the influence of foreign peoples, may have given them 776

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776 their superior position. It should be added that some of the beings by which they believed themselves to be surrounded were purely imaginary. Their attitude toward these was theoretically the same as that toward the common creatures, but as they were not of everyday experience, the supposed encounters with them were of course always believed to have supernatural significance.

825 According to both the early writers and the present day Indians, in ancient times the Indians would not willingly kill a wolf or a rattlesnake. I was told that not many stories were related about the former because it was considered the friend of the red men and they were afraid it would injure them.

Not many stories were told about snakes for fear of receiving injury, and Bartram says that the Indians whom he met would not willingly kill any sort of snake, believing that if they did so the spirit of the snake would excite or influence his living kindred or relatives to revenge the injury done to him when alive.[44] Upon one occasion he killed a rattlesnake that had driven some Seminole from their camp, whereupon several of them came to him and performed a kind of ceremonial dry scratching upon him. This was evidently in order to make the relatives of the snake believe that the injury had been atoned for.[45] Adair records that misfortune was predicted by a Chickasaw doctor because he (Adair) had killed one of these reptiles.[46]

A great deal was made of "masters of waters," water creatures such as the beaver, otter, and water snake. They are often associated together in the linking of clans. When I was in Oklahoma during a very dry season, which had been preceded by two or three very dry seasons, some of the Indians said that this was due to the fact that since the coming of the whites the masters of waters, who anciently protected the earth from dryness, had lost control.

776 Just as we find on the north Pacific coast and elsewhere that the
825 supernatural beings live when at home like men on earth, we hear in
539 Creek stories of animal towns scattered about like those of the Indians, each with its square ground, though of course there are always supernatural accompaniments, and curious features reminding one of the animals which live there. The following story gives an experience with the under water people.

A man who was at some distance from his town fasting in order to obtain medicine was once out after wood, and saw a man up the creek from him, whom he presently met and conversed with. When he got back, he picked up his kettle and started after water, but, on reaching the branch, he threw his kettle into it. Then he stripped off

[44] Bartram, Travels, p. 261, note.
[45] Ibid., pp. 258-261.
[46] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 272-273.

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his shirt and dived under water after it. Two little snakes then took hold of him and guided him along, making a way for him so that he could breathe exactly as if he were on land. By and by they came to a place like a Creek square ground, but the beds were all made of snakes plaited together, and there was a big turtle in front for a footstool. Then the old snakes said "Why did you bring that person here?" But as long as they had done so, the old people told him to sit down. When he tried to step on the turtle, however, it raised up. and it did this three times. The fourth time it stopped and he stepped on its back. When he was about to sit down the snakes began crawling, but at the fourth attempt they also stopped and he seated himself. Then they asked him if he wanted a feather which was fixed in the roof above his head, and he said "Yes," but, when he tried to seize it, it flew up out of reach. At the fourth attempt he got it. Again they said to him, "Do you want that hatchet?" "Maybe I do," he answered. This also rose out of his reach three times and the fourth time he got it. "If you are a man," they said, "let us see you strike off the head of that turtle." So he got off of the turtle's back, aimed a blow at its neck, and, zip! off flew its head while its blood spattered round about. "This will do for you," they said, and they gave him all sorts of instructions as to how he could visit them. From that time on he went back to see them frequently, but presently he began violating their instructions, and they in turn began to dash water on him, so that at last he could not reach them. The man's name was "Horned" (Yábi odjá). He used to dive under water and return about noon with a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark. There was a whirlpool under some rocks in the South Canadian below the standing rock near the mouth of the North Canadian, and there he said he saw some creatures that looked like dogs and he thought that they might be dangerous, but he said that they did him no harm. One day, however, he got drunk and was found dead on the bluff just above that place.

Another boy, a grandson of the preceding, was able to stay under water so long that his companions thought he was drowned. But one time he saw something that scared him, and afterward he remained on shore. He said that the place to which he went was like an open space. It was thought that his grandfather must have taught him how to stay under water, as he would come out in the same way carrying a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark.

My informant affirms that these are true stories, and that an old Indian named Judge Nokosi with whom he was acquainted knew "Horned" personally. "Horned" was a Tukabahchee; the grandson, a Łapláko.

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825 The origin of the conception of this snake is without doubt to be
778 found in the tracks made by lightning, and the bones supposed to have been left by one of them might well have been those of some animal exposed at the time of a thundershower.

The horned snake was probably held in highest esteem by the Indians on account of the value placed upon its horns as hunting charms. The following account of it is mainly from Jackson Lewis.

This snake lives in water and has horns like the stag. It is not a bad snake. It crawls out and suns itself near its hole, and on one occasion Lewis claimed to have seen such a snake. It does not harm human beings but seems to have a magnetic power over game. If any game animal, such as a deer, comes near the place where this snake is lying it is drawn irresistibly into the water and destroyed. It eats only the ends of the noses of the animals which it has killed. The old Creeks sometimes got hold of the horns of this snake, and they were broken up into very minute fragments and distributed among the hunters of the Creek Nation. These fragments are red and look like red sealing wax. A Creek hunter is always exceedingly anxious to obtain even the most minute fragment of such a horn, because it is said to give luck and success in hunting and killing deer. "I myself," said Lewis, "have at two times in my life owned a small fragment of one of these horns, and as you yourself know [speaking to Mr. G. W. Grayson] I have always been looked upon as a great deer killer." These snakes are very rarely seen.

The Alabama living in Texas also know of this snake, which they call tcinto sàktco, "crawfish (i. e. long-horned) snake." They say they are of four kinds according as their horns are yellow, white, red, or blue.

825 Tuggle makes mention of another snake described as living under ground. "It is never seen, but it emerges sometimes from the ground, with a great noise, and leaves a large hole in the earth where it came out. It is called the Celestial One, or Good Snake."[49] This snake is probably identical with that described by Jackson Lewis, a most remarkable snake, since it consists principally of head and lacks a body. It lives on the dew from the grass and leaves. It swirls round and round in the air and goes upward until it disappears, from which fact it would seem to typify the whirlwind.

776 Jackson Lewis told me of a certain set of supernatural beings
825 residing in the waters and therefore called "the inhabitants of the waters." One of these was the horned snake already mentioned. A second was "the long snake," which coils itself up round and round to a height of perhaps 3 feet. This is perhaps identical with the snake which produces thunder. Another was "the great yellow snake," which is under the ground ordinarily but also burrows its way into

[49] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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825 to Adair all of the Indian nations with which he was familiar considered the raven impure, yet had a kind of superstitious regard for it.[51] Crow feathers were among the war feathers of the Creeks.

Among the Texas Alabama the hoot owl (o'pa) informed prophets when a death or some other misfortune was about to take place. A man who was fond of joking and a prophet were once out hunting when one of these birds flew near and hooted. The former then asked the prophet in a jesting way if he knew what the owl said, and the prophet answered, "He said another man is going with your wife." Upon this the jester cut 12 long sticks, went home, found that the prophet had spoken truly, and beat the guilty pair in accordance with native custom. My informant seemed to think that in cases of death the owl was the man's soul, but this is doubtful. Another prophetic bird was a small red-headed woodpecker having speckled wings which makes a noise resembling bicici, and is hence called in Alabama bicici'hka. When the nephew of one of my informants died, the wife of the former was away in a river bottom. While she was there and before the news had reached her she saw one of these birds flying about. Adair tells us that on one occasion he observed the Indians "to be intimidated at the voice of a small uncommon bird, when it perched, and chirped on a tree over their war camp."[52] This may have been one of the birds above mentioned or a third of similar character.

Dogs are sometimes fabled to have helped men and there are stories which represent them as living in towns with square grounds like those of human beings. It is said that upon one occasion a boy found a deserted house in which was a bitch with a litter of puppies. He took care of them, and when the pups grew up they went out and drove bear up to him so that he could shoot them with arrows. The skunk is once referred to as "chief of all the animals."[52a]

778 As stated in the beginning, supernatural power of some sort was believed to attach to all animals and plants, and to natural objects generally, even to artificial objects, and when we come to discuss Creek medicine a great deal more will be said about their various powers, because each is supposed to have been able to produce certain diseases.

776 Some mythic supernatural beings have already been mentioned, but there were a number of others, many of which caused sickness. Among these were a race of little people, called by Tuggle "fairies."[53] They lived in hollow trees, on tree tops, in the holes in the rocks, and in other similar places. They were strong and handsome, with fine figures, and sometimes they allowed themselves to be seen by a human being, who then talked about them continually

[51] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 131, 173, 194.
[52] Ibid., p. 23.
[52a] See p. 529.
[53] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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and followed wherever they led, into forests, swamps, etc. Sometimes the victim died in these desolate spots, but at others he came to his senses and got back home. The mental disease which they thus induced seems to have been a kind of temporary insanity. They rather bewildered the victim, then put him permanently out of his head. One man told me he had been led astray twice by these beings; they conducted him across a river in this state, and he was never able to explain how he got there. This was a favorite trick of the little people.

Once, when the father of one of my Natchez informants was out hunting, and could get nothing, he heard little people calling to him. He could not see them until he looked down near the ground. They wore caps and some had bows and arrows. They directed him to a place where medicine was to be found and to a place where there was game, so he followed their directions. First he found a little stone cup filled with medicine which he drank, and then he went on and killed a deer.

There were also giants whose eyes opened vertically instead of horizontally. They treated human beings in the same way as the little people. The Choctaw and Chickasaw have the same beliefs regarding giants and dwarfs as have the Creeks.

There is supposed to be an animal called hátcko-tcápko—"long ears." It is about the size of a mule, has immense ears, and a very hideous appearance generally. It has a disagreeable odor and causes a dangerous disease, but fortunately it is rarely seen. There are two varieties of this animal, one of a brown color nearly black, the other of a slate color.

Another creature is called nokos oma, "like a bear." It is of about the size of an ordinary black bear, but it always carries its head near the earth. It has immense tusks which cross each other and when seen it is going along a trail with the gait of a pacer. More often, however, only the noise made by the males is heard, and this sounds something like "káp káp káp káp."

The hátcko fáski, "sharp ears," seem to go in pairs and never travel east or west but always north or south. They are observed especially near the sources of small streams. They have sharp noses, bushy tails, and globular feet.

There are some animals, usually pied in color, which look like big steers. They are called wak oma, "like a cow." Several travel together and they move in single file and alternately. One moves on for a certain distance and stops and then moves on again. The one behind moves up to the place which the first had occupied, stops, and moves on again in the same manner.

There is an animal called lohka which sometimes appears in the shape of a cat, sometimes as a chicken.

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776 There is also a bird called so'datcá'kalà which never looks toward the earth but always straight up into the sky. It makes a noise like a woodpecker, and my informant thought he had heard it at times in the dead hours of the night far up in the air.

Another bird is like a woodpecker but much larger. It lives in pine forests, but the old doctors when they made medicine, and had occasion to refer to it, sang of it as if it originated in the skies. These two last may be real creatures, the former the "sun gazer," the latter a woodpecker.

There was said to be a little deer about 2 feet high and either speckled like a fawn or white, but it differed from a fawn in having very lofty horns. This is called "the chief deer." My informant claimed to have killed one of these.

The water king deer (Wiofû'tc miko) is mentioned as causing certain diseases, and Speck's informant attributed others to the "sky-hog" and the "wolf-in-the-water."

There is also mention of the "spirit of war," which appears to have been in human shape.

Besides the above, in the doctoring formulæ and in the myths we hear of a cat-like creature called isti-papa, "man-eater." This is usually identified with the "lion," while the panther is commonly referred to as a "tiger." It is possible that the conception may have come in after white contact, but on the other hand it might preserve a memory of the jaguar which anciently came as far north as the Brazos River and probably to the Mississippi. The Alabama identify the "man-eater" (Ala. atipa-tcoba) with the elephant, of which they had of course no knowledge until late times.

Alabama Indians also told of certain beings with penises so long that they reached high up into the trees; they were in the habit of striking the trees with these and the noise resulting could be heard for long distances.

The monsters of Muskhogean legend frequently trail their intended victims by means of a roller which is spoken of as if it were endowed with a conscious or semiconscious life of its own. It is described in one place as about 3 inches in diameter and the idea of it is evidently derived from the roller formerly used in the chunkey game.[53a]

CHARMS

778 789 Among these objects, which are rather means of securing supernatural help than active helpers themselves, the sabia were the most important, and they are said to be known to all of the Five Civilized Tribes. I have heard of them personally among the Creeks, Alabama, and Natchez. They were very small objects looking like crystals and when properly treated would bring the possessor success in any

[53a] See p. 456 in the preceding paper.

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778 in the families of the town, destructive wind storms, and various other sinister phenomena would occur. So, when one was asked why they did not take the plates out and wash and brighten them up as was the early practice, the answer came promptly, 'Because there is none competent.' They must neither be handled nor touched by water lest great evils result. Moreover, they seem to speak of them with care and caution, closely bordering on fear, lest some evil befall them as a punishment for having spoken too freely of such sacred objects."

But some of these plates are now reported to be broken and parts lost, which is not to be wondered at, as for a long time they were kept in a box back of the miko's bed, along with the atasa carried by the women, exposed to any inquisitive passer-by not overblessed with scruples. In 1914, however, they were still held in the greatest esteem and fear by the leading Tukabahchee. The chief of the town at that time said he could never handle them without becoming sick, and when I drew outlines of the plates from my memory of Adair's figures he recommended that I tear them up and throw them away or ill would certainly befall me before I got home. The continued handling is supposed to drive one crazy. If some of these are brass, as stated by Adair and conceded by subsequent writers who have had a chance to examine the plates, the European origin of at least a portion of them is assured, and it is plainly indicated also by the letters, if they have been correctly copied. Barent Dubois, mentioned above in the quotation from Pickett, who is said by him to have "long lived among the Tookabatchas," believed that these plates owed their origin to De Soto and his companions.[71] There can be little reasonable doubt that they are of Spanish origin, but, as the Shawnee and "Kaskinampos"[72] were trading at St. Augustine in the latter part of the seventeenth century it is equally possible that they were obtained there at that period. They share with certain objects among the Plains tribes in a veneration bestowed upon European articles when they first made their appearance, and which they would certainly have failed to elicit at a later time after that familiarity had developed that "breeds contempt."

THE FATE OF SOULS

775 776 According to Adair the good spirits of the world above attend and favor the virtuous while the bad spirits in the west accompany and have power over the vicious,[73] but this probably gives a somewhat distorted view of the actual native belief. It is probable that the good spirits of which he speaks included most of those who became human helpers, whether in the sky or in other parts of the universe,

[71] Pickett, Hist. Ala., p. 84. [72] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 214. [73] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36.

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while the bad spirits were the ghosts of the dead, or at any rate spirits associated with the western world through which the soul first passed. This is suggested by what he states immediately afterwards. "On which account, when any of their relations die, they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbors [i. e., the evil spirits of the west]: all the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed places, till they return at some certain time, to repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise."[74] The good spirits could be attached to individuals somewhat like the personal manitous of the Algonkian tribes. This is also made evident in the case of the Chickasaw by Adair, who says: "Several warriors have told me, that their *Nana Ishtohoollo*, 'concomitant holy spirits,' or angels, have forewarned them, as by intuition, of a dangerous ambuscade, which must have been attended with certain death, when they were alone, and seemingly out of danger; and by virtue of the impulse, they immediately darted off, and, with extreme difficulty, escaped the crafty, pursuing enemy."[75] At the present time it is not thought that spiritual experiences are enjoyed by any except those who take the higher courses of training already spoken of, most of whom are doctors. It may be that the persons who gave the above information to Adair belonged to that class, or it may be that personal manitous were more widely enjoyed in primitive times than later became usual, but of this last there is no proof. Even in the cases of the graduates the power acquired through their training no longer appears to be associated with supernatural guardian spirits. Such, however, was evidently the case in former days.

The fear of ghosts expressed in the quotation from Adair given above was marked and has persisted down to our own times. Certain diseases, to be considered presently, are attributed to dead bodies. Anciently, when an Indian passed a graveyard, in order to drive away the ghosts he would take a little ginseng (hilis hátki) into his mouth, chew it, and spit it out on each side alternately until he had spit four times each way. People would not eat cold food that had been kept overnight for fear the ghosts had partaken of it. Sometimes encounters with ghosts were fatal. Thus there is a Texas-Alabama story about a man who went out to hunt raccoons and on the way was joined by a ghost under the guise of a person well known to him. By and by they saw a raccoon run up a tree, and the ghost climbed up and threw it down. Presently they came to a tree where there was another raccoon, and this time the man climbed up. After he had gotten up 30 feet or so the ghost shouted, "Look at me." The

[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 36. [75] Ibid., p. 37.

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182 of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is
771 every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some
796 of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe. Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

771 The universe with which the Creeks sought reconciliation was not,
776 however, a material one. What they had in mind was rather the mind or minds believed to be operant there. While we know of some supernatural beings connected primarily with the busk and numerous spirits associated with natural objects were anciently believed in, it seems fairly certain that the peculiar patron of the ceremony was a solar, or rather celestial, being generally called Hisagita-immisi, "the breath controller," and also Ibofânga, "the one above," and that the busk fire was in some way an earthly representation of the great solar fire overhead. While it is probable that Hisagita-immisi was
[177] not in ancient times the monotheistic deity he has now become, there is every reason to think he was already, before White contact, the supreme being of the Creeks.

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anywhere, and it was in vain that he sent parties here and there to search for her. After useless investigations, they believed that it was this beautiful woman who had been killed in the battle and had assumed the body of a white bear, and that the struggle signified their approaching slavery.[1] 173 539

"In regard to the oracle of which I have just spoken, they say that between three mountains which make a tripod is a valley, very deep, dark, and inaccessible because the sides are perpendicular, into which if one fell he could climb up again only by means of ropes; that below is seen shining something like a burning torch, and it is there where the one who knows the secret goes for the oracle, for in the nation there is only one man and his wife who know it. There are two, they say, for fear lest if there were but one and he happened to die suddenly or in war, the secret would be lost. I heard the story of that secret place where the three mountains are from a French officer, a friend of mine and commandant of the Alabama post. Having heard it spoken of, he thought the appearance must be occasioned by precious stones at the base of these mountains; perhaps, said he, a carbuncle. With this thought in mind he wanted to try to discover the secret. He ordered the interpreter to bring before him one of the two guardians of the secret. By chance it was the woman whom he brought, having found her first; and, knowing well that they love brandy as much as their husbands do, the commandant got her intoxicated. But he found her very different from European women, for he was not able to draw from her any information, since she preferred to die rather than make it known. She added that, if she told him, she would not be able to escape; the oracle would cause her death, and, after death, instead of passing into the body of some fine animal as she expected, it would make her enter the body of a crocodile (alligator), the usual punishment in the other world for those who have misbehaved in this. They believe in transmigration. There are even certain nations which will by no means eat of some animals for fear of eating their relatives or friends, for each nation has its especial animal into the body of which it must enter after death." [778

The First Meeting Between the Creeks and the White People

This event, of such great, if also tragic, interest to the Indians, is the subject of a number of stories. One of these has already been given, and there are several more of similar type. Kasihta yahola, an Indian of the Łapłáko town, had heard that the Americans were formerly out upon the ocean and at first the Muskogee would not let them land, but finally they relented, and a prophecy arose at that time to the effect that the Indians would ultimately be dis- 173 177 609 648

[1] [Cf. cat 11b, p. 74 -- Analyst]

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"Each square has a black-drink cook, and two or three young warriors that attend every morning when black-drink is to be taken, and warn the people to assemble by beating a drum." [27] 344 [272]

Hawkins probably had the square of Kasihta more particularly in mind and Swan that of Otciapofa. From Bartram we have two different descriptions, one more generalized, the other a particular account of the square of Atasi. The first and briefer of these runs as follows:

"The Public Square of the Creeks consists of four buildings of equal size, placed one upon each side of a quadrangular court. The principal or Council House is divided transversely into three equal apartments, separated from each other by a low clay wall. This building is also divided longitudinally into two nearly equal parts; the foremost or front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. The middle apartment is for the king (*mico*), the great war chief, second head man, and other venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors. The two others are for the warriors and citizens generally. The back apartment of this house is quite close and dark, and without entrances, except three very low arched holes or doors for admitting the priests. Here are deposited all the most valuable public things, as the eagle's tail or national standard, the sacred calumet, the drums, and all the apparatus of the priests. None but the priests having the care of these articles are admitted; and it is said to be certain death for any other person to enter. [623] [778].

"Fronting this is another building, called the "Banqueting House;" and the edifices upon either hand are halls to accommodate the people on public occasions, as feasts, festivals, etc. The three buildings last mentioned are very much alike, and differ from the Council House only in not having the close back apartment." [28]

His description of the Atasi square is much longer:

"The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre and highest part of the town: it consists of four-square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants: there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width: each building is constructed of a wooden frame fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay mortar; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air; the front or side next to the area is quite open like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the coun- 344 623

[27] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 264-265.
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. iii, pp. 53-54.

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344 [623] cilhouse where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide and rectify all grievances, complaints and contentions, arising betwixt the citizens; give audience to ambassadors, and strangers; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies or distant nations; consult about the particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens, or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three: it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded [778] place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary[20] dedicated to religion, or rather priest craft; for here are deposited all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs and other apparatus of conjurations; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail (Vultur sacra) curiously formed and displayed like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermillion. The piazza or front of this building, is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats or cabins stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sophas, and serve for a banqueting-house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females however are seldom or never seen in the public square.

344 532 "The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as an historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque or caricature, as men in variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kind of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front

[20] "Sanctorum or sacred temple; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war-chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night."—Bartram.

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or piazza of the council-house of the square, are ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled serpents, ascending upwards; the Ottasees being of the snake family or tribe."[88]

Taitt's description, referring particularly to Tukabahchee, is brief but to the point:

"The Square is formed by four houses about forty feet in Length and ten wide. Open in front and divided into three different Cabins each. The seats are made of Canes Split and worked together raised about three feet off the Ground; and half the width of the House, the back half being raised above the other about one foot; these Cabins serve for beds as well as seats in Summer."[89]

January 31, 1842, General Hitchcock visited the Tukabahchee Square, in what is now Oklahoma, and gives the following description:

"The *Square* consists of four shed roofs forming a rectangle 20 paces on a side within. Each roof is closed on three sides to the ground, the fourth or inner side being open for counsellors to sit in, where mats are spread made of cane for seats. The four sheds are separated on their angles 4 or 5 paces for entrance and egress and they are situated so that diagonals of the Square are nearly upon the meridian line and at right angles to it. The 3 sides of the sheds which are closed are closed with mud and are raised about 6 feet, the open front inside being a corresponding 6 feet. Each shed is divided into three parts by a partition raised only about elbow high to one in a sitting posture. Upon each partition there are two earth bowls about a foot in diameter in which live coals are placed during the council for the grave counsellors to light their pipes by.

"One of the sheds is appropriated, or two parts of the three into which it is divided, to the preservation of articles used in the preparation and drinking of the 'black drink.' The most curious part of the preparation at the Square is at the west angle a few feet from the angle outside."[90]

Another description, probably applying to the Coweta Square, is furnished by Milfort and will be found in the chapter on Creek government.[91] Still another is contained in the Creek origin myth related to Gatschet by Ispahihtca of Kasihta and refers to that town. The dimensions given are greater than those included in the descriptions of Hawkins, Taitt, and Hitchcock. Adair gives the size of the central section of the west bed as 9 by 7, which would indicate that the entire bed was not more than 30 feet long.

344 778

Attention should be called to the inclosed space behind the chief's bed mentioned by Hawkins and Bartram, and also by Adair who styles it "the holy of holies" and says regarding it: "As the Jews had

[88] Bartram, Travels, pp. 452-454.
[89] Taitt in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p. 568.
[90] Hitchcock, Ms. Notes.
[91] See pp. 311-313.

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344 a *sanctum sanctorum*, or most holy place, so have all the Indian
778 nations; particularly, the Muskohge. It is partitioned off by a mud-wall about breast-high, behind the white seat, which always stands to the left hand of the red-painted war-seat; there they deposit their consecrated vessels, and supposed holy utensils, none of the laity daring to approach that sacred place, for fear of particular damage to themselves, and general hurt to the people, from the supposed divinity of the place."[84] Later most of the objects which had been preserved here were put up under the roof as was the case in the square described by Hawkins. In old Okchai they were up under the roof at the north end of the west cabin, where the Wind clan sat. In recent years, perhaps to protect them from desecration by the
[177 whites, they have in some towns built a small house about 4 feet
346] each way in which the pots used at that time are stored. There is one at Eufaula just back of the chief's bed, one at Alabama southeast of the square, and one at Chiaha Seminole in the same relative position. Tukabahchee, where the busk vessels and appurtenances are kept in a small inclosed space just back of the center of the chief's bed, is the only town to preserve a relic of the more ancient custom.

344 In olden times there was in front of each front post in every bed a stick tapering to a point at the top, leaning outward, and provided on the outer side with two notches. The butt ends of the wands on which the feathers were tied used in the tcitahaia dance were stuck into the ground at these same points. The sticks were called atásá, like the smaller ones carried by the leaders of the women in the women's dance and the small ones given to youths when they were named, and in all cases they evidently refer to the old-fashioned war club (atásá or atásu). This description applies particularly to Tukabahchee. Other towns are said to have had sticks in the shape of axes instead of war clubs. Besides these sticks I am told that on the front of each post on the right-hand side of the center of each bed as you face the bed notches were cut called (t)ná'tásá ha'ki, "made like the atásá," and only men of great importance who could call councils sat next to these posts.

Jackson Lewis agreed with Hawkins in stating that in the old days when cane seats were employed there were generally only two tiers, but it is evident that the practice was different in different towns. Aside from the plan given by Swan the only attempt to represent any part of the square graphically was by a French artist who sketched what is probably the west bed of the Alabama ground in the early part of the eighteenth century. (Fig. 5.) This differs from all other illustrations and descriptions in showing four sections instead of three.

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[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 88.

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609 was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite
619 those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually
calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such
621 invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent.
Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain
town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his
own proper town was on the opposite side.

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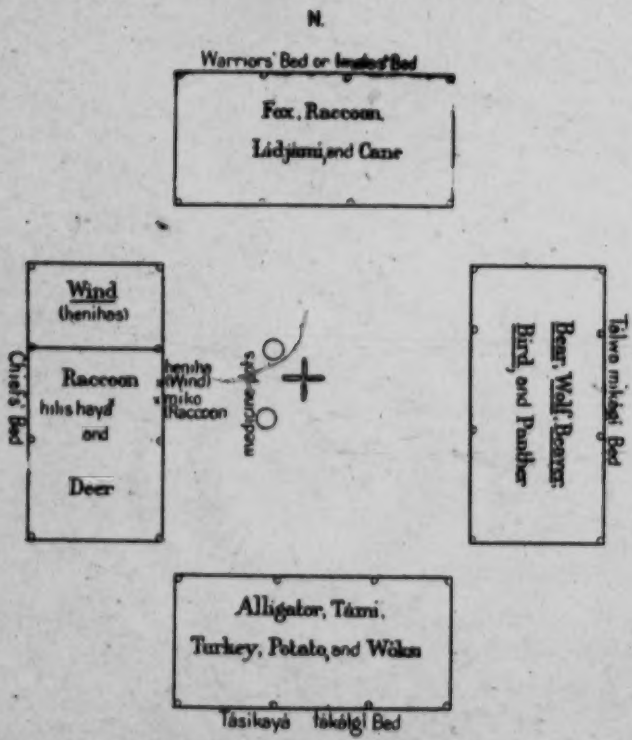

FIG. 33.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

609 Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were
619 known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bar-
621 tram,[17] and Adair [18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that
778 human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until
an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who
had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-53.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 367.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

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event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[18a] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

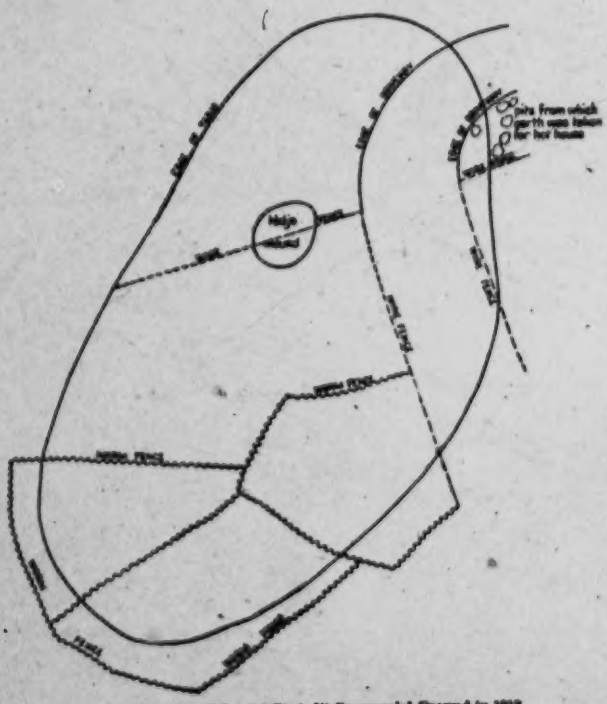

FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kusadji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly." [19]

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[18a] Bartram, Travels, pp. 397-398.

[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 152.

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the religious duty of being sanctified for war;[3] much less to associate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen) on the same war design;—they oblige him to walk and encamp separate by himself, as an impure dangerous animal, till the leader hath purified him, according to their usual time and method, with the consecrated things of the ark. . . . 726 796

"The Indian ark is of a very simple construction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood securely fastened together in the form of a square. The middle of three of the sides extend a little out, but one side is flat, for the conveniency of the person's back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably close with hiccory-splinters; it is about half the dimensions of the divine Jewish ark, [just stated to have been three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height] and may very properly be called the red Hebrew ark of the purifier, imitated. The leader, and a beloved waiter, carry it by turns. It contains several consecrated vessels, made by beloved superannuated women, and of such various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given significant names to each. The leader and his attendant, are purified longer than the rest of the company, that the first may be fit to act in the religious office of a priest of war, and the other to carry the awful sacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *Hetissu*, or 'beloved waiter,' feeds each of the warriors by an exact stated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, lest by intemperance they should spoil the supposed communicative power of their holy things, and occasion fatal disasters to the war camp."[4] 726 778

In another place Adair says:

. . . "It is also highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor sit on the bare earth while they are carrying it against the enemy. On hilly ground where stones are plenty, they place it on them: but in level land upon short logs, always resting themselves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often saw the woods full of such religious war-reliques. . . . *Opae* [Hopaii], 'the leader,' obliges all during the first campaign they make with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they lie by, from sun-rise to sun-set—and after a fatiguing day's march, and scanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-snake-root very plentifully, in

[3] In another place Adair says: "But a few weeks since, when a large company of these warlike savages were on the point of setting off to commence war against the Muskohgs, some of the wags decoyed a heedless leader into their holy ground, and they stript him, so as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And, on account of the like trespass, they detained two Indian children two nights and a day, till their obstinate parents paid the like ransom." (pp. 181-182.)

[4] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 159-161.

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726 778 order to be purified—that they have also as strong a faith of the power and holiness of their ark, as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole. . . .

"The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own sanctified warriors, or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemey touch it in the woods for the very same reason. . . .

727 "The leader virtually acts the part of a priest of war, *pro tempore*, . . . If they obtain the victory, and get some of the enemeies scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct of some of the followers of the beloved ark. . . .

726 834 "The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. . . . The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains." [5]

This law of sexual abstinence accounts for the comparative respect with which female captives were treated by most of the eastern Indians.[6]

726 Adair cites the case of an Indian iconoclast who went to war without the accompaniment of an ark, to the great anxiety of his friends. He has the following to say regarding the numbers taking part in an expedition and their method of conducting it after they had left home:

"It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various, and uncertain: sometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. . . .

"The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, lest their tracks should be discovered by being too numerous: but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuses to out-number a common company, that they may strike the blow with greater safety and success,

[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 161-164.

[6] Cf. Ibid., p. 164.

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ever we can get independent testimony from writers familiar with other tribes. As Adair's account is the best, I have chosen it as a nucleus about which to assemble the facts recorded by others. From the Alabama living in Texas I have obtained a little information confirmatory of what Adair tells us concerning the ark. 726

According to traditions they formerly had an ark which they took to war and which enabled them to defeat all of their enemies. When they camped they hung this ark upon a tree, or anything else, a short distance in front of them, and if a cry was heard coming from it during the night it meant that next day they would find and kill enemies. If the cry was like that of a woman, it meant that they would find and kill a woman, for the cry meant that the ark had caught the enemy. If no cry was heard from the ark, they would kill no one. 726 778

My informant spoke as if the tribe were possessed of but a single medicine of this kind, but there was probably at least one to each town and most likely more.

By the Indians of Tuskegee Speck was told that one of the medicines in the war bundle or "ark" "was believed to be parts of the horns of a certain mythical snake that was captured and killed by the people after it had destroyed many of them for generations. These horns were believed to render the warriors immune to wounds. Another object remembered as part of the bundle's contents was cedar leaves, *atcína*. When a warrior became wounded he called for the *hobáya* to come to him and give him an emetic of the *atcína* which was thought to insure recovery. A wounded man had little hope for recovery if this could not be done."[28] The "snake medicine" is also mentioned by Hawkins,[29] along with a medicine derived from the bones of a supernatural mythic panther, destroyed in the distant past by the remote ancestors of the Creeks. This last also appears in the migration legend related by Chekilli.[30]

Before proceeding to the Creek customs proper, some scraps of evidence may be added regarding ancient Alabama war customs as contained in the traditions concerning their wars with the Choctaw. 726

The Alabama and Choctaw fought against each other for a long time. They used to take each other's scalps. A party of Indians would come near an enemy's house and hide, and, if a man came out of it, they would kill and scalp him and run off. They attacked on dark nights when the people in the houses could not see, and covered themselves with leaves so that they could not be detected even if the people hunted about outside. If a woman went down to a creek to wash clothing she would perhaps be killed and scalped by a man

[28] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 118. [29] See p. 428. [30] See p. 38.

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This last story and the one obtained by Doctor Speck are interesting because they combine the peculiar Southeastern tale in which a bird brings the first land with the well-known quest for earth beneath the waters, a story found over the whole of the eastern part of North America. 773

According to the idea of the southern Indians, something of the supernatural attached to every created thing, every animal, plant, stone, stick, body of water, geographical feature, and even to objects which man himself had made. While these things did, indeed, have certain characteristic appearances and activities which were "natural"—that is, the things normally expected from them—they owed these to a certain impression made upon them in the beginning of things, or at least at some time in the distant past, and it was not to be assumed that they were all the powers which such beings and objects—or, assuming the Indian point of view, we might say simply beings—possessed. The expected might give way at any moment to the unexpected. In such cases the thing itself might exert power in its own right or it might be a medium of power from another being. It might manifest this power at one particular time to one particular person, it might have the faculty of exerting its power constantly, or its power might be brought out from it by the observance of certain regulations. In such cases the response might be an infallible result of performing the regulations, or the charm might be capable of exercising a modicum of volition. 778

An ability to talk on occasion was attributed to animals. Once a prophet heard an owl and a dog talking to each other. The owl said, "People must be afraid of me." The dog answered, "No, but if there is a big stick lying across the road they will be afraid of that." "Would they be afraid of a bush?" inquired the owl. "They would not be afraid of that; they would go around it." "But would they not be afraid if I should get on top of the bush?" "If you do it, they will kill you." They disputed about this for some time and at last the owl perched on a bush in the middle of the road to try and scare passers-by, but in vain. 825

The beings most important in the lives of the Indians or those which, for any reason, were most conspicuous were of course the ones which attracted the most regard from them, were oftenest referred to in their stories, and were made the occasion of something approaching a cult. Still this statement needs modification, since some of their conceptions were the result of evolution, and can not be said to have been due to any apparently greater significance of the objects or creatures in the lives of the present-day Indians. It is even uncertain that they ever were of cardinal significance; some chance association, or the influence of foreign peoples, may have given them 776

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825 The origin of the conception of this snake is without doubt to be found in the tracks made by lightning, and the bones supposed to
.778 have been left by one of them might well have been those of some animal exposed at the time of a thundershower.

The horned snake was probably held in highest esteem by the Indians on account of the value placed upon its horns as hunting charms. The following account of it is mainly from Jackson Lewis.

This snake lives in water and has horns like the stag. It is not a bad snake. It crawls out and suns itself near its hole, and on one occasion Lewis claimed to have seen such a snake. It does not harm human beings but seems to have a magnetic power over game. If any game animal, such as a deer, comes near the place where this snake is lying it is drawn irresistibly into the water and destroyed. It eats only the ends of the noses of the animals which it has killed. The old Creeks sometimes got hold of the horns of this snake, and they were broken up into very minute fragments and distributed among the hunters of the Creek Nation. These fragments are red and look like red sealing wax. A Creek hunter is always exceedingly anxious to obtain even the most minute fragment of such a horn, because it is said to give luck and success in hunting and killing deer. "I myself," said Lewis, "have at two times in my life owned a small fragment of one of these horns, and as you yourself know [speaking to Mr. G. W. Grayson] I have always been looked upon as a great deer killer." These snakes are very rarely seen.

The Alabama living in Texas also know of this snake, which they call tcinto sàktco, "crawfish (i. e. long-horned) snake." They say they are of four kinds according as their horns are yellow, white, red, or blue.

825 Tuggle makes mention of another snake described as living under ground. "It is never seen, but it emerges sometimes from the ground, with a great noise, and leaves a large hole in the earth where it came out. It is called the Celestial One, or Good Snake."[49] This snake is probably identical with that described by Jackson Lewis, a most remarkable snake, since it consists principally of head and lacks a body. It lives on the dew from the grass and leaves. It swirls round and round in the air and goes upward until it disappears, from which fact it would seem to typify the whirlwind.

776 Jackson Lewis told me of a certain set of supernatural beings
825 residing in the waters and therefore called "the inhabitants of the waters." One of these was the horned snake already mentioned. A second was "the long snake," which coils itself up round and round to a height of perhaps 3 feet. This is perhaps identical with the snake which produces thunder. Another was "the great yellow snake," which is under the ground ordinarily but also burrows its way into

[49] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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825 to Adair all of the Indian nations with which he was familiar considered the raven impure, yet had a kind of superstitious regard for it.[51] Crow feathers were among the war feathers of the Creeks.

Among the Texas Alabama the hoot owl (o'pa) informed prophets when a death or some other misfortune was about to take place. A man who was fond of joking and a prophet were once out hunting when one of these birds flew near and hooted. The former then asked the prophet in a jesting way if he knew what the owl said, and the prophet answered, "He said another man is going with your wife." Upon this the jester cut 12 long sticks, went home, found that the prophet had spoken truly, and beat the guilty pair in accordance with native custom. My informant seemed to think that in cases of death the owl was the man's soul, but this is doubtful. Another prophetic bird was a small red-headed woodpecker having speckled wings which makes a noise resembling bicici, and is hence called in Alabama bicici'hka. When the nephew of one of my informants died, the wife of the former was away in a river bottom. While she was there and before the news had reached her she saw one of these birds flying about. Adair tells us that on one occasion he observed the Indians "to be intimidated at the voice of a small uncommon bird, when it perched, and chirped on a tree over their war camp."[52] This may have been one of the birds above mentioned or a third of similar character.

Dogs are sometimes fabled to have helped men and there are stories which represent them as living in towns with square grounds like those of human beings. It is said that upon one occasion a boy found a deserted house in which was a bitch with a litter of puppies. He took care of them, and when the pups grew up they went out and drove bear up to him so that he could shoot them with arrows. The skunk is once referred to as "chief of all the animals."[52a]

778 As stated in the beginning, supernatural power of some sort was believed to attach to all animals and plants, and to natural objects generally, even to artificial objects, and when we come to discuss Creek medicine a great deal more will be said about their various powers, because each is supposed to have been able to produce certain diseases.

776 Some mythic supernatural beings have already been mentioned, but there were a number of others, many of which caused sickness. Among these were a race of little people, called by Tuggle "fairies."[53] They lived in hollow trees, on tree tops, in the holes in the rocks, and in other similar places. They were strong and handsome, with fine figures, and sometimes they allowed themselves to be seen by a human being, who then talked about them continually

[51] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 131, 173, 194.
[52] Ibid., p. 26.
[52a] See p. 529.
[53] Tuggle, MS., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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776 There is also a bird called so'datcá'kalá which never looks toward the earth but always straight up into the sky. It makes a noise like a woodpecker, and my informant thought he had heard it at times in the dead hours of the night far up in the air.

Another bird is like a woodpecker but much larger. It lives in pine forests, but the old doctors when they made medicine, and had occasion to refer to it, sang of it as if it originated in the skies. These two last may be real creatures, the former the "sun gazer," the latter a woodpecker.

There was said to be a little deer about 2 feet high and either speckled like a fawn or white, but it differed from a fawn in having very lofty horns. This is called "the chief deer." My informant claimed to have killed one of these.

The water king deer (Wiofû'tc miko) is mentioned as causing certain diseases, and Speck's informant attributed others to the "sky-hog" and the "wolf-in-the-water."

There is also mention of the "spirit of war," which appears to have been in human shape.

Besides the above, in the doctoring formulæ and in the myths we hear of a cat-like creature called isti-papa, "man-eater." This is usually identified with the "lion," while the panther is commonly referred to as a "tiger." It is possible that the conception may have come in after white contact, but on the other hand it might preserve a memory of the jaguar which anciently came as far north as the Brazos River and probably to the Mississippi. The Alabama identify the "man-eater" (Ala. atipa-tcoba) with the elephant, of which they had of course no knowledge until late times.

Alabama Indians also told of certain beings with penises so long that they reached high up into the trees; they were in the habit of striking the trees with these and the noise resulting could be heard for long distances.

The monsters of Muskhogean legend frequently trail their intended victims by means of a roller which is spoken of as if it were endowed with a conscious or semiconscious life of its own. It is described in one place as about 3 inches in diameter and the idea of it is evidently derived from the roller formerly used in the chunkey game.[32a]

CHARMS

•778 789 Among these objects, which are rather means of securing supernatural help than active helpers themselves, the sabîa were the most important, and they are said to be known to all of the Five Civilized Tribes. I have heard of them personally among the Creeks, Alabama, and Natchez. They were very small objects looking like crystals and when properly treated would bring the possessor success in any

[32a] See p. 466 in the preceding paper.

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emergency of life, in public speaking and in war, but particularly in hunting and in love. If the owner of a sabīa asked for a thing he would never be refused. The Texas Alabama claim that with them it was only a love charm and had nothing to do with hunting. However, it was a saying that anything that will charm a deer will charm a woman. The word is said to convey the impression of a group of men starting off carrying some particular article, but its origin may have had nothing to do with this. The best account of it was obtained from Jackson Lewis, and in substance it is as follows:

There are different kinds of sabīa—white, blue, red, yellow, and one that is nearly black. All have a luster like that of glass except the black, which looks like the graphite of a lead pencil. The red and yellow sabīa are considered the strong ones or the males; the white and blue are the females. If one sits down and watches them a moment they gleam and flash as if they were live things moving about. Lewis owned a white sabīa and also a blue one for a long time but sold them when he partially lost his eyesight. Upon one occasion he took one of these out, laid it upon the table, and was about to touch it with the point of his penknife when it sprang off to a distance of 2 or 3 feet like a thing alive. According to tradition sabīa and the knowledge of how they should be used came from the Yamasee, so that in singing the long song which goes with them, but is not used much on account of its sacredness, the word Yamasee continually occurs. The sabīa was kept in a little piece of buckskin along with red paint, and when a man went out hunting he opened this up, took a little red paint out on the end of a match or straw, and put it on his cheek. Then the deer did not seem wild and there was little trouble experienced in finding and shooting them. This is not done until one has gotten a little distance from camp, and the action is accompanied by a song intended to make the deer approach. Another song may be sung to blind the deer after one has seen him so that you can get as near to him as possible before shooting. During the sabīa songs the charm itself is not unwrapped. Some sabīa now in use are said to have been obtained from the Yamasee, while others are reputed to have been borne upon a plant which grows in out-of-the-way places. This plant has minute seeds which fall off when they are ripe and form such crystals. Numerous songs were connected with this charm, and it is said that "one could never finish telling the myths concerning it." Sometimes a sabīa is found whirling around on gravelly or sandy soil and acting as if it were alive

Another man, who claimed merely to have seen imitations of the yellow and blue varieties but not the true sabīa, said that they were so powerful that the owner would not keep one in the house. It was put in the middle of a circular piece of buckskin taken from the flank of a deer and tied up tight until it was to be used. When a

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hunter having one of these failed to kill a deer and the sun was already high in the heavens he untied this charm and held it in his hand so that the rays of the sun might fall upon it. Then he sang a song to it which made it wriggle in the paint. Forthwith the deer would be charmed and would sometimes come straight toward the hunter. This man, it is to be noted, differs from Jackson Lewis regarding the unwrapping of the sabīa. He was less likely to be correct, but on the other hand there were probably many different ways of treatment.

Cook said that unless it is carefully handled and controlled by the right formula the sabīa will injure its owner by exciting him "sexually" or affecting his wife and daughters in the same manner. Therefore it was generally not carried on the person unless its owner was ready for an emergency and had his formula constantly in mind, which makes it entirely safe. It is easily lost, and will jump away quickly. The roots of the sabīa hâlgi ("sabīa wife") were also used as a charm. This is one of the first plants to come out in spring. These charms are still in use, being employed largely as love charms.

Still another informant suggested that the "fox fire" sometimes seen in punk perhaps originated the sabīa idea; the phosphorescent light was associated with the daylight luster of these crystals and hence supposed to be self-derived—i. e., the result of a volitional act on the part of the stone. The following account of the plant and mineral sabīas is from the Tuggle collection:

"A man once went to the woods and remained in solitary meditation for four days. He wandered alone till he heard a soft, low, sweet voice, singing a song. He listened and watched. He saw a beautiful little flower, swaying gracefully back and forth. He knew the song came from the little flower. Around the flower the ground was swept clean. He listened until he had learned the song. Suddenly he felt that he possessed a wonderful power, which he could impart to any object. Any one who had such an object in his possession became lucky. He could succeed in love, in the chase, and in war. Often bits of stone possess this power. The color of these charmed stones is white, red, and yellow. They are called 'Sar-pee-yah.'" [54]

One of the vegetable sabīas was called sabīa hagi ("like a sabīa"). It has a globular root and a white flower, said to be the first flower to appear in spring. When a man discovered such a plant he set up a stake near by to mark it so that he could dig it up when it got big enough. That time having arrived, the prospective owner went to the river and dived into it four times. Then he procured a piece of white buckskin, put some red paint on this, and placed the root on the paint. It was then laid away carefully in a secure, dry place

[54] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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away from the house, for if it were in the latter place the whole family would go wild and act like deer at the rutting season. When the owner wanted to go hunting he took a little paint from around the root and put it on his face, and if he were going far the whole charm could be carried along.

Another sabīa was known as sabīa hátki ("white sabīa").* It has small leaves and a bunch of black berries at the top, and grows to the height of about 1½ feet. If a man chewed a little of this when he was out hunting he would immediately encounter a deer. It also had power to attract women.

The sabīa crystal was, at least by some, believed to come from a plant. This is shown by the following account of this charm taken down by Mr. G. W. Grayson from an Indian doctor, Caley Proctor, the use of which has been kindly allowed me by Mr. Grayson's family.

"The subbea is often found in the bulb of a rare plant. The plant is never found growing abundantly in any locality. It is pulled from the ground and from the bulb is stripped off each outer coating until the center is reached when there will be found something, a very small piece of broken glass, red, amber, or of some other color. It is taken out and put into a small quantity of red paint, and the whole is securely wrapped in a small piece of white dressed buckskin. This is the famous subbea, especially useful in giving luck to hunters who know the song and sing it to the enclosed subbea, or success to him who desires to win the affections of one of the opposite sex."

Jackson Lewis had heard of two other roots used by the Creeks in hunting, though they were not spoken of as sabīas. One he had never seen. The other was a very small plant with a very small bulbous root. The root is rubbed over the eyelashes two ways, horizontally and vertically, when it produces success in hunting. If one has had bad or inauspicious dreams during the night and does not feel encouraged to go out hunting these bulbs will free him of this feeling and "set him up" for the day.

A third root had been obtained from the wild tribes of the west. If one made lines with this one on the face and hands and a straight mark on the bottom of the foot he would have good luck. It would also stop nosebleed. The western Indians claim that when they administer it to a horse about to run a race the horse always wins. Jackson Lewis himself once had a piece of this medicine and testified to its power.

As a charm against snake bite they hung the thigh bone of the highland terrapin about the necks of children.

Adair speaks of a beaded string of bison hair which Indian women tied around their legs as "a great ornament, as well as a preservative against miscarriages, hard labor, and other evils."[55]

* Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 180.

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•778 789 When a nail or some similar object was run into the body the red-headed woodpecker called tĭtka was used as a charm to get it out. The "ark" which they carried to war was another kind of charm. When they defeated the French under D'Artaguette they insisted on killing the priests because they believed the articles for the performance of the mass which the latter carried were the French ark and the priests its keepers.[56]

A piece of the horn of a horned snake was one of the greatest charms. Some men claimed that they had been able to charm such a snake by their songs so as to bring it to the bank of the stream, when they obtained a piece of one of its horns. This was kept in a hollow tree or some other place remote from the house lest it should make the children sick.[56a]

An Alabama hunter carried a piece of the root of the wâtola imbâkca ("crane's cord") in his ball pouch, and if he could not find deer he would sing and talk to it, blow upon it, and then chew it. Then he was sure to find and kill the animals.

Bartram speaks of the "physic-nut, or Indian olive" as similarly used, and says: "The Indians when they go in pursuit of deer carry this fruit with them, supposing that it has the power of charming or drawing that creature to them.[57] Although the identification is a little uncertain this seems to be the fruit of the *Triosteum perfoliatum* or "horse gentian."

The early white traders were often so affected by native superstitions regarding charms that they placed unbounded confidence in them themselves. Thus Adair says that he took the foot of a "guinea deer" out of the shot pouch of one of these men "and another from my own partner, which they had very safely sewed in the corner of each of their otter-skin pouches, to enable them, according to the Indian creed, to kill deer, bear, buffalo, beaver, and other wild beasts in plenty." Argument proving unavailing he was constrained to return them to their owners lest an accident might befall them and the blame be laid upon him.[58]

At times, it would seem, an Indian would turn upon his charm and throw it away if it did not appear to him to be sufficiently active in his behalf. Adair mentions a case in which an Upper Creek Indian burned himself so badly in the fire when under the influence of liquor that he became furiously angry with it, upbraiding it for its treatment of him after all of the food he had given it. It is added that from then on he became godless, though perhaps only with respect to that particular element. Adair says that he had witnessed several instances of "impiety" of like nature.[59]

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[56] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 154-155. See pp. 411-412, 425.

[56a] See p. 429.

[57] Bartram, Travels, p. 41.

[58] Adair, op. cit., p. 239.

[59] Ibid., p. 116. Also see p. 484.

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Magical songs or formulas accompanied the use of most medicines and charms, and very wonderful things were supposed to be accomplished by these. "By a word" a man could stand aside in the warpath and render himself invisible to the enemies. "By a word" a man could even condense the whole world in such a way that he could go around it in four steps. A certain Indian in recent times "conjured" his field and sprinkled it with miko hoyanīdja, and, "while the crops all about were ruined, he had a good harvest." 778 789

Tribal medicines or palladia such as are often met with in other parts of America were almost unknown to the Creeks unless we include the "ark" or war medicine under this head. Adair and some later writers mention a human figure carved out of wood in one of the upper towns,[60] and I myself was told of a wooden eagle with drops of blood represented issuing from the corners of its mouth which was brought out and planted in front of the miko's bed at Coweta when anything of importance was to be discussed. The Creek chief James Islands spoke of articles used by various towns during the celebration of the busk and held in great reverence, and he instanced large conch shells out of which the Coweta Indians took their black drink. These, he said, they had had for a long time and preserved with great care. But there is no certainty that these things were really palladia. Nevertheless, there is one apparent exception, the famous copper and brass plates preserved by the town of Tukabahchee. Hitchcock says that, in his time, these were kept in a small house which stood by itself tightly shut up, situated near the tcokofa, but at a later period, and apparently at an earlier one also, they were in the sanctuary behind the middle section of the Chiefs' bed. The small detached houses, such as Hitchcock describes, were built in several of the square grounds and I have seen some of them, but I was given to understand that they represented a recent institution, being used probably as a protection against the all-consuming curiosity of the white man. The plates were brought out once annually at the time of the busk and formed the principal feature in one of their dances to be described presently. The first account of them that has come down to us is by, or rather through, Adair and is of the utmost importance. It runs as follows: 778

"In the Tuccabatches on the Tallapoose river, thirty miles above the Allabahamah garrison, are two brazen tablets, and five of copper. They esteem them so sacred as to keep them constantly in their holy of holies, without touching them in the least, only in the time of their compounded first-fruit-offerings, and annual expiation of sins; at which season, their magus carries one under his arm, a-head of the people, dancing round the sacred arbour; next to him their head-warrior carries another; and those warriors who chuse it,

[60] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

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carry the rest after the manner of the high priest; all the others carry white canes with swan-feathers at the top. Hearing accidentally of these important monuments of antiquity, and enquiring pretty much about them, I was certified of the truth of the report by four of the southern traders, at the most eminent Indian trading house of all English America. One of the gentlemen informed me, that at my request he endeavoured to get a liberty of viewing the aforesaid tables, but it could not possibly be obtained, only in the time of the yearly grand sacrifice, for fear of polluting their holy things, at which time gentlemen of curiosity may see them. *Old Bracket*, an Indian of perhaps 100 years old, lives in that old beloved town, who gave the following description of them:

"*Old Bracket's* account of the *five copper* and *two brass* plates under the beloved cabbin in Tuccabatchey-square.

The shape of the five copper plates; one is a foot and a half long and seven inches wide, the other four are shorter and narrower.

The largest stamped thus:

The shape of the two brass plates,—about a foot and a half in diameter.

"He said he was told by his forefathers that those plates were given to them by the man we call God; that there had been more of other shapes, some as long as he could stretch with both his arms, and some had writing upon them which were buried with particular men; and that they had instructions given with them, viz. they must only be handled by particular people, and those fasting; and no unclean woman must be suffered to come near them or the place where they are deposited. He said, none but this town's people had any such plates given them, and that they were a different people from the Creeks. He only remembered three more, which were buried with three of his family, and he was the only man of the family now left. He said, there were two copper plates under the king's cabin, which had lain there from the first settling of the town.

"This account was taken in the Tuccabatchey-square, 27th July, 1759, per Will. Bolsover." [61]

Swan, writing in 1791, mentions them again in these words:

"There are preserved in the Tuckabatches' town, on the Tallapoosee river, some thin pieces of wrought brass, found in the earth when the Indians first dug for clay to build in this place. Nobody can tell how long since they were dug up; but the Indians preserve them as proofs of their right to the ground, having descended to them by their departed ancestors, from time immemorial." [62]

[61] Note in Adair, pp. 178-179. [62] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 263.

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If Swan means that the plates had been dug up at the place where the Tukabahchee then were he is in error, since the tribe had occupied that place probably not a hundred years. He may have been led into a misunderstanding owing to the fact that some of them were buried in the earth, under the Chiefs' bed.[63] Pickett gives the following account of the ceremony observed in carrying them beyond the Mississippi at the time of the Creek removal:

"When the inhabitants of this town, in the autumn of 1836, took up the line of march for their present home in the Arkansas Territory, these plates were transported thence by six Indians, remarkable for their sobriety and moral character, at the head of whom was the Chief, Spoke-oak, Micco [Ispokōgi miko].[64] Medicine, made expressly for their safe transportation, was carried along by these warriors. Each one had a plate strapped behind his back, enveloped nicely in buckskin. They carried nothing else, but marched on, one before the other, the whole distance to Arkansas, neither communicating nor conversing with a soul but themselves, although several thousands were emigrating in company; and walking, with a solemn religious air, one mile in advance of the others."[65] As to their origin he says:

"Another tradition is, that the Shawnees gave these plates to the Tookabatchas, as tokens of their friendship, with an injunction that they would annually introduce them in their religious observances of the new corn season. But the opinion of Opothleoholo, one of the most gifted of the modern Creeks, went to corroborate the general tradition that they were gifts from the Great Spirit."[66]

Most of this information was obtained from Barent Dubois, whom Pickett describes as "an intelligent New Englander"[66] but Schoolcraft terms a citizen of New York.[67] There is no doubt of its substantial accuracy. What he says regarding the manner of transporting the plates west is confirmed by General Hitchcock on the authority of a half-breed Creek chief who told him that "when the general emigration took place in 1836 a number of people were selected to convey those articles to the west and they went in advance of the nation. No man was allowed to precede the party in charge of those articles."[67a]

Schoolcraft includes a particular account of the plates in the third volume of his great work, and adds a little information which we may infer from the context was obtained from Walter Lowrie, Esq., president of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, who

[63] See p. 504.
[64] This was not the town chief but a chief who seems to have had peculiar priestly functions. See p. 66.
[65] Pickett, Hist. Ala., vol. 2, pp. 86-87. Charleston, 1851.
[66] Ibid., p. 87.
[67] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. III, p. 90.
[67a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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•778 examined them in the Choctaw country in 1852. According to this statement "Muscogee tradition affirms that there were more of these plates possessed by them at former periods, of different kinds, some of which had letters or figures, but that the number was diminished by the custom of placing one or more of them with the body of a deceased chief of the pure or reigning blood. The plates remaining are placed in the hands of particular men. They are guarded with care, and kept from being touched by women." He repeats the tradition that they had been derived from the Shawnee, which I also heard. It was supposed that they were handed down from above and given to the Shawnee who turned them over to the Ispokogi. Schoolcraft's reproductions of these plates agree substantially with those of Adair, except that the letters are placed nearer the center of the "shield," and the two black dots are shown clearly to have been intended for holes. They were based on information furnished by the Walter Lowrie above mentioned.[68]

A second account appears in the Appendix to the fifth volume of Schoolcraft contributed by the Creek missionary Loughridge, joint author of a dictionary of the Creek language. It is as follows:

TULLAHASSEE MISSION,
Creek Agency, W. Ark., 14th Sept., 1852.[69]

Having understood that the Tukkabachee town or clan of Creek Indians, were holding their annual festival, ("the green corn dance,") and that they would exhibit the much talked of "brass plates," I determined to examine them, and therefore proceeded to their town, and camped for the night, on the 7th of August, 1850.

Before daylight next morning, I was aroused by the singing, dancing and whooping, of the Indians, and was informed that the dance with the plates had commenced.

"On reaching the place, I found 200 or 300 men assembled in the Square, with fires burning to give them light. About 80 or 100 of them were formed into a procession, marching with a dancing step, double file, around their "stamping ground," which is about 240 feet in circumference. The procession was led by seven men, each of whom carried one of the plates with much solemnity of manner. After the dance was over, (which lasted about an hour,) I sent in my request for permission to inspect the plates.

"The old chief Tukkabachee Mikko, came out and said that I could see them, on condition that *I would not touch them.* They profess to believe, that if any person who has not been consecrated for the purpose, by fasting or other exercises, six or eight days, should touch them, he would certainly die, and sickness or some great calamity would befall the town. For similar reasons, he said it was unlawful

[68] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. III, pp. 87-90. [69] Ibid., vol. V, p. 660.

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for a woman to look at them. The old chief then conducted me into the square, or public ground, where the plates had been laid out for my inspection. There were seven in all, three brass and four copper plates. 778

"The brass plates are circular, very thin, and are, respectively about twelve, fourteen, and eighteen inches in diameter. The middle sized one has two letters (or rather a double letter) near its centre, about one-fourth of an inch in length; thus, Æ, very well executed, as if done by a stamp. This was the only appearance of writing which I could discern on any of them.

"The four copper plates (or strips) are from four to six inches in width, and from one and a half to two feet in length. There is nothing remarkable about them. Like the brass plates, they are very thin, and appear as if they had been cut out of some copper kettle or other vessel.

"The Indians cannot give any satisfactory account of any of these plates. They say that they have been handed down from father to son, for many generations past, as relics of great value, on account of the blessing supposed to be attached to the proper attention to them. They hold, that the health and prosperity of the town, depend in a great measure upon the proper observance of the rites connected with them. It is said, that this town is known to have had these plates in their possession for 200 years past.

"There has been much conjecture about the writing upon them. Some supposed that it was Hebrew, and hence concluded that they might be descendants of the Jews. I was, therefore, the more anxious to see the plates, and very particular in examining them. But I could discover no appearance of writing, and not a single letter, but the above mentioned Roman letters.

"Some have supposed the brass plates to be old shields. The largest one, (which I could not examine very closely), appeared more like the remains of a shield than any of them.

"But upon the whole, I am inclined to adopt the opinion given me by one of their dancers in the procession, that *"they appear to have been covers for pots, or for some other vessel, taken a great while ago from the Spaniards perhaps, in Florida."*

"Yours truly,

R. M. LOUGHRIDGE."

Stiggins's account of them again brings in the Shawnee:

"It is related that once in times past, the Ispocoga and Shawanose tribes, made a resolution and formed a compact by which they were thereafter to consolidate their interests and the two tribes to be but one in future, and perform their yearly custom of Thanksgiving and other rites of religious ceremony as one people. For they at that [time] lived bordering on each other's Territory, the Shawanose in

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and about Savannah in the state of Georgia, therefore, in accordance with their compact, they deposited with the keepers of the national square of one of the tribes, their calumet tobacco pipes, belts, and war club called by them *Attussa*, with all their emblems of peace and friendship together with twelve pieces of brass described as follows: Six of them were oval of about eight inches long and seven in the widest part and the other six about nine inches long and four in width, made square, bearing a resemblance to the breast plates of ancient soldiers. They all belonged to the Ispocoga tribe, and were three of the oval and three of the square kind making six to a set when exhibited for they are never exhibited but in their fasting and feasting to commemorate the new corn crop. So they deposited two sets of the above plates in the national square according to compact, and the united tribes of Ispocoga and Shawanose performed their ceremonies together with concord for a length of time. But for some unknown reason or on account of some occurrence—the Ispocogas attributing it to the instable and fickle disposition of the Shawanose—the latter formed a resolution to secede from the union and national compact and remove. No remonstrance of the other tribe against it could alter their determination for they dissolved their union by emigrating northwardly, and when they moved they carried off six of the sacred brass plates, three oval and three of the square kinds, which the Shawanose have retained possession of ever since. They were seen by some Creeks first in the care of the old prophet at Tippacanoe about the time he fought Genl. Harrison and not long since they were still in his possession over the Mississippi, and seen by some Creek chiefs who visited that tribe, to whom they were exhibited with a traditional account of how they came into their possession with all its circumstances, which account agreed with the Ispocoga tradition of their loss." [70]

Although there are other incidental references to these plates, including several newspaper accounts of more or less value, the only one with which we need concern ourselves is that given by Tuggle and preserved among the ethnological papers in the Bureau of American Ethnology. I quote it entire:

"The Tookabatchees have in their possession certain copper or brass vessels, which their town has owned for generations . . .

"These sacred vessels consist of twelve pieces. The largest is circular in shape, about eighteen inches in diameter and has two holes near the center through which a string passes. Two other pieces are circular and about fifteen inches in diameter with two holes near the center. Nine other pieces are smaller, being twelve or fifteen inches long and six inches wide.

"The Tookabatchees give the following account of the origin of these vessels:

[70] Stiggins, Ms.

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" 'A long time ago Is-poke-o-goes, persons, came from Esar-kee-tum-mee-see, the Life Controller, Source of Life, and brought the vessels to us. After staying some time one of the "Is-poke-o-gees" went back to Esarkee-tum-meesee. The other Ispokegee remained with our people. He was without beginning. He told us always to preserve these vessels and carry them wherever we went. He told us how to live and do right and tell the truth. He told us that after a while a great many white people would come from the east and drive us away, but always to carry these vessels and good luck would be with us, in hunting and in war. He told us that the Shawnees also had such vessels and some day they would unite with us and we would be one people.

" 'The Ispokeogee took the wrong medicine and died. Four days after he was buried, a beautiful white flower was seen growing on his grave and from this flower the Tookabatchees obtained their medicine (the wild tobacco), and keep it to this day.

" 'These vessels are kept buried under the town house and at the busk, or annual festival, they are unearthed, washed in a running stream, and rubbed by certain persons to whom they are entrusted, and they are used during the festival for certain ceremonies. When the festival is over the seed of their medicine is put with these sacred vessels, and they are returned to their hiding till the next annual busk.'

"Strangers can not look on these vessels except at the festival and it is claimed that should a stranger look on them at other times he would die before he reached his home."

In some notes made by Mr. G. W. Grayson after a visit to the Tukabahchee busk of 1917 occurs the following reference to these plates:

"The Indians declare they were given to them from on high at a very early period of their existence as a people, and attribute to them profound sacredness. From such information as I have been able to secure respecting these curious objects it would seem that some 70 or more years ago they were much more come-at-able, in other words that the custodians were more readily induced to permit them to be seen than in later times. I find that the present custodians appear to regard them with a degree of awe that is more pronounced than in earlier periods. It is asserted that these objects have not been disturbed or removed from their present inclosure for many years because, as it was explained, the old medicine men who by their powers of magic could handle them without detrimental consequences had all passed away. It seems to be firmly believed that should they now be taken out or handled by persons untaught in the mysteries and magic of the old medicine men of the past, dire results such as sickness in inordinate degrees of virulence, fatalities

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778 in the families of the town, destructive wind storms, and various other sinister phenomena would occur. So, when one was asked why they did not take the plates out and wash and brighten them up as was the early practice, the answer came promptly, 'Because there is none competent.' They must neither be handled nor touched by water lest great evils result. Moreover, they seem to speak of them with care and caution, closely bordering on fear, lest some evil befall them as a punishment for having spoken too freely of such sacred objects."

But some of these plates are now reported to be broken and parts lost, which is not to be wondered at, as for a long time they were kept in a box back of the miko's bed, along with the atasa carried by the women, exposed to any inquisitive passer-by not overblessed with scruples. In 1914, however, they were still held in the greatest esteem and fear by the leading Tukabahchee. The chief of the town at that time said he could never handle them without becoming sick, and when I drew outlines of the plates from my memory of Adair's figures he recommended that I tear them up and throw them away or ill would certainly befall me before I got home. The continued handling is supposed to drive one crazy. If some of these are brass, as stated by Adair and conceded by subsequent writers who have had a chance to examine the plates, the European origin of at least a portion of them is assured, and it is plainly indicated also by the letters, if they have been correctly copied. Barent Dubois, mentioned above in the quotation from Pickett, who is said by him to have "long lived among the Tookabatchas," believed that these plates owed their origin to De Soto and his companions.[71] There can be little reasonable doubt that they are of Spanish origin, but, as the Shawnee and "Kaskinampos"[72] were trading at St. Augustine in the latter part of the seventeenth century it is equally possible that they were obtained there at that period. They share with certain objects among the Plains tribes in a veneration bestowed upon European articles when they first made their appearance, and which they would certainly have failed to elicit at a later time after that familiarity had developed that "breeds contempt."

THE FATE OF SOULS

775 776 According to Adair the good spirits of the world above attend and favor the virtuous while the bad spirits in the west accompany and have power over the vicious,[73] but this probably gives a somewhat distorted view of the actual native belief. It is probable that the good spirits of which he speaks included most of those who became human helpers, whether in the sky or in other parts of the universe,

[71] Pickett, Hist. Ala., p. 86. [72] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 214. [73] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 96.

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[Descriptions and diagrams of Creek town squares and square-ground buildings are filed in category 344]

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776 •781 372 "In the year 1748, when I* was at the Koosah on my way to the Chikkasah country, I had a conversation on this subject, with several of the more intelligent of the Muskohge traders. One of them told me, that just before, while he and several others were drinking spirituous liquors with the Indians, one of the warriors having drank to excess, reeled into the fire, and burned himself very much. He roared, foamed, and spoke the worst things against God, that their language could express. He upbraided him with ingratitude, for having treated him so barbarously in return for his religious offerings, affirming he had always sacrificed to him the first young buck he killed in the new year; as in a constant manner he offered him when at home, some of the fattest of the meat, even when he was at short allowance, on purpose that he might shine upon him as a kind God. And he added, 'now you have proved as an evil spirit, by biting me so severely who was your constant devotee, and are a kind God to those accursed nothings [i. e., the white people], who are laughing at you as a rogue, and at me as a fool, I assure you, I shall renounce you from this time forward, and instead of making you look merry with fat meat, you shall appear sad with water, for spoiling the old beloved speech. I am a beloved warrior, and consequently I scorn to lie; you shall therefore immediately fly up above the clouds, . . .'" [28]

776 372 821 In still another place he says: "The Muskogee call the fire their grandfather—and the supreme Father of mankind Esakata-Emishe 'the breath master,' as it is commonly explained." [29] Fire is called "grandfather" to the present day.[30]

After describing the method of deadening trees and clearing fields among the southern Indians, Adair goes on thus:

"With these trees they always kept up their annual holy fire; and they reckon it unlawful, and productive of many temporal evils, to extinguish even the culinary fire with water. In the time of a storm, when I have done it, the kindly women were in pain for me, through fear of the ill consequences attending so criminal an act. I never saw them to damp the fire, only when they hung up a brand in the appointed place, with a twisted grape-vine, as a threatening symbol of torture and death to the enemy; or when their kinsman dies. In the last case, a father or brother of the deceased, takes a firebrand, and brandishing it two or three times round his head, with lamenting words, he with his right hand dips it into the water, and lets it sink down." [31]

All of the facts brought out must mean that an actual connection was supposed to exist between the sun and the busk fire and thus between the celestial deity behind the sun and this fire, and, as Adair himself points out elsewhere, that the renewal of the fire was an actual renewed presence of the deity among them, the old fire having

[28] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 116.
[29] Ibid., p. 165.
[30] Cf. Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 36.
[31] Adair, op. cit., p. 405.

* I [i.e., Adair. -- Analyst]

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778 When a nail or some similar object was run into the body the red-
789 headed woodpecker called tĭtka was used as a charm to get it out. The "ark" which they carried to war was another kind of charm. When they defeated the French under D'Artaguette they insisted on killing the priests because they believed the articles for the performance of the mass which the latter carried were the French ark and the priests its keepers.[56]

A piece of the horn of a horned snake was one of the greatest charms. Some men claimed that they had been able to charm such a snake by their songs so as to bring it to the bank of the stream, when they obtained a piece of one of its horns. This was kept in a hollow tree or some other place remote from the house lest it should make the children sick.[56a]

An Alabama hunter carried a piece of the root of the wâtola imbâkca ("crane's cord") in his ball pouch, and if he could not find deer he would sing and talk to it, blow upon it, and then chew it. Then he was sure to find and kill the animals.

Bartram speaks of the "physic-nut, or Indian olive" as similarly used, and says: "The Indians when they go in pursuit of deer carry this fruit with them, supposing that it has the power of charming or drawing that creature to them.[57] Although the identification is a little uncertain this seems to be the fruit of the *Triosteum perfoliatum* or "horse gentian."

The early white traders were often so affected by native superstitions regarding charms that they placed unbounded confidence in them themselves. Thus Adair says that he took the foot of a "guinea deer" out of the shot pouch of one of these men "and another from my own partner, which they had very safely sewed in the corner of each of their otter-skin pouches, to enable them, according to the Indian creed, to kill deer, bear, buffalo, beaver, and other wild beasts in plenty." Argument proving unavailing he was constrained to return them to their owners lest an accident might befall them and the blame be laid upon him.[58]

At times, it would seem, an Indian would turn upon his charm and
•[781] throw it away if it did not appear to him to be sufficiently active in his behalf. Adair mentions a case in which an Upper Creek Indian burned himself so badly in the fire when under the influence of liquor that he became furiously angry with it, upbraiding it for its treatment of him after all of the food he had given it. It is added that from then on he became godless, though perhaps only with respect to that particular element. Adair says that he had witnessed several instances of "impiety" of like nature.[59]

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[56] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 154-155. See pp. 411-412, 425.
[56a] See p. 429.
[57] Bartram, Travels, p. 41.
[58] Adair, op. cit., p. 239.
[59] Ibid., p. 118. Also see p. 484.

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round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'[16] Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*."[17] 727 796

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay."[18] 791 784

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,[19] but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.[20] In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.[20] Adair continues regarding this matter: 727 782

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

[16] Last year I heard the Choktah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a regular anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evenings, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskohgs.—Note by Adair.

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 164-167.

[18] Ibid., p. 182.

[19] Ibid., p. 164.

[20] Ibid., p. 183.

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727 what form their butchers use. They are generally sacrificed before
782 their conquerors set off for war with their ark and supposed holy things. And sometimes the Indians devote every one they meet in certain woods or paths, to be killed there, except their own people; this occasioned the cowardly Cheerake in the year 1753, to kill two white men on the Chikkasah war-path, which leads from the country of the Muskohge. And the Shawànoh Indians who settled between the *Ooe-Asa* and *Koosah-towns*, told us, that their people to the northward had devoted the English to death for the space of six years; but when that time was expired and not before, they would live in friendship as formerly." [22]

721 From all this it may be seen that the main object of fighting was
554 not to defeat the enemy from any such sentiment as devotion to country or desire for plunder, but to obtain scalps and thereby social advancement and to placate the souls of the departed. From this fact and the heavy penalties laid upon the war leader in case of failure it transpired that the Indians seldom attacked against odds unless they believed their attack to be unexpected. A small, resolute
726 body time and again beat off odds that could easily have wiped them out had it not been for the great fear of even slight loss on the part of the attackers. Adair mentions an instance in which 80 Choctaw would not attack the party to which he belonged, consisting of about 40 Chickasaw with women and children to protect, because they knew that their presence had been discovered.[23] On another occasion he states that 17 Chickasaw, accompanied by their wives and children, fought off more than 60 Choctaw.[24] In the time of
[722] an attack on the town or camp, Adair says, "It is usual for the women to sing the enlivening war songs; and it inflames the men's spirits so highly that they become as fierce as lions. I never knew an instance of the Indians running off, though, from a numerous enemy and leaving their women and children to their barbarous hands.[24] In another connection Adair mentions as a war custom the killing of a great number of captives because the leader of the war party had been wounded and his life was despaired of.[25] He cites an instance in which a Chickasaw had been killed by some Choctaw after having been given food and, since this fact was cast up against the Choctaw by the avenging party, it would seem to have been contrary to native laws of war. This is further strengthened by the fact that the Chickasaw thus killed was not scalped. In consequence the Chickasaw left the Choctaw whom they killed in retaliation also unscalped.[26]

These statements apply with greatest force, of course, to the Chickasaw, but the essential features recur in the Southeast where-

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp 185-186.
[23] Ibid., pp. 318-319.
[24] Ibid., p. 319.
[25] Ibid., p. 320.
[26] Ibid., p. 322-323.

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821 If the bodies of young children were not put into trees in the way elsewhere described it was thought there would be a drought.[93] If, after they had been so disposed of, it began to get dry, the people would go to the tree where the body had been placed and sprinkle water all about it.

823 That locations might be considered lucky was shown in the case of my Alabama interpreter. After he had lost two wives in succession the people said that something about the situation of his house was "wrong," so he changed it.

821 773 An Indian preacher, who, of course, was glad to see Biblical resemblances in native lore, told me that there was a story of a great and long-continued drought in which the people were fed on bread and meat by The One Above. This bread is said to have been "something like white peas" (lady peas).

796 The annual busk was the principal occasion with them. Bartram observed in one town that they kept Sunday in his time out of respect to the white people,[94] but this custom could never have been very widespread.

SACRIFICES

•782 224 Sacrifices or offerings similar in kind were made by all of the southern Indians. Adair says:

"They sacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, both in their summer and winter hunt; and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health and for their former success in hunting; or that the divine care and goodness may be still continued to them. . . . Formerly, every hunter observed the very same religious economy; but now it is practised only by those who are the most retentive of their old religious mysteries. . .

"The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology. . .

"The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in their divine presence, singing Yo Yo, etc. for their success and safety [in case they have lost none of their companions]: but . . . both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill. . .

"They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned; unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity."[95]

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[93] See p. 398.] [94] Bartram, Travels, pp 455-456. [95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 117-119.

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Elsewhere he states that "when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it."[96] Again "the Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil.[97] He was informed by those whites who had become used to living in the Indian manner "that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed venison; but that otherwise they decline it."[97] 782 224

Of course most of these are merely taboos connected with the hunting of deer. Pope says on this point:

"The *Creeks* regularly make a Burnt Offering of what they conceive to be the most delicious Parts of every Animal taken in Hunting, before they presume to taste a Mouthful. The Parts they commit to the Flames are proportioned to the Size of the Animal, probably about 2 or 3 lb. from a *Buffalo*, and still less in a regular gradation down to the smallest Quadrupede, Fish or Bird."[98]

I have no confirmation or contradiction of the gradations of sacrifice here mentioned, but it is well known even to the living Indians that the old people used to put a little food into the fire before eating. The same thing is noticed in Adair's account of the Creek who railed upon the fire for burning him after the good treatment he had given it.[99] One of my informants had seen the Nuyaka Indians "feed the fire" with turkey during their fall festivities accompanied by hunting and ball games. 782 264

TABOOS

The religion of these people, and, as we shall presently see, their medicine, was seamed through and through with the idea that similarity in appearance means similarity in nature, that similarity in one property involves similarity in all the other properties, and that association of any kind will result in communicating properties from one thing or person to another. This is particularly true about things which are taken into the system by eating and drinking, but applies in other ways as well. Adair says on this point: 771 789

"They believe that nature is possest of such a property, as to transfuse into men and animals the qualities, either of the food they use, or of those objects that are presented to their senses; he who 789 262

[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 137-138.
[97] Ibid., p. 115.
[98] Pope, Tour, p. 50.
[99] See p. 484.

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In an earlier part of his work Adair gives another account of the organization of the war party and adds a considerable description of the sacred ark:

"When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times around his dark winter-house, contrary to the course of the sun, sounding the war-whoop, singing the war-song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinsmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the base contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts: he assures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men; that the love of order, and the necessity of complying with the old religious customs of their country, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now, those hinderances are removed: he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him, and sanctify themselves for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient religious law.

[783] "By this eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirst of revenge, and intense love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend, and which they constantly instil into the minds of their youth—a number soon join him in his winter-house, where they live separate from all others, and purify themselves for the space of three days and nights, exclusive of the first broken day. In each of those days they observe a strict fast till sun-set, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, lest unusual hunger should tempt them to violate it, to the supposed danger of all their lives in war, by destroying the power of their purifying beloved physic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying physic, is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-snake-root, which as hath been before observed, they apply only to religious purposes. Sometimes after bathing they drink a decoction made of the said root—and in like manner the leader applies aspersions, or sprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are such strict observers of the law of purification, and think it so essential in obtaining health and success in war, as not to allow the best beloved trader that ever lived among them, even to enter the beloved ground, appropriated to

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By "the royal standard" Bartram means nothing more than the feathered calumet. The drum, as we learn on all hands, was used to call assemblies at the square for whatever purpose, and bear skins were usually laid down for the principal men and their guests on such occasions. The all-night dance mentioned at the end was a familiar accompaniment of the daily lives of the people.

Ceremony of the Asi

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At least one ceremony is involved here which was more religious than social and I will proceed to a more intimate account of it. This is the ceremony connected with the taking of the *Ilex vomitoria* or "black drink." The longest and best description of this is given by Swan and is as follows:

"The ceremony of the Black-drink is a military institution, blended with religious opinions.

"The black-drink is a strong decoction of the shrub well known in the Carolinas by the name of Cassina, or the Uupon tea.

"The leaves are collected, parched in a pot until brown, boiled over a fire in the center of the square, dipped out and poured from one pan or cooler into another, and back again, until it ferments and produces a large quantity of white froth, from which, with the purifying qualities the Indians ascribe to it, they style it white-drink; but the liquor of itself, which, if strong, is nearly as black as molasses, is by the white people universally called black-drink.

"It is a gentle diuretic, and, if taken in large quantities, sometimes affects the nerves. If it were qualified with sugar, etc., it could hardly be distinguished in taste from strong bohea tea.

"Except rum, there is no liquor of which the Creek Indians are so excessively fond. In addition to their habitual fondness for it, they have a religious belief that it infallibly possesses the following qualities, viz.: That it purifies them from all sin, and leaves them in a state of perfect innocence; that it inspires them with an invincible prowess in war; and that it is the only solid cement of friendship, benevolence, and hospitality. Most of them really seem to believe that the Great Spirit or Master of breath has communicated the virtues of the black-drink to them, and them only (no other Indians being known to use it as they do),[28] and that it is a peculiar blessing bestowed on them, his chosen people. Therefore, a stranger going among them can not recommend himself to their protection in any manner so well as by offering to partake of it with them as often as possible.

"The method of serving up black-drink in the square is as follows, viz:

[28] This was by no means the case since, in one form or another, the drink was used by practically all Southeastern tribes. See below.

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"The warriors and chiefs being assembled and seated, three young men acting as masters of ceremony on the occasion, each having a gourd or calabash full of the liquor, place themselves in front of the three greatest chiefs or warriors, and announce that they are ready by the word choh! After a short pause, stooping forward, they run up to the warriors and hold the cup or shell parallel to their mouths; the warriors receive it from them, and wait until the young men fall back and adjust themselves to give what they term the yohullah, or black-drink note. As the young men begin to aspirate the note, the great men place the cups to their mouths, and are obliged to drink during the aspirated note of the young men, which, after exhausting their breath, is repeated on a finer key, until the lungs are no longer inflated. This long aspiration is continued near half a minute, and the cup is taken from the mouth of the warrior who is drinking at the instant the note is finished. The young men then receive the cups from the chiefs or head warriors, and pass them to the others of inferior rank, giving them the word choh! but not the yohullah note. None are entitled to the long black-drink note but the great men, whose abilities and merit are rated on this occasion by the capacity of their stomachs to receive the liquor.

"It is generally served round in this manner three times [24] at every meeting; during the recess of serving it up, they all sit quietly in their several cabins, and amuse themselves by smoking, conversing, exchanging tobacco, etc., and in disgorging what black-drink they have previously swallowed.

"Their mode of disgorging, or spouting out the black-drink, is singular, and has not the most agreeable appearance. After drinking copiously, the warrior, by hugging his arms across his stomach, and leaning forward, disgorges the liquor in a large stream from his mouth, to the distance of six or eight feet. Thus, immediately after drinking, they begin spouting on all sides of the square, and in every direction; and in that country, as well as in others more civilized, it is thought a handsome accomplishment in a young fellow to be able to spout well.

"They come into the square and go out again, on these occasions, without formality." [25]

The following is Adair's account, which shows that the ceremony was almost identical among the Chickasaw:

"There is a species of tea, that grows spontaneously, and in great plenty, along the sea-coast of the two Carolinas, Georgia, and East and West Florida, which we call *Yopon*, or *Cusseena*: the Indians transplant, and are extremely fond of it; they drink it on certain

[24] Probably this should be "four times."
[25] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 266-267.

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stated occasions, and in their most religious solemnities, with awful invocations; but the women, and children, and those who have not successfully accompanied their holy ark, *pro Aris et Focis*, dare not even enter the sacred square, when they are on this religious duty; otherwise they would be dry-scratched with snakes teeth, fixed in the middle of a split reed, or a piece of wood, without the privilege of warm water to supple the stiffened skin.[25a]

"When this beloved liquid, or supposed holy drink-offering, is fully prepared, and fit to be drank, one of their *Magi* brings two old consecrated conch-shells, out of a place appropriated for containing the holy things, and delivers them into the hands of two religious attendants, who, after a wild ceremony, fill them with the supposed sanctifying, bitter liquid: then they approach near to the two central red and white seats, (which the traders call the war, and beloved cabbins) stooping with their heads and bodies pretty low; advancing a few steps in this posture, they carry their shells with both hands, at an instant, to one of the most principal men on those red and white seats, saying, on a bass key, Yàh, quite short: then, in like manner, they retreat backward, facing each other, with their heads bowing forward, their arms across, rather below their breast, and their eyes half shut; thus, in a very grave, solemn manner, they sing on a strong bass key, the awful monosyllable, O, for the space of a minute: then they strike up majestic He, on the treble, with a very intent voice, as long as their breath allows them; and on a bass key, with a bold voice, and short accent, they at last utter the strong mysterious sound, Wah, and thus finish the great song, or the most solemn invocation of the divine essence . . . The favoured persons, whom the religious attendants are invoking the divine essence to bless, hold the shells with both hands, to their mouths, during the awful sacred invocation, and retain a mouthful of the drink, to spurt out on the ground, as a supposed drink-offering to the great self-existent Giver; which they offer at the end of their draught. If any of the traders, who at those times are invited to drink with them, were to neglect this religious observance, they would reckon us as godless and wild as the wolves of the desert. After the same manner, the supposed holy waters proceed, from the highest to the lowest, in their synedrion: and, when they have ended that awful solemnity, they go round the whole square, or quadrangular place, and collect tobacco from the sanctified sinners, according to ancient custom."[26]

Still another description of this ceremonial is given by Stiggins:

"I shall now enter on their uniform custom of drinking their *ăssēe* which is a very strong black tea used by them without any sugar,

[25a] See pp. 363-364.

[26] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 46-48.

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made of eupon or Cassene leaves. Said drink is called by the white men among them the *Black drink*. It is customary at this time and may have been for ages back for the men to meet at their town house or square in every town at least once a week. In the Tuckabatchies, the principal town, they meet every morning to drink their asee, which is prepared for use in the following manner at all places. It is parched first in a large pot of their own manufactory of clay untill the leaves are brown. Then water is applied to the full of the pot and boiled by a man appointed to that service. After boiling, it is cooled in large cooling pans of the same manufactory by one of the oldest chiefs of the town. When it can be poured over his finger without scalding it is cool enough to drink. It is then put into two gourds that would hold near a gallon each with a hole in it of about three quarters of an inch in diameter at which hole they suck it out. Said gourds of assee are very ceremoniously handed round the square to every man by men selected for the purpose and drunk as made, without sugar or any other embellishment. It is singular how this tea operates on them after they drink it, for after they have drunk it they retain it in their stomack for near a half hour. They can discharge their stomack of it as often as they drink it, with seeming ease, spouting it out of their mouth as it were by eructation. After four or five drinks and discharges of their stomack at different times of near a quart at a time, the black drink being over they disperse at or near ten o'clock; it acts as a tonic, as it is drunk of a morning fasting. By the process their stomack is well rinsed and braced up. The taste of the black drink is not disagreeable being not unlike [that of] very strong black tea and nearly of a black colour. No doubt but their custom of drinking the black drink originated through political motives, viz., for the purpose of assembling the towns people frequently at their town house or square in order to keep them united." [27]

A few shorter accounts may be added. The first is by David Taitt:

"I went this morning to the [Tukabahchee] Town hot House where was only a few Old Men sitting and smoking Tobacco. When I went in the men present came a(nd) shook hands with me and offered me their Tobacco to smoke, afterwards they presented me with a Calabash filled with black drink made from the leaves of Casina which they parch in an Earthen pot till they are of a Dark brown Colour, they then put water upon them and boil it up till it is very Strong. They afterwards put a Strainer made of Split Canes into the pot and so take the drink out of the Strenner with a Callabash, entirely free from any leaves, they cool it in a Large Earthen bowle by heaving it up with gourds or Callabashes till

[27] Stiggins, Ms.

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they raise a froth on the Top as Strong as that on porter. When it is Cool enough they fill some gourds with (it) and Carry it into the hot house in winter or Square in Summer, and present it to the head man or King of the Town first and likewise to any Stranger that is present two or three men Singing while the others Drink. As soon as they have done Singing, they Receive the Callabashes from head man and Stranger and Exchange them that they may drink together, then it is handed all round to every person present without the Ceremony of Singing or Exchanging Cups."[28]

Claiborne incorporates the following in his History of Mississippi:

"When the Creeks meet in council they smoke and have what they call 'the black drink.' It is made of the leaves of the Cassina Yapon, a tree resembling the haw-bush. They put the leaves in a basket and deposit it in a long earthen pot and boil them over a fire made in the middle of the square under a scaffold. The ceremony of drinking 'the black drink,' says Gen. Dale, is this: When they are all seated around one of them takes the gourd, (kept for that purpose) holds it over the pot, pours into it the liquid and continues pouring in until it foams and runs over. He then takes the gourd to the Head Chief and begins making a long note, drawing out his breath longer than one would suppose he could; he then draws his breath a second time, giving another long note, but in a different key. He then carries the gourd to the other chiefs, giving each of them a grunt as he presents it. There is no fixed time for the latter to drink by; the head chief drinks during the making of the two notes. They drink a quart at a time as hot as they can bear it. Some 15 minutes afterwards they vomit the drink without any effort or artificial means. The virtue of the drink is exhiliration and warmth to the system."[29]

Bossu says:

"All the savages of the country of the Alabamas drink cassine; it is the leaf of an extremely bushy shrub; it is not larger than a black poplar (liard) but is serrated all around. They roast it as we make coffee, and drink the infusion with many ceremonies. When this diuretic drink is made, the young people go to offer it in gourds open like cups, according to the quality and rank of the chiefs and the warriors; that is to say to the Honored men, then to the other warriors, according to their rank. They preserve the same order when they offer the calumet for smoking; while you drink they shout with a loud voice and lessen it gradually; when you have stopped drinking they catch their breath and when you begin again they continue the same shouting. This kind of orgy lasts sometimes for six hours in the morning until two hours after noon. These savages are not

[28] Journal of David Taitt, in Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., pp. 502-503.
[29] Claiborne, Miss., vol. 1, p. 491.

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otherwise inconvenienced by their drinking, to which they attribute much virtue. They throw it up without effort and without inconvenience. The women never drink of this beverage which is made only for warriors. It is in such assemblies into which they (the women) are never admitted that they relate all of their news and deliberate over their political business, concerning war or peace."[20]

Milfort is another French traveler who has left us a description of this ceremonial:

"When the savages assemble for any reason they are accustomed before undertaking any business, to begin by smoking their pipes, and drinking a liquor which they make from the leaf of a tree, very common among them, and which it is claimed is a wild tea tree. It much resembles that of China, except that the leaf is much smaller. This tree is green during the entire year; its leaf is gathered only when it is to be served. When the savages wish to make use of it they have it boiled like coffee. When they prepare this liquor to drink in their assembly this is how they treat it. They put a certain quantity of tea leaves into an earthen vessel which they place over the fire; when they are dried sufficiently, they put in water in proportion to the quantity of leaves, and boil the whole. When they decide that the infusion is strong enough, they pass it through a basket like a sifter, and leave it in great earthen vessels destined to receive it for cooling. When it is not warmer than the natural heat of milk, one of the old men who has charge of this ceremony has it put into gourds at the top of which is an opening about two inches in diameter. It is presented for drinking in these gourds, and for this purpose it is passed in succession to each one of the members of the assembly."

He adds that it was later vomited up in order to assure clear headedness on the part of the members of the assembly in taking up the business in hand, particularly to insure against the effects of spirituous liquors.[21]

It is not clear that this ceremony was gone through on all occasions when the black drink was taken, because in some towns and at certain times it is said to have been taken every morning. In particular it was prescribed for those men who were appointed to preserve the buildings of the Tukabahchee Square. They were not permitted to eat until after they had taken it. It at least preceded all important assemblies. Adair, in pursuance of his pet theory of an Israelitish origin for the American Indians, lays great stress upon the syllables uttered by the bearers of the black drink, and he supposes that they were the syllables of the name Jehovah. It so happens that although I can add little or nothing regarding the ceremony in general I obtained a short account of it from Jackson Lewis which

[20] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 41-42.
[21] Milfort, Mém., pp. 105-109.

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throws light upon just this point. He stated that formerly the black drink (âsi) was taken at the same time as the busk medicines, though it has now long been abandoned. But, while those who take the ordinary busk medicines go to the medicine pots to drink, the black drink was brought to the drinkers by four bearers. Each of these men would hand a pot of âsi to one who was to drink and when the latter placed it to his lips the bearer would utter a cry, which, as described to me, was something like this, "ā-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a dī—i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i," both syllables being drawn out very long and gradually fading away. The drinker had to keep on imbibing the liquid until this cry came to an end. The cry was called the cry of the Yahola, a being described already, who with his companion Hayuya presided particularly over the square ground,[22] and it appears to have been uttered on other occasions, as for instance by the official who drew circles on the square ground just before the women's dance to indicate where the women were to stand. It is also said to have been applied to the cry used in calling a youth out when a new war name was to be conferred upon him. By some the medicine bearers were believed to be imitating the rapid fluttering of certain beetles or wasps, and the cries which they made were supposed to be in imitation of them, but this may have been merely an association by analogy. Questions of precedence were very carefully observed in the serving of âsi and were, I am informed, an occasion for frequent quarrels.

Minor Ceremonies Connected with the Square Grounds

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The communal grounds with their various appurtenances were, of course, laid out in a new place with great ceremony. I have already given all that I know regarding the ceremonies performed in putting up the tcokofa.[23] The planting of the ceremonial ball post also took place with certain peculiar observances.

Wiley Buckner, a leading man among the Okchai Indians, said that he had heard that the Alabama Indians before setting up a new post laid a scalp down, placed a stone over that and set the butt end of the post above. Woksi mi'ko, a Hilibi Indian, had heard that, when the Okchai were going to put up a new post, they went into the woods, selected a pine tree suitable for the purpose, and felled it so that it would come down on some logs without touching the ground. Then they cut all of the sap wood away, leaving only the heart of the tree. This done, a number of persons would go out to it, raise it, and carry it to the place where it was to be erected without letting it touch the ground. They would then bring a scalp taken from an

[22] See p. 483.
[23] See pp. 177–181.

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Blood letting and sucking were frequently resorted to. Swan says that the Indians sometimes believed that they had been supernaturally shot by enemies hundreds of miles away and would then consult a doctress. "The cunning woman tells them that what they have apprehended is verily true, and proceeds to examine and make the cure. In these cases, scratching or cupping is the remedy; or, as is often the case, sucking the affected part with her mouth, she produces to their view some fragment of a bullet, or piece of a wad, which she had purposely concealed in her mouth to confirm the truth of what she had asserted; after this, a few magic draughts of their physic must be administered, and the patient is made whole."[96] Jackson Lewis said that pricks were sometimes made over the affected part with a little piece of glass. The large end of a short piece of cow horn was then placed over them and a quantity of blood sucked out through a hole pierced in the small end. Silas Jefferson states that he was once treated by a snake doctor who simply chewed up a bit of root and, holding it in his mouth, sucked out the poison. Next day he was perfectly restored. But unlike the former European practice, blood letting was not resorted to in cases of fever.[97] 755

Eakins says that bandages and lints were applied in many cases. He continues: "The success with which they treat gunshot wounds, cuts, &c., is generally attributed to the care of the physician. The Creeks never amputate. They are skilful in the use of splints. For removing the wounded they use the litter."[97] 752 727 783

Adair furnishes some information regarding the treatment of those wounded in war.

"The Indians . . . build a small hut at a considerable distance from the houses of the village, for every one of their warriors wounded in war, and confine them there . . . for the space of four moons, including that moon in which they were wounded, as in the case of their women after travail: and they keep them strictly separate, lest the impurity of the one should prevent the cure of the other. The reputed prophet, or divine physician, daily pays them a due attendance, always invoking Yo He Wah to bless the means they apply on the sad occasion; which is chiefly mountain allum, and medicinal herbs, always injoyning a very abstemious life, prohibiting them women and salt in particular, during the time of the cure, or sanctifying the reputed sinners. Like the Israelites, they firmly believe that safety, or wounds, etc., immediately proceed from the pleased, or angry deity, for their virtuous, or vicious conduct, in observing, or violating the divine law.

"In this long space of purification, each patient is allowed only a superannuated woman to attend him, who is past the temptations of

[96] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 371. [97] Ibid., vol. i, p. 374.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day." [a]

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man
[752 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor
727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the teokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle."[1] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[2]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
741 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 126.
[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[2] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 89.

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or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344 361 621

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."[64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."[65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177]

Among the Alabama the yard (tā'ăle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the household. [351 784]

[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-55.
[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 56.

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423 621 The yard immediately about each house or group of houses of course went with it; the square ground, chunky yard, and hot house were the property of the community. Gardens, as Bartram has stated, could be cleared by anyone anywhere within the limits of the town land.[10] And Eakins expresses their attitude toward the private ownership of land by the quotation, "It is for me, for thee, and for all." He adds, however, that improvements were sometimes sold.[11] This applied to the Creeks in their western home about the middle of the nineteenth century.

361 423 Regarding the town lands Stiggins says:

"The inhabited parts of the nation are laid out into town districts designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted point which boundary is organized into certain town corporated precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga*." [12] The [224] inhabitants of each town claimed an exclusive right to hunt in the territory immediately about it, and according to Stiggins men of one town approached another "with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated." [13] At times an agreement was entered into by the members of a town to refrain from hunting in a certain territory for a definite period. A kind of taboo similar [784] to the device common among the Polynesians was laid upon it and it was called "ikána tcaka," "the sacred or consecrated land." At the expiration of the time fixed upon the people entered this tract and hunted there together. Bears were the chief animals which they expected to find.

241 The management of the large town fields is instructive. Bartram says of them:

"Every town or community assigns a piece of land as near as may be to the town, for the sake of convenience. This is called the *town plantation*, where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or the largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set up, or any other natural or artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one enclosure or general boundary." [14]

These fields were planted and cultivated by the town working together, all attending to the several plots in turn. They harvested at the same time, but then each family harvested from its own plot. A part of the produce of each lot was placed in a public granary under the charge of the chief.

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[10] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.
[11] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.
[12] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.
[13] Ibid., p. 19.
[14] Bartram, op. cit., p. 38.

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round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'[16] Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*."[17] 727 796

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay."[18] 791 784

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,[19] but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.[20] In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.[20] Adair continues regarding this matter: 727 782

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

[16] Last year I heard the Choktah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a regular anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evenings, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskohgs.—Note by Adair.

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 184-187.

[18] Ibid., p. 182.

[19] Ibid., p. 184.

[20] Ibid. p. 185.

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feeds on venison, is according to their physical system, swifter and more sagacious than the man who lives on the flesh of the clumsy bear, or helpless dunghill fowls, the slow-footed tame cattle, or the heavy wallowing swine. This is the reason that several of their old men recommend, and say, that formerly their greatest chieftains observed a constant rule in their diet, and seldom ate of any animal of a gross quality, or heavy motion of body, fancying it conveyed a dulness through the whole system, and disabled them from exerting themselves with proper vigor in their martial, civil, and religious duties." [1]

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A little farther on he tells us that it was customary in all the Indian tribes to eat the heart of a slain enemy "in order to inspire them with courage." He had seen some of their warriors drink out of a human skull in order to "imbibe the good qualities it formerly contained." [2]

This idea is one of the cardinal principles on which their medicine is built and was shared by every tribe in America that has been investigated. Adair introduces it in order to draw a parallel between the taboos of the Israelites and those of the Indians, but most of the Indian instances which he cites are to be accounted for in the way explained by him above or because it was believed that the animal in question would bring on a certain disease, a matter to be elaborated presently. Nevertheless it is worth while to take note of the things from which they abstained in his time, even though we fail to discover in that traces of a Jewish origin. He says that they refused to eat all birds of prey and birds of night, and a little farther on he mentions specifically eagles, ravens, crows, buzzards, swallows, bats, and every species of owl. He also adds flies, mosquitoes, and gnats. They did not eat many carnivorous animals or such as lived on nasty food, as hogs, wolves, panthers, foxes, cats, mice, rats. All beasts of prey except the bear were "unhallowed"—also all amphibious quadrupeds, horses, fowls, moles, the opossum, and all kinds of reptiles.[3] He says that the old traders could remember when they first began to eat beaver.[4]

Hogs and domestic fowls were probably tabooed at first because strange to the Indians and in the case of the hog because it is a heavy, awkward looking animal and might communicate such properties to the eater.

"When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the temple, he was indeed re-admitted to his usual privileges." [5]

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[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 133.
[2] Ibid., p. 135.
[3] Ibid., pp. 136-138.
[4] Ibid., p. 132.
[5] Ibid., p. 133.

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From want of any independent information on this point this must be left without comment. Of course, Adair is anxious to make the most of such a taboo in his desire to establish a Hebrew origin for his red friends, and this is naturally extended to the opossum, after which the Indians named the hog. Still, what he says may be true, that "several of the old Indians assure us, they formerly reckoned it as filthy uneatable an animal, as a hog."[6] The instances which Adair gives in proof of the existence of these taboos all tend to prove that they abstained from them generally for fear of some disease or limitation which the animal might communicate. He says that they abstained from swallowing flies, mosquitoes, or gnats because they believed that they bred sickness or worms, "according to the quantity that goes into them."[7] Upon one occasion Adair shot a small fat hawk which he strongly importuned an old woman to take and dress, but although there was no meat of any kind in camp, "she, as earnestly refused it for fear of contracting pollution, which she called the 'accursed sickness,' supposing disease would be the necessary effect of such an impurity."[8] Again he says that "they abhor moles so exceedingly that they will not allow their children even to touch them for fear of hurting their eye-sight; reckoning it contagious."[9]

Other food taboos mentioned by Adair are against eating an animal that had died of itself, a young animal newly weaned, and blood. The first of these may be commended as a taboo of real medicinal value and the reason given by themselves, that the animal might have died of a contagious disease, is just as valid to-day. Adair has the following to say regarding this taboo.

"None of them will eat any animal whatsoever, if they either know, or suspect that it died of itself. I lately asked one of the women the reason of throwing a dung-hill-fowl out of doors, on the cornhouse; she said, that she was afraid, *Oophe Abeeka Hakset Illeh*,[9a] 'it died with the distemper of the mad dogs,' and that if she had eaten it, it would have afflicted her in the very same manner. I said, if so, she did well to save herself from danger, but at the same time, it seemed she had forgotten the cats. She replied, 'that such impure animals would not contract the accursed sickness, on account of any evil thing they eat; but that the people who ate of the flesh of the swine that fed on such polluting food, would certainly become mad.'

"In the year 1766, a madness seized the wild beasts in the remote woods of West-Florida, and about the same time the domestic dogs were attacked with the like distemper; the deer were equally infected. The Indians in their winter's hunt, found several lying dead, some in a helpless condition, and others fierce and mad. But though they

[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 16.
[7] Ibid., p. 131.
[8] Ibid., pp. 130-131.
[9] Ibid., p. 133.
[9a] Ofi abeka hakset illih.

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are all fond of increasing their number of deer-skins, both from emulation and for profit, yet none of them durst venture to flay them, lest they should pollute themselves, and thereby incur bodily evils. The headman of the camp told me, he cautioned one of the *Hottuk Hakse*, who had resided a long time at Savannah, from touching such deer, saying to him *Chehaksinna*, 'Do not become vicious and mad,' for *Isse Hakset Illehtàhah*, 'the deer were mad, and are dead'; adding, that if he acted the part of *Hakse*, he would cause both himself, and the rest of the hunting camp to be spoiled; nevertheless he shut his ears against his honest speech, and brought those dangerous deerskins to camp. But the people would not afterward associate with him; and he soon paid dear for being *Hakse*, by a sharp splintered root of a cane running almost through his foot, near the very place where he first polluted himself; and he was afraid some worse ill was still in wait for him."[10]

Adair is also very insistent regarding the blood taboo, and cites the case of a woman who believed "she had *Abeeka Ookproo*, 'the accursed sickness,' because she had eaten a great many fowls after the manner of the white people, with the *Issish Ookproo*, 'accursed blood,' in them." Afterwards she would never eat fowls unless they had been bled to death.[11] This must also be left unverified. While there was probably truth in it it is doubtful whether it had the importance attributed to it by Adair, who is again anxious to make a point for his Hebrew theory. The taboo against eating a newly weaned animal is probably correct, since one kind of disease was traced to such an animal in later times, as we shall presently see. Adair says that the old men not merely refrained from eating it but thought "they would suffer damage, even by the bare contact."[12] He also cites instances of Indians refusing to eat with the traders for fear of pollution,[13] but this was less on account of the whites themselves than what might be contained in their dishes. Taboos were so numerous with the old time Indians that parallels with the taboos of any other nation could be found without a great deal of difficulty.

A few miscellaneous beliefs bearing upon taboos may be added, obtained principally from the Natchez doctor so frequently quoted.

If a hunter ate the head of a turkey, gnats and similar flying insects would come about him so closely and in such numbers as to interfere with his vision.

If he ate the tail of a deer the deer would become wild and the hunter could not approach them.

Nothing half cooked and nothing young was to be eaten, nor should one wash his face with soap or bathe in warm water. On

[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 131-132. Chickasaw words: *hóttàk hakse; chihaksinna; isi hakset illitoha.*
[11] Ibid., p. 135. Chickasaw words: *abeka okpulo; issish okpulo.*
[12] Ibid., p. 136.
[13] Ibid., pp. 133-134.

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the contrary he must go to cold running water in the morning, even though it were covered with ice, and, breaking the ice, if necessary, plunge into that. He must go in when daylight first showed itself and remain until the sun was up.[13a] This, of course, applies to the baths universally taken in the Southeast every morning and may be overdrawn in details.[14] 784 262

An individual taboo of my informant, or means of obtaining luck, was to drink from a cup held in his right hand while he faced the east. 789

The Natchez and Cherokee ate their food cold, believing it was better for their teeth. 262

Breaking wind was associated with manliness. 514

Among the Creeks I was told that when a story-teller finished his narrative he would spit, and then another would have to contribute a story in return, and in this way the cue was taken up by one after another "until the children went to bed." 538

MUSIC AND DANCING[14a]

Their musical instruments were the drum, rattle, and a kind of flute. Adair makes mention of a stringed instrument, and the mere notice of this would be important if we could prove that it was truly aboriginal. Pope speaks of the Indians in his time dancing for several hours to the music of the violin; but if so, this was a late innovation. The flute was used only by individuals and was never employed in ceremonies, as was constantly the case with the drum and rattle. The Alabama flute was made of two pieces of cedar hollowed out and fastened together with buckskin. There were six holes along the sides toward one end and on top toward the other was placed a separate piece of cedar covering two additional holes. All were bound with buckskin at frequent intervals. Flutes were sometimes made of cane. It may be said of the drum and rattle that the one was an almost invariable and the latter a very frequent accompaniment of their dances. 534

The drum was made by sawing off a cypress knee close to the ground and stretching a buckskin over the wide end (pl. 13, *a*). This buckskin was wet from time to time to make it sound properly. Anciently an earthen pot was also employed, and in later times they resorted to a keg partly filled with water and covered with buckskin or cowhide. The rattle was made of a gourd containing 30 or 40 small pebbles, with a stick about a foot long run through it as a handle. In later times a coconut was substituted for the gourd. The chief of the Mikasuki remembered to have heard of still another kind of

[13a] Or as another informant expressed it, "from the second call of the crow until sun up."

[14] See pp. 365-368.

[14a] The interested reader should consult "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," by Frank G. Speck, in Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1911.

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These colors were for appearance only; they had no religious or other significance. The silver crowns and the pouches hung at the side and fastened by straps over the opposite shoulder were worn only at dances, except that the last were taken when traveling or going to town. New buckskin leggings were also worn at dances, but the handkerchief turbans were worn all of the time. The silver gorgets were generally assumed only for dances, but occasionally old ones were carried about at all times. While the hair was always made into four braids the beaded ornaments at the ends were for festivals or when the owner was going to town. 535 [302]

Two of these dances, the horned-owl dance and the snake dance, were never performed by the Alabama in June, July, or August, because in both they followed a serpentine course like that of a snake and people feared that those reptiles would be offended with them and bite them. The horned-owl dance is said to have been danced only in September. Every night, after these dances were over, the participants put their feet up to the fire so that the snakes could not see to bite them, and they warmed their hands and rubbed their eyes with them so that they themselves could see the snakes easily and would not step on them. The snake dance was danced a long time ago. All that I can add regarding it is Jackson Lewis's statement that it was danced entirely by women, and an implication on the part of Swan that the leader of this dance carried a wooden snake in his hands, but what Lewis said does not seem to be in agreement with what my Alabama informant had heard. [784]

The horned-owl dance was evidently a greater favorite and was danced more frequently, and it was connected with those feasts to which reference has already been made. To summon people to this dance a man went around on horseback—sometimes accompanied by a second—carrying in his hands a peculiar baton. This was made of a cane about 12 feet long, at the outer end of which was a hoop made of hickory, white oak, or some other suitable wood. About five deer tails, and sometimes a loaf of bread, were fastened to this. Bearing it, he visited every house to make the announcement. 535 574

The horned-owl dance was always in September. There was no drummer but one old man walked about perhaps 10 feet from the fire shaking a rattle and singing, while the men and women danced around the fire inside sinistrally. The rattler was also song leader; the men sang with him but the women did not sing. There was no definite order in which the men and women danced, except that one man did not immediately follow another. Each man held a handkerchief by one corner and a woman following held the opposite corner of the handkerchief. If another woman, or other women, danced beside her, they held her by the elbows. The dancers were

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This dance was known to Zachariah Cook and William Berryhill and the latter gave the following account of it which shows that it was the same thing and was known over the entire Creek country: 535 574

The men started out to hunt while the women were making bread. If the men brought home a deer the first day they gave it to the women who cooked it and put the flesh into the meat house. That night they danced, and they did the same thing four days in succession, putting what they killed each day into the meat house. Then they sacked the bread and meat up, and the women carried the sacks into the square and danced with them on their backs—though it was rather hard work. After the dance they handed these sacks to the male waiters, who distributed them to everyone in the town. Enough was usually left to supply the visitors among the various camps—i. e., those who happened to be in the town camping about the square, not persons especially invited. Then they usually dispersed, eating their food at once or carrying it with them. This dance was danced just after all the snakes were supposed to have gone into their holes for the winter. They would not dance it in summer lest the snakes should bite them. The words of the song were like this: Dje'hose djehō'se yū'liwá yuhe'á.

Conversely from the custom with regard to the last two, the Alabama avoided dancing the bear dance in winter, for they went hunting then and they were afraid if they did so a bear would catch and hurt one of them or one of their dogs. This dance was always at night, the music being furnished by a drummer and a singer, the latter without a rattle. The dancers circled about the fire in single file, men and women alternating and pawing at the air with their hands in imitation of the bear. [784].

Nearly all of these dances were at night, but the bison dance was, among the Alabama, always held in the morning before sunrise, though it could be performed at any time of the year. One man stood near the fire and furnished the music by beating on a drum and singing while the participants ran around the fire very rapidly and at a certain beat of the drum all shouted. This agrees with what Zachariah Cook says of this dance as seen by him. He states they went two and two around the fire and at a certain beat came down together on the ground with both feet. The dance would seem to have been brought by the Alabama from their old home, for they say that when they came to east Texas there were no bison there.[18]

[18] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277. It was made the subject of a painting by Mr. J. M. Stanley, which was one of those destroyed in the Smithsonian fire. He has the following note regarding it: "This dance is enacted every year during the season of their busk or green-corn dances; and the men, women, and children all take an active part in the ceremony. They invest themselves with the scalp of the buffalo, with the horns and tail attached, and dance about in a circle, uttering sounds in imitation of the animal they represent, with their bodies in a half-bent position, supporting their weight upon their ball-sticks, which represent the forelegs of the buffalo."—Smithson. Misc. Colls., no. 53, p. 10. He is the only observer mentioning the participation of children.

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726 [796] holy consecrated herbs and roots for three days and nights, sometimes without any other refreshment. This is to induce the deity to guard and prosper them, amidst their impending dangers. In the most promising appearance of things, they are not to take the least nourishment of food, nor so much as to sit down, during that time of sanctifying themselves, till after sunset. While on their expedition, [785] they are not allowed to lean themselves against a tree, though they may be exceedingly fatigued, after a sharp day's march; nor must they lie by, a whole day to refresh themselves, or kill and barbecue deer and bear for their war journey. The more virtuous they are, they reckon the greater will be their success against the enemy, by the bountiful smiles of the deity. To gain that favorite point, some of the aged warriors narrowly watch the young men who are newly initiated, lest they should prove irreligious, and prophane the holy fast, and bring misfortunes on the outstanding camp. A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youthful days observed one of their religious fasts, but under the greatest suspicion of his virtue in this respect, though he had often headed them against the common enemy: during their three days purification, he was not allowed to go out of the sanctified ground, without a trusty guard, lest hunger should have tempted him to violate their old martial law, and by that means have raised the burning wrath of the holy fire against the whole camp. Other particulars of this sacred process for war, have been related in their proper place.

"When they have finished their fast and purifications, they set off, at the fixed time, be it fair or foul, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, as they march.[99] The war-leader goes first, carrying the supposed holy ark: he soon strikes up the awful and solemn song before mentioned, which they never sing except on that occasion. The rest follow, in one line, at the distance of three or four steps from each other, now and then sounding the war whoo-whoop, to make the leader's song the more striking to the people. In this manner they proceed, till quite out of the sight, and hearing of their friends. As soon as they enter the woods, all are silent; and, every day they observe a profound silence in their march, that their ears may be quick to inform them of danger: their small black eyes are almost as sharp also as those of the eagle, or the lynx; and with their feet they resemble the wild cat, or the cunning panther, crawling up to its prey. Thus they proceed, while things promise them good success; but, if their dreams portend any ill, they always obey the supposed divine intimation and return home, without incurring the least censure. They reckon that their readiness to serve their country,

[99] "To this day, a war-leader, who, by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always sanctifies himself, and his outstanding company, at the end of the old moon, so as to go off at the appearance of the new one by daylight; whereas, he who has not sufficiently distinguished himself must set out in the night."—Adair, pp. 99-100.

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showing that they, like the wearer of the fox skin, can conquer them. 756
A person who can cure a snake bite also has a tobacco pouch made of opossum skin, because an opossum can kill and eat a snake like a fox. In early times these men were always preparing young people for war, and, as much of this work had to be done at night, fine eyesight was requisite. The old teacher also taught his pupil how to trail and locate an enemy and he believed he was teaching him how to acquire extraordinary vision at night. That was why the latter used an owl feather.

When the novice fasted it was expected that he would have a 756
dream (or vision). Lewis himself dreamed that a very clear, beauti- 787
ful day had dawned upon him and a number of white birds were coming toward him. When his teacher heard it he said, "That is a very good sign, a clear day and white birds. You will be a good doctor of gunshot wounds."

The only other account of this poskita known to me is the following, 756
from Hawkins: 785

"At the age of from fifteen to seventeen, this ceremony is usually performed. It is called Boos-ke-tau, in like manner as the annual Boosketau of the nation. A youth of the proper age gathers two handsfull of the Sou-watch-cau, a very bitter root, which he eats a whole day; then he steeps the leaves in water and drinks it. In the dusk of the evening, he eats two or three spoonfuls of boiled grits. This is repeated for four days, and during this time he remains in a house. The Sou-watch-cau has the effect of intoxicating and maddening. The fourth day he goes out, but must put on a pair of new moccasins (Stil-la-pica). For twelve moons, he abstains from eating bucks, except old ones, and from turkey cocks, fowls, peas and salt. During this period he must not pick his ears, or scratch his head with his fingers, but use a small stick. For four moons he must have a fire to himself, to cook his food, and a little girl, a virgin, may cook for him; his food is boiled grits. The fifth moon, any person may cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one spoon and pan. Every new moon, he drinks for four days the possau, (button snakeroot,) an emetic, and abstains for these days, from all food, except in the evening, a little boiled grits, (humpetuh hutke.) The twelfth moon, he performs for four days, what he commenced with on the first. The fifth day, he comes out of his house, gathers corn cobs, burns them to ashes, and with these, rubs his body all over. At the end of this moon, he sweats under blankets, then goes into water, and this ends the ceremony. This ceremony is sometimes extended to four, six, or eight moons, or even to twelve days only, but the course is the same.

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756 "During the whole of this ceremony, the physic is administered
785 by the Is-te-puc-cau-chau thluc-co, (great leader,) who in speaking of a youth under initiation, says, 'I am physicing him,' (Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to-misce-cha,) or 'I am teaching him all that is proper for him to know,' (nauk o-mul-gau e-muc-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha.) The youth, during this initiation, does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a like course with himself, and if he dreams, he drinks the possau." [88]

Those who had gone through with this training were held in high esteem, and there appears to have been no fast for persons not intending to become doctors except at the great annual ceremony.
756 In lore of this kind the Shawnee are believed to be very rich. The
791 following quotation from Adair shows that, in spite of Lewis's claim that this ordeal was peculiar to the Creeks, a similar institution existed among the Chickasaw, except that admission was secured through inheritance:

"*Ishtohoollo* is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest: those friend-towns, which are firmly confederated in their exercises and plays, never have more than one *Archi-magus* at a time . . . They, who have the least knowledge of Indian affairs, know, that the martial virtues of the savages, obtains them titles of distinction; but yet their old men, who could scarcely correct their transgressing wives, much less go to war, and perform those difficult exercises, that are essentially needful in an active warrior, are often promoted to the pontifical dignity, and have great power over the people, by the pretended sanctity of the office" . . . [89]

It appears that this order of "magi" were the custodians not only of medical secrets but of secrets supposed to be of value in warfare, of the sacred myths, and of various branches of learning.

At the head of the priesthood in each town was the hilis-haya or "medicine maker," who communicated the necessary spiritual qualities to the medicines at the annual busk, had general charge of the public health, protected all from ghosts, and so on. While fitness was regarded rather than descent in selecting this high priest, some towns at least preferred to take him from a certain clan, oftenest the clan of the miko. According to the last miko of Chiaha the medicine maker of that town was elected for four years only, at the end of which period he might be reelected or displaced. Speaking of the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century, Adair says: "the title of *old beloved men*, or *archimagi*, is still hereditary in the *panther*, or *tyger family*." [90] Bartram calls this functionary the "high priest." The Creeks "have," he says, "an ancient high-priest, with juniors in

[88] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 78-79.
[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 81.
[90] Ibid., p. 31.

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their reward here, positions of esteem in the tribe, plenty to eat and wear, and plenty of enemies to kill, for the Creek social system rewarded so well in this world virtue of the kind these Indians recognized that it was not necessary to postpone all enjoyment of it to an uncertain hereafter.[90] 775

Bartram adds that according to native belief not merely man but every living creature had a spirit or soul that could exist apart from the body and that some had reported that "a pattern or spiritual likeness of everything living, as well as inanimate, exists in another world."[91] This, of course, is true of practically all primitive peoples, the only question being whether the term "other world" may be properly applied here.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Dreams and visions seen in trances were one means of learning about the spirit world, and they were very generally credited. Bartram says: "They relate abundance of stories of men that have been dead or thought dead for many hours and days, who have revived again, giving an account of their transit to and from the world of souls, and describing the condition and situation of the place and spirits residing there."[91] A curious expression was used by the Creeks when they were about to go to bed. They would say Posâlkân hoboyălănăs, "I am going to hunt a dream." If a man made a noise like an animal in his sleep those who heard him would say "that is his sleep (or dream) [inutcká, his sleep; imboitcka or imposâlga, his dream]. If any person in a family dreamed of fire it foreboded sickness, especially bilious fever, and all of them took miko hoyanîdja and afterwards dipped in the creek four times. If they happened to have no medicine they at least bathed. 787

When a person sneezed it was supposed that someone was saying something good about him, and he would remark "Oh yes, that is what they always say about me." There is a jesting relation regarding a man who began sneezing and kept repeating the above words, while he was really coming down with pneumonia. Next day, when his friends were asked about him, they said: "Yes, some one was saying something good about him yesterday, and now we are afraid we are going to lose him." 827

According to a Natchez informant, sneezing when eating meant that one would hear of a death; also that someone was talking about him. If one sneezed when he had pneumonia it was a sign he would get well.

When it began to rain after a dry spell the old Creeks would not take things in under cover too hurriedly lest the rain should stop. 821

[90] For some further light on this subject see the section on burial customs, pp. 389-396 in the preceding paper.

[91] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 27.

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526 578 177 this way, and the same fate befell one started between the Eufaula and Abihka towns. In the latter case the very first time the ball was thrown up a free fight began which lasted three hours, and, according to report, the county sheriff and his deputies were utterly unable to stop it.

526 Sometimes the parties to a ball game had to march some distance to reach the place agreed upon for the encounter. When that was the case they would go by easy stages, hold a rally in the evening, the night before, and dance all night. I have one account which states that they held such a dance the first evening, reached the place appointed the next day, held another dance there, and then began the game. A great amount of property was wagered on the outcome of one of these games by both men and women, who would even strip clothing off of their bodies for that purpose.

It is to be observed that the Indian attitude with reference to the goals is just opposite to that taken by white men in their games, for with us the idea is to drive the ball through the enemy's goal, but the Indian considered that he was bringing the ball home to his own goal.

526 802 Among the Texas Alabama the method of counting points was different from that used by the Creeks, but it was probably a later innovation. There a straight line was drawn and transverse marks made on one side of this for one party and on the other side for the other party, twelve constituting the game. Figure 105 will illustrate.

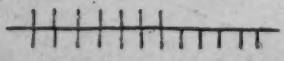

FIG. 105.—Alabama method of recording scores in the ball game

526 788 I will now give an account of a practice game between Łapłiko Indians witnessed by myself in 1913. We drove from Wetumka Sunday afternoon, July 27, and found the Indians seated on logs around the dance ground while the medicine maker at the other end was blowing into the medicine (pl. 7, *b*). There were two tubs, each said to contain miko hoyanīdja, but each treated differently by the doctor, so that the men drank from both. He did his work very deliberately, sitting motionless for a long time and afterwards taking some time in blowing into the medicine. He probably did this four times, though we did not watch him long enough to be certain. He sat facing the east. After that the yatika made an announcement and all went to the medicine, formed two rows, facing east, and took the medicine in the usual manner, afterwards vomiting it out, though some did not choose to take it (pl. 7, *c*). Before and during this ceremony the chief held in his hand a short stick on the end of which was fastened two balls and a bunch of small sticks. The last were the scoring sticks; the former comprised a large ball with which they were going to play next day and a smaller ball, the "chief ball" above mentioned, used when one side has scored three goals. It is said that each side

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has such a ball but I saw only one. When they went to take medicine each player took his ball sticks and belt down from the rack, on which they were hung in pairs, and when his turn came to take medicine each first poured a little upon these. The chief led and poured a little upon the balls. When all were through and had gotten back to their seats announcement was made that the players would be scratched. This was done on the west side of a large oak tree west of the medicine man's position. Each player in turn placed one hand on the tree and raised one leg at a time to the scratcher who scratched him four times on the back of the calf and four times on the thigh in front just deep enough to draw blood. He was also scratched four times on the upper arms and four times on the lower arms. 526 788

Meanwhile the medicine maker was treating more medicine, water having been brought by water boys, and soon after the scratching was completed they took medicine again. Previously, a number of boys had been sent to get wood for the fire to be built up that night, although a fire had been smoldering in the middle of the dance ground all the afternoon. After they had taken medicine for the last time the fire was poked up a little. The yatika, who was a Tukabahchee Indian, now made a short speech, when all ran and got their ball sticks, and marched around a little tree that had been set up near the medicine. After circling about it a few times they filed off to the stream and bathed. Some time later they came back and were dismissed to supper with another short speech. After supper they danced the "old dance" four times when the dance became free to all, both men and women joining in. Dancing continued almost all night.

On the day of the ball game, July 28, 1913, we reached the grounds about 8 a. m. The two sides were already made up. After waiting to see that all were present, each side went off by itself and held a council. Then each leader made a speech and they filed off to dress for the game. Presently they came back, part retaining their "store clothes," part wearing only the breechclout and belt with perhaps a feather in the hair. One or two had red paint on their faces and at least one wore a tiger tail strapped straight up along his back. Each party walked to its own goal and circled about it for a few minutes, shouting. Then they lined up across the center and after some parley threw down their sticks opposite each other to see that the numbers were even. Then they went to their appointed places, the ball was thrown up, and the game began. The sides were called simply "East" (hasosa) and "West" (akalatka) and the two scorers, each marking up for one side, sat on the south side of the grounds. As the game proceeded the enthusiasm increased, the rival sides shout- 526

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a. Box for tobacco, medicine, and drum in the Chiefs' Bed

b. Rite of the emetic

THE OKCHAI BUSK

P. 588 (c)

[788]

796

788 Creek NN11

[For descriptions of ritual seating arrangements in square grounds, see category 621]

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614 171 One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tápàsàná', with that for daddy-longlegs, tápohàlà. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

PHRATRIES

615 It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogàlgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcàlgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the [609 Potato. This was not to because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the •789] Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogàlgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In ~~important~~ busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanàlgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanàlgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 3[illegible].
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 1[illegible].
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 1[illegible]; vol. IX, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

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"It is an established rule, that pregnant women be entirely alone at the time of delivery; and this rule is rigidly adhered to. Nature seems to have fortified them with strength to undergo the operation without assistance. On the 12th of December, 1790, four women came from the white ground, ten miles from Little Tallassie, to sell horse-ropes to the beloved man. The day was cold and rainy, with a sleet of snow; they stayed all night. About midnight, one of them, a young woman, was taken in travail; her mother was with her, and immediately ordered her to take some fire and go into the swamp, about thirty rods from the out-house where they slept. She went alone, was delivered of her child, and at ten o'clock next morning, being bare-footed and half naked, took the infant on her back, and returned home through the rain and snow, which still continued to fall, without the least inconvenience. 844

"This circumstance, had I not been present and seen the woman with the infant on her back, I might have been doubtful of its possibility."[82]

Romans says: "The women are just as easily delivered as those of the other savages, and immediately after birth the infant is plunged into cold water."[83]

According to Jackson Lewis a prospective mother was not allowed to eat at the same table as the rest of the family. 843

Virility was a matter of pride with Creek men—the more children they had the better—and Adair says that the Indians of his acquaintance entertained "a contemptible opinion of their females that are barren—sterility they consider as proceeding from the divine anger, on account of their conjugal infidelity."[84] 842

Among many tribes twins were held in abhorrence and one of them was frequently killed, but Mr. Grayson informed me that the Creeks anciently considered the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient kila or prophet. 845

Sometimes the child was kept from nursing for four days and was made to swallow certain small roots to make it live long. The same effect was produced by keeping it indoors four months so that no one could see it. 846 789

Adair has the following to say regarding the sympathetic magic practiced on Chickasaw babies in order to insure them good fortune:

"Their male children they chuse to raise on the skins of panthers, on account of the communicative principle, which they reckon all nature is possessed of, in conveying qualities according to the regimen that is followed: and, as the panther is endued with many qualities, beyond any of his fellow animals in the American woods, as smelling,

[82] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[83] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 72.

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846 strength, cunning, and a prodigious spring, they reckon such a bed
789 is the first rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; these they lay on the skins of fawns, or buffalo calves, because they are shy and timorous: and, if the mother be indisposed by sickness, her nearest female relation suckles the child, but only until she recovers." [36]

539 The following cradle songs are from the Tuggle collection, but the phonetics have been modernized, and the translations corrected in some places.

I

FIRST VERSION

No'tcàlit o	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit o	That is what we say
Tcl'tckit o	Your mother
Lutca tàko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit o	Hunting
Ayá'nkit o	Went
Notci, notci.	Sleep, sleep.

SECOND VERSION

No'tcàlit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	That is what we say
Telpo'sl	Your grandmother
Lutca tàko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit	Hunting
Ayá'nkit	She went
Sha'la ka'lis	She would come back [with]
Maka'tcukin	That is what she says
[Łalaka'li] istce'	The end ("Like Selah")

THIRD VERSION

Notca	Go to sleep!
Notca	Go to sleep!
Notcá'lit	It will go to sleep
Tcl'ikit	Your father
Ma'kit ayunks	That is what he said and went
Notcá'lit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	He said
Lutca ho'poxàn	Terrapin hunting [he has gone]
Notcá'lit	It will go to sleep

[36] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 420-421.

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726 Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present
302 day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war[49] but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

726 Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow
789 feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To conteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as ina hĭta, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

701 Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.[49a] They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called hobayi mi'ko, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as tăstănăgi lăko. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the hobayutci, "little-far-away." Third came the tăstănăk hobayi, "far-away-warrior," fourth the tăstănăkutci, "little warrior," fifth the lihomăhti or "trailer," and sixth the lĭhomahtŭtci, or "little trailer." These two last were

[49] Milfort, Mém., pp. 32-34.

[49a] See p. 367 and also pp. 617-629 in the second paper of this volume.

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776 There is also a bird called so'datcà'kalà which never looks toward the earth but always straight up into the sky. It makes a noise like a woodpecker, and my informant thought he had heard it at times in the dead hours of the night far up in the air.

Another bird is like a woodpecker but much larger. It lives in pine forests, but the old doctors when they made medicine, and had occasion to refer to it, sang of it as if it originated in the skies. These two last may be real creatures, the former the "sun gazer," the latter a woodpecker.

There was said to be a little deer about 2 feet high and either speckled like a fawn or white, but it differed from a fawn in having very lofty horns. This is called "the chief deer." My informant claimed to have killed one of these.

The water king deer (Wiofû'tc miko) is mentioned as causing certain diseases, and Speck's informant attributed others to the "sky-hog" and the "wolf-in-the-water."

There is also mention of the "spirit of war," which appears to have been in human shape.

Besides the above, in the doctoring formulæ and in the myths we hear of a cat-like creature called isti-papa, "man-eater." This is usually identified with the "lion," while the panther is commonly referred to as a "tiger." It is possible that the conception may have come in after white contact, but on the other hand it might preserve a memory of the jaguar which anciently came as far north as the Brazos River and probably to the Mississippi. The Alabama identify the "man-eater" (Ala. atipa-tcoba) with the elephant, of which they had of course no knowledge until late times.

Alabama Indians also told of certain beings with penises so long that they reached high up into the trees; they were in the habit of striking the trees with these and the noise resulting could be heard for long distances.

The monsters of Muskhogean legend frequently trail their intended victims by means of a roller which is spoken of as if it were endowed with a conscious or semiconscious life of its own. It is described in one place as about 3 inches in diameter and the idea of it is evidently derived from the roller formerly used in the chunkey game.[53a]

CHARMS

778 789 Among these objects, which are rather means of securing supernatural help than active helpers themselves, the sabia were the most important, and they are said to be known to all of the Five Civilized Tribes. I have heard of them personally among the Creeks, Alabama, and Natchez. They were very small objects looking like crystals and when properly treated would bring the possessor success in any

[53a] See p. 436 in the preceding paper.

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emergency of life, in public speaking and in war, but particularly in hunting and in love. If the owner of a sabīa asked for a thing he would never be refused. The Texas Alabama claim that with them it was only a love charm and had nothing to do with hunting. However, it was a saying that anything that will charm a deer will charm a woman. The word is said to convey the impression of a group of men starting off carrying some particular article, but its origin may have had nothing to do with this. The best account of it was obtained from Jackson Lewis, and in substance it is as follows:

There are different kinds of sabīa—white, blue, red, yellow, and one that is nearly black. All have a luster like that of glass except the black, which looks like the graphite of a lead pencil. The red and yellow sabīa are considered the strong ones or the males; the white and blue are the females. If one sits down and watches them a moment they gleam and flash as if they were live things moving about. Lewis owned a white sabīa and also a blue one for a long time but sold them when he partially lost his eyesight. Upon one occasion he took one of these out, laid it upon the table, and was about to touch it with the point of his penknife when it sprang off to a distance of 2 or 3 feet like a thing alive. According to tradition sabīa and the knowledge of how they should be used came from the Yamasee, so that in singing the long song which goes with them, but is not used much on account of its sacredness, the word Yamasee continually occurs. The sabīa was kept in a little piece of buckskin along with red paint, and when a man went out hunting he opened this up, took a little red paint out on the end of a match or straw, and put it on his cheek. Then the deer did not seem wild and there was little trouble experienced in finding and shooting them. This is not done until one has gotten a little distance from camp, and the action is accompanied by a song intended to make the deer approach. Another song may be sung to blind the deer after one has seen him so that you can get as near to him as possible before shooting. During the sabīa songs the charm itself is not unwrapped. Some sabīa now in use are said to have been obtained from the Yamasee, while others are reputed to have been borne upon a plant which grows in out-of-the-way places. This plant has minute seeds which fall off when they are ripe and form such crystals. Numerous songs were connected with this charm, and it is said that "one could never finish telling the myths concerning it." Sometimes a sabīa is found whirling around on gravelly or sandy soil and acting as if it were alive

Another man, who claimed merely to have seen imitations of the yellow and blue varieties but not the true sabīa, said that they were so powerful that the owner would not keep one in the house. It was put in the middle of a circular piece of buckskin taken from the flank of a deer and tied up tight until it was to be used. When a

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hunter having one of these failed to kill a deer and the sun was already high in the heavens he untied this charm and held it in his hand so that the rays of the sun might fall upon it. Then he sang a song to it which made it wriggle in the paint. Forthwith the deer would be charmed and would sometimes come straight toward the hunter. This man, it is to be noted, differs from Jackson Lewis regarding the unwrapping of the sabīa. He was less likely to be correct, but on the other hand there were probably many different ways of treatment.

Cook said that unless it is carefully handled and controlled by the right formula the sabīa will injure its owner by exciting him "sexually" or affecting his wife and daughters in the same manner. Therefore it was generally not carried on the person unless its owner was ready for an emergency and had his formula constantly in mind, which makes it entirely safe. It is easily lost, and will jump away quickly. The roots of the sabīa hâlgi ("sabīa wife") were also used as a charm. This is one of the first plants to come out in spring. These charms are still in use, being employed largely as love charms.

Still another informant suggested that the "fox fire" sometimes seen in punk perhaps originated the sabīa idea; the phosphorescent light was associated with the daylight luster of these crystals and hence supposed to be self-derived—i. e., the result of a volitional act on the part of the stone. The following account of the plant and mineral sabīas is from the Tuggle collection:

"A man once went to the woods and remained in solitary meditation for four days. He wandered alone till he heard a soft, low, sweet voice, singing a song. He listened and watched. He saw a beautiful little flower, swaying gracefully back and forth. He knew the song came from the little flower. Around the flower the ground was swept clean. He listened until he had learned the song. Suddenly he felt that he possessed a wonderful power, which he could impart to any object. Any one who had such an object in his possession became lucky. He could succeed in love, in the chase, and in war. Often bits of stone possess this power. The color of these charmed stones is white, red, and yellow. They are called 'Sar-pee-yah.'" [44]

One of the vegetable sabīas was called sabīa hagi ("like a sabīa"). It has a globular root and a white flower, said to be the first flower to appear in spring. When a man discovered such a plant he set up a stake near by to mark it so that he could dig it up when it got big enough. That time having arrived, the prospective owner went to the river and dived into it four times. Then he procured a piece of white buckskin, put some red paint on this, and placed the root on the paint. It was then laid away carefully in a secure, dry place

[44] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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away from the house, for if it were in the latter place the whole family would go wild and act like deer at the rutting season. When the owner wanted to go hunting he took a little paint from around the root and put it on his face, and if he were going far the whole charm could be carried along.

Another sabīa was known as sabīa hátki ("white sabīa"). It has small leaves and a bunch of black berries at the top, and grows to the height of about 1½ feet. If a man chewed a little of this when he was out hunting he would immediately encounter a deer. It also had power to attract women.

The sabīa crystal was, at least by some, believed to come from a plant. This is shown by the following account of this charm taken down by Mr. G. W. Grayson from an Indian doctor, Caley Proctor, the use of which has been kindly allowed me by Mr. Grayson's family.

"The subbea is often found in the bulb of a rare plant. The plant is never found growing abundantly in any locality. It is pulled from the ground and from the bulb is stripped off each outer coating until the center is reached when there will be found something, a very small piece of broken glass, red, amber, or of some other color. It is taken out and put into a small quantity of red paint, and the whole is securely wrapped in a small piece of white dressed buckskin. This is the famous subbea, especially useful in giving luck to hunters who know the song and sing it to the enclosed subbea, or success to him who desires to win the affections of one of the opposite sex."

Jackson Lewis had heard of two other roots used by the Creeks in hunting, though they were not spoken of as sabīas. One he had never seen. The other was a very small plant with a very small bulbous root. The root is rubbed over the eyelashes two ways, horizontally and vertically, when it produces success in hunting. If one has had bad or inauspicious dreams during the night and does not feel encouraged to go out hunting these bulbs will free him of this feeling and "set him up" for the day.

A third root had been obtained from the wild tribes of the west. If one made lines with this one on the face and hands and a straight mark on the bottom of the foot he would have good luck. It would also stop nosebleed. The western Indians claim that when they administer it to a horse about to run a race the horse always wins. Jackson Lewis himself once had a piece of this medicine and testified to its power.

As a charm against snake bite they hung the thigh bone of the highland terrapin about the necks of children.

Adair speaks of a beaded string of bison hair which Indian women tied around their legs as "a great ornament, as well as a preservative against miscarriages, hard labor, and other evils."[66]

[66] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 169.

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When a nail or some similar object was run into the body the red-headed woodpecker called tĭtka was used as a charm to get it out. The "ark" which they carried to war was another kind of charm. When they defeated the French under D'Artaguette they insisted on killing the priests because they believed the articles for the performance of the mass which the latter carried were the French ark and the priests its keepers.[56]

A piece of the horn of a horned snake was one of the greatest charms. Some men claimed that they had been able to charm such a snake by their songs so as to bring it to the bank of the stream, when they obtained a piece of one of its horns. This was kept in a hollow tree or some other place remote from the house lest it should make the children sick.[56a]

An Alabama hunter carried a piece of the root of the wàtola imbàkca ("crane's cord") in his ball pouch, and if he could not find deer he would sing and talk to it, blow upon it, and then chew it. Then he was sure to find and kill the animals.

Bartram speaks of the "physic-nut, or Indian olive" as similarly used, and says: "The Indians when they go in pursuit of deer carry this fruit with them, supposing that it has the power of charming or drawing that creature to them.[57] Although the identification is a little uncertain this seems to be the fruit of the *Triosteum perfoliatum* or "horse gentian."

The early white traders were often so affected by native superstitions regarding charms that they placed unbounded confidence in them themselves. Thus Adair says that he took the foot of a "guinea deer" out of the shot pouch of one of these men "and another from my own partner, which they had very safely sewed in the corner of each of their otter-skin pouches, to enable them, according to the Indian creed, to kill deer, bear, buffalo, beaver, and other wild beasts in plenty." Argument proving unavailing he was constrained to return them to their owners lest an accident might befall them and the blame be laid upon him.[58]

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At times, it would seem, an Indian would turn upon his charm and throw it away if it did not appear to him to be sufficiently active in his behalf. Adair mentions a case in which an Upper Creek Indian burned himself so badly in the fire when under the influence of liquor that he became furiously angry with it, upbraiding it for its treatment of him after all of the food he had given it. It is added that from then on he became godless, though perhaps only with respect to that particular element. Adair says that he had witnessed several instances of "impiety" of like nature.[59]

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[56] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 154-155. See pp. 411-412, 425.
[56a] See p. 429.
[57] Bartram, Travels, p. 41.
[58] Adair, op. cit., p. 239.
[59] Ibid., p. 116. Also see p. 494.

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Magical songs or formulas accompanied the use of most medicines and charms, and very wonderful things were supposed to be accomplished by these. "By a word" a man could stand aside in the warpath and render himself invisible to the enemies. "By a word" a man could even condense the whole world in such a way that he could go around it in four steps. A certain Indian in recent times "conjured" his field and sprinkled it with miko hoyanīdja, and, "while the crops all about were ruined, he had a good harvest." 778 789.

Tribal medicines or palladia such as are often met with in other parts of America were almost unknown to the Creeks unless we include the "ark" or war medicine under this head. Adair and some later writers mention a human figure carved out of wood in one of the upper towns,[60] and I myself was told of a wooden eagle with drops of blood represented issuing from the corners of its mouth which was brought out and planted in front of the miko's bed at Coweta when anything of importance was to be discussed. The Creek chief James Islands spoke of articles used by various towns during the celebration of the busk and held in great reverence, and he instanced large conch shells out of which the Coweta Indians took their black drink. These, he said, they had had for a long time and preserved with great care. But there is no certainty that these things were really palladia. Nevertheless, there is one apparent exception, the famous copper and brass plates preserved by the town of Tukabahchee. Hitchcock says that, in his time, these were kept in a small house which stood by itself tightly shut up, situated near the tcokofa, but at a later period, and apparently at an earlier one also, they were in the sanctuary behind the middle section of the Chiefs' bed. The small detached houses, such as Hitchcock describes, were built in several of the square grounds and I have seen some of them, but I was given to understand that they represented a recent institution, being used probably as a protection against the all-consuming curiosity of the white man. The plates were brought out once annually at the time of the busk and formed the principal feature in one of their dances to be described presently. The first account of them that has come down to us is by, or rather through, Adair and is of the utmost importance. It runs as follows: 778

"In the Tuccabatches on the Tallapoose river, thirty miles above the Allabahamah garrison, are two brazen tablets, and five of copper. They esteem them so sacred as to keep them constantly in their holy of holies, without touching them in the least, only in the time of their compounded first-fruit-offerings, and annual expiation of sins; at which season, their magus carries one under his arm, a-head of the people, dancing round the sacred arbour; next to him their head-warrior carries another; and those warriors who chuse it,

[60] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

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Elsewhere he states that "when in the woods, the Indians cut a small piece out of the lower part of the thighs of the deer they kill, length-ways and pretty deep. Among the great number of venison-hams they bring to our trading houses, I do not remember to have observed one without it."[96] Again "the Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. Sometimes they view it with a pleasing attention, and pretend to draw omens from it. They firmly believe such a method to be a great means of producing temporal good things, and of averting those that are evil.[97] He was informed by those whites who had become used to living in the Indian manner "that the Indian men observe the daily sacrifice both at home, and in the woods, with new-killed venison; but that otherwise they decline it."[97] 782 224

Of course most of these are merely taboos connected with the hunting of deer. Pope says on this point:

"The *Creeks* regularly make a Burnt Offering of what they conceive to be the most delicious Parts of every Animal taken in Hunting, before they presume to taste a Mouthful. The Parts they commit to the Flames are proportioned to the Size of the Animal, probably about 2 or 3 lb. from a *Buffalo*, and still less in a regular gradation down to the smallest Quadrupede, Fish or Bird."[98]

I have no confirmation or contradiction of the gradations of sacrifice here mentioned, but it is well known even to the living Indians that the old people used to put a little food into the fire before eating. The same thing is noticed in Adair's account of the Creek who railed upon the fire for burning him after the good treatment he had given it.[99] One of my informants had seen the Nuyaka Indians "feed the fire" with turkey during their fall festivities accompanied by hunting and ball games. 782 264

TABOOS

The religion of these people, and, as we shall presently see, their medicine, was seamed through and through with the idea that similarity in appearance means similarity in nature, that similarity in one property involves similarity in all the other properties, and that association of any kind will result in communicating properties from one thing or person to another. This is particularly true about things which are taken into the system by eating and drinking, but applies in other ways as well. Adair says on this point: 771 789.

"They believe that nature is possest of such a property, as to transfuse into men and animals the qualities, either of the food they use, or of those objects that are presented to their senses; he who 789 262

[96] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 137-138.
[97] Ibid., p. 115.
[98] Pope, Tour, p. 58.
[99] See p. 484.

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feeds on venison, is according to their physical system, swifter and more sagacious than the man who lives on the flesh of the clumsy bear, or helpless dunghill fowls, the slow-footed tame cattle, or the heavy wallowing swine. This is the reason that several of their old men recommend, and say, that formerly their greatest chieftains observed a constant rule in their diet, and seldom ate of any animal of a gross quality, or heavy motion of body, fancying it conveyed a dulness through the whole system, and disabled them from exerting themselves with proper vigor in their martial, civil, and religious duties." [1]

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A little farther on he tells us that it was customary in all the Indian tribes to eat the heart of a slain enemy "in order to inspire them with courage." He had seen some of their warriors drink out of a human skull in order to "imbibe the good qualities it formerly contained." [2]

This idea is one of the cardinal principles on which their medicine is built and was shared by every tribe in America that has been investigated. Adair introduces it in order to draw a parallel between the taboos of the Israelites and those of the Indians, but most of the Indian instances which he cites are to be accounted for in the way explained by him above or because it was believed that the animal in question would bring on a certain disease, a matter to be elaborated presently. Nevertheless it is worth while to take note of the things from which they abstained in his time, even though we fail to discover in that traces of a Jewish origin. He says that they refused to eat all birds of prey and birds of night, and a little farther on he mentions specifically eagles, ravens, crows, buzzards, swallows, bats, and every species of owl. He also adds flies, mosquitoes, and gnats. They did not eat many carnivorous animals or such as lived on nasty food, as hogs, wolves, panthers, foxes, cats, mice, rats. All beasts of prey except the bear were "unhallowed"—also all amphibious quadrupeds, horses, fowls, moles, the opossum, and all kinds of reptiles.[3] He says that the old traders could remember when they first began to eat beaver.[4]

Hogs and domestic fowls were probably tabooed at first because strange to the Indians and in the case of the hog because it is a heavy, awkward looking animal and might communicate such properties to the eater.

"When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house, or in their quadrangular holy ground at the annual expiation of sins, equally as if he had eaten unsanctified fruits. After the yearly atonement was made at the temple, he was indeed re-admitted to his usual privileges." [5]

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[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 122.
[2] Ibid., p. 123.
[3] Ibid., pp. 130-136.
[4] Ibid., p. 132.
[5] Ibid., p. 123.

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the contrary he must go to cold running water in the morning, even though it were covered with ice, and, breaking the ice, if necessary, plunge into that. He must go in when daylight first showed itself and remain until the sun was up.[13a] This, of course, applies to the baths universally taken in the Southeast every morning and may be overdrawn in details.[14] 784 262

An individual taboo of my informant, or means of obtaining luck, was to drink from a cup held in his right hand while he faced the east. 789

The Natchez and Cherokee ate their food cold, believing it was better for their teeth. 262

Breaking wind was associated with manliness. 514

Among the Creeks I was told that when a story-teller finished his narrative he would spit, and then another would have to contribute a story in return, and in this way the cue was taken up by one after another "until the children went to bed." 538

MUSIC AND DANCING[14a]

Their musical instruments were the drum, rattle, and a kind of flute. Adair makes mention of a stringed instrument, and the mere notice of this would be important if we could prove that it was truly aboriginal. Pope speaks of the Indians in his time dancing for several hours to the music of the violin; but if so, this was a late innovation. The flute was used only by individuals and was never employed in ceremonies, as was constantly the case with the drum and rattle. The Alabama flute was made of two pieces of cedar hollowed out and fastened together with buckskin. There were six holes along the sides toward one end and on top toward the other was placed a separate piece of cedar covering two additional holes. All were bound with buckskin at frequent intervals. Flutes were sometimes made of cane. It may be said of the drum and rattle that the one was an almost invariable and the latter a very frequent accompaniment of their dances. 534

The drum was made by sawing off a cypress knee close to the ground and stretching a buckskin over the wide end (pl. 13, *a*). This buckskin was wet from time to time to make it sound properly. Anciently an earthen pot was also employed, and in later times they resorted to a keg partly filled with water and covered with buckskin or cowhide. The rattle was made of a gourd containing 30 or 40 small pebbles, with a stick about a foot long run through it as a handle. In later times a coconut was substituted for the gourd. The chief of the Mikasuki remembered to have heard of still another kind of

[13a] Or as another informant expressed it, "from the second call of the crow until sun up."

[14] See pp. 525-528.

[14a] The interested reader should consult "Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians," by Frank G. Speck, in Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, no. 2, Philadelphia, 1911.

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garments and ornaments, mentioned under a former argument, page 84, are put on, and then bear's oil is poured upon their head."[3]

Certain things were done to ward off misfortune before any actual ill effects had been experienced—an aboriginal application of the ounce of prevention axiom. Hitci pákpągi, the "old man's tobacco," was kept on hand as a protection against the souls of the dead, and a great deal was paid for it. Some of the busk medicines were carried home to help guard the family from harm during the succeeding year, and just outside of and above the door of one of my informants was hung the adilōga or mixed medicine used at that time, while the other medicine, the miko hoyanīja, was hung just to one side within. This is said to be a common custom with the old-time Indians. At intervals it was thought best to scratch the grown-up men in order to let out bad blood, supposed to have become clogged up inside of them. An Okfuskee Indian told me that he had only recently performed such an operation on 13 men at Nuyaka. These were adults; usually only the young people were scratched.

When a hunting party set out and as soon as it had gotten to the edge of the town, an old man would fall back behind the rest, chew up some sassafras or angelica root, and spit it out toward each of the cardinal points four times. Then he would walk back, singing, and do the same thing four times more. This ceremony was supposed to counteract anything that the spirits of the living might do to injure the hunt by thinking or talking too mich about the hunters or by making sport of them. When they came into the settlement on their return they built a fire in a place apart by themselves and sang and danced the stomp dance there all night to prevent the fires they had lighted during the hunt from creating diseases among the families.[4]

The following performance belongs in the same category as the phenomena just considered.

"In the Summer-season of the year 1746 [says Adair], I chanced to see the Indians playing at a house of the former Mississippi-Nachee, on one of their old sacred musical instruments. It pretty much resembled the Negroe-Banger in shape but far exceeded it in dimensions: for it was about five feet long, and a foot wide on the head-part of the board, with eight strings made out of the sinews of a large buffalo. But they were so unskillful in acting the part of the Lyrick, that the *Loache*, or prophet who held the instrument between his feet, and along side of his chin, took one end of the bow, whilst a lusty fellow held the other; by sweating labour they scraped out such harsh jarring sounds, as might have been reasonably ex-

[3] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 122.

[4] Further information on hunting ceremonies will be found on pp. 444-445.

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pected by a soft ear, to have been sufficient to drive out the devil if he lay anywhere hid in the house. When I afterward asked him the name, and the reason of such a strange method of diversion, he told me the dance was called *Keetla Ishto Hoollo*, 'a dance to, or before, the great holy one;'.[5] that it kept off evil spirits, witches, and wizards, from the red people; and enabled them to ordain elderly men to officiate in holy things, as the exigency of the times required. 789

"He who danced to it, kept his place and posture, in a very exact manner, without the least perceivable variation: yet by the prodigious working of his muscles and nerves, he in about half an hour, foamed in a very extraordinary manner, and discontinued it proportionally, till he recovered himself."[6]

The Indians were and still are satisfied that their system of doctoring is vastly superior to that used by the whites, but the system of white doctoring with which the Indians were formerly familiar can not be said to represent upon the whole a very perfect development of the medical art, and there has been more than one occasion for them to complain like the Chickasaw of Adair's time of the performances of "civilized" surgeons. The success of native remedies was due in part without doubt to the real medicinal virtues of the plants used, in part to the good effects of such a simple assistant as sweat bathing, and perhaps to a greater extent to the power of suggestion. Swan was, however, quite right in saying that the results were not ascertain as had commonly been reported.[7] 755

WEATHER CONTROLLERS

Besides the healers there were men and women who professed to be able to cause rain or drought, to blow away the clouds, or "blow the rain" as they described it. When a storm was coming up an Alabama doctor would blow into his clasped hands, rub them together, and then wave them upward and outward. Then, even if it rained, the wind would not blow. The same person claimed to be able to cause rain or drought. 791

Hitchcock says: "There are people who affect to think they can make it rain and they go to a piece of shallow water and roll and wallow in the muddy water every morning for four mornings in succession. They have a pot of medicine in one hand and a buffalo tail in the other and sing continually for an hour or more. During this time they take black drink every morning."[8]

He also gives some interesting particulars regarding the meteorological activities of Megillis Hadjo, the prophet or kila of Tukabah-

[5] Hila ishto holo, "dance of the spirit or spirits"; hila, "dance"; ishto, "big"; holo, what is "holy, sacred," or "supernatural."

[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 178.

[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.

[8] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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his arts, he was sure to be found out and killed himself by the man's relatives with the same kind of weapon he had seen in his vision. 754

In speaking of doctors I have mentioned the native belief that they owed their power to animals of various kinds, but that if these became too strong they would kill the doctor and leave him. The same idea appears in witchcraft, although my information here is specifically from the Alabama and Koasati. When a man became a witch these Indians believed he was full of lizards, which compelled the person of whom they had possession to kill someone every little while. If he did not they would begin to bite him and would finally devour him. Such a person could be cured, however, by undergoing a treatment to expel the lizards.

After a would-be wizard had completed his course of training, the teacher directed him to begin by killing one of his own family. He gave him medicine and told him to go and do so immediately. If he said he would not kill his own people, the instructor answered "Go on! you said that is what you wanted to do." But if he urged him repeatedly to no purpose, he said, "All right! kill a fox squirrel and bring it here!" After he had done so, the instructor said, "Throw it on top of the house." The wizard-novice did this, and after the body had remained so long that it stank, the other said, "Eat it!" Then the instructor conducted him to a place where there was water and said, "Vomit on the water." So he threw up and discharged lizards until the water was covered. The witching powers went with them.

The Koasati cured a wizard by binding spunk wood all over his chest and belly, taking him to a place where there was water, and rolling him over and over there, when he would throw up lizards in the manner described.

A milder form of witchcraft was that exercised by a man or woman to inspire love in a person of the opposite sex. The following account of such a conjuration is also from the Alabama of Texas. 789

When a youth fell in love he would sometimes, especially if he were rejected, go to a male or female conjurer for assistance. Then the conjurer would take some tobacco, put it into a small deerskin sack, sing, and repeat the girl's name, and blow into it through a short cane. After doing this four times he would wrap it up in a handkerchief and give it to the young man. The latter would then put on his head band and his other fine clothing, sprinkle some tobacco over his clothes, make a cigarette, and blow the smoke all over himself. Then the girl would fall in love with him. A girl could make a man fall in love with her in precisely the same way. Sometimes, however, this would be tried in vain several times. Then the conjurer would go to a small brook and make a little water hole, perhaps half a foot deep. He would blow into this four times through a cane, repeating the girl's name each time. The youth

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789 would then come there, stoop down and drink some of the water, and throw it up again into the pool. He would do this four times. Then he would divide the dam that held the water in this pool and let it all run away. After that he would go to a large creek, remove his clothing, and dive under water four times. Then he would come out and lie in the bushes almost all day (having started out early in the morning) so that no one could see him. About 3 o'clock he started home, avoiding meeting or speaking to anyone. In perhaps a week he would dress himself up as before and go to see the girl he was in love with, who would then fall in love with him. Sometimes, however, the girl's mother would make medicine against him so that he could not succeed in spite of all his efforts.

DISEASES AND REMEDIES

General Remarks

164 To the discussion of this subject I will prefix the following general remarks from Bartram regarding the diseases of the Indians in his time. However superficial, it has the advantage of being the only statement of the kind belonging to an early period from a man competent to express anything like a scientific opinion.

"The Indians seem in general healthier than the whites, have fewer diseases, and those they have not so acute or contagious as those amongst us.

"The small-pox sometimes visits them, and is the most dreaded of all diseases.

"Dysentery, pleurisy, intermittent fevers, epilepsy and asthma, they have at times.

"The hooping-cough is fatal among their children, and worms very frequent. . . .

"They have the venereal disease amongst them in some of its stages; but by their continence, temperance, powerful remedies, skill in applying them, and care, it is a disease which may be said to be uncommon. In some towns it is scarcely known, and in none rises to that state of virulency which we call a *pox*, unless sometimes amongst the white traders who themselves say, as well as the Indians, that it might be eradicated if the traders did not carry it with them to the nations when they return with their merchandise; these contract the disorder before they set off, and it generally becomes virulent by the time they arrive, when they apply to the Indian doctors to get cured." [20]

753 We will now turn to the native conception of diseases and their remedies. This is best illustrated in the abstract by the following myth collected by Dr. Frank Speck from an old Creek medicine man known as Kabitcimala (Kapitca imala), or Laslie Cloud.

[20] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 43-44.

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men who had obtained eagle feathers,[86] and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer. 703 554

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kiła), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mysteries were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries. 756 538 791

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation: 177 888

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[86]

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[86] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 30. [86] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'[16] Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*."[17] 727 796

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay."[18] 791 784

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,[19] but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.[20] In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.[21] Adair continues regarding this matter: 727 782

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

[16] Last year I heard the Chektah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a regular anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evenings, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Mustohogs.—Note by Adair.

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 164-167.

[18] Ibid., p. 182.

[19] Ibid., p. 164.

[20] Ibid. p. 183.

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scouts whose duties were to determine whither the enemy had gone. Seventh and lastly there was an officer known as the minkiso or inki'su, who looked after the supplies—i. e., he was the head of the commissary department. If another tribe had committed some depredation the sufferers would send runners out who uttered a peculiar whoop, and when this was heard the people would meet at some designated spot and these officers would put themselves at their head. Or if some young men desired to go out after scalps they would signify their desire and these officers would head them. 701

As it seems unlikely that so many officers would go out at the same time in order to satisfy the thirst for glory of one or two youths, we are probably to understand that this represents the complete quota of officers for a party of some size. That the leader of every party was ordinarily called hobayi seems to be established by the testimony of Adair[50] and Jackson Lewis. Adair states that he was a kind of temporary war priest, and Jackson Lewis, as above stated, declared that he was always selected from among those men who had received the training of a doctor.[51] Doctor Speck's informant, it will be noticed, distinguishes the hobayi or "hobaya" from the war leader ("*imissi*"), and lays particular emphasis on the religious functions of the former. He is described as "a shaman and prophet," as "a busy man in battle," who "besides carrying the fetishes and administering the emetic . . . had to sing and shout certain songs and formulas which would frighten and confuse the enemy."[52] It is possible that, while the war leader was normally a hobayi, one who had received a doctor's training, there were exceptions, and that, in such cases, for reasons that we can well appreciate, it was thought necessary that a hobayi accompany the expedition. This would account very satisfactorily for the discrepancies between Doctor Speck's description of a war party and the others. 701 791

It will be remembered that Bartram, in his account of the chunkey yard, speaks of two "slave posts" to which captives were tied when they were to be tortured and burned to death.[53] It is doubtful whether the number and position of these was very definite. They are still faintly remembered by some of the old Indians and are said to have been in the shape of war clubs (atasa). It is also recalled that they tied grass about the bodies of the captives and set it on fire. As in the case of the Chickasaw, older captives were usually burned at the stake, and the younger ones adopted unless they had been devoted in advance. 727

[50] See p. 411. Mr. McCombs says that only the mike ranked higher.
[51] See p. 436.
[52] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. ii, p. 118.
[53] See p. 175.

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persons who did not assume to have much supernatural power but were none the less acquainted with remedies and were called in in cases of minor importance. It is likely that such persons existed in almost every large family group and probably they were more often women than men. The old women were naturally the midwives. As with us there were home remedies known to almost every one, still others known only to certain of the old people, and finally medicines and medical processes which were the sole property of the various grades of shamans. 756

The "Knowers"

The principal individuals who combined medical and priestly functions were the kīlas or "knowers," usually called by the whites "prophets," and the priests or doctors proper, known as alektca, or medicine makers, hilis-hays. There were only a few of the former and they are said always to have been men, but the second were more numerous, and had more to do directly with healing. While the kīla might also be a good doctor his work in that line was generally confined to a determination of the kind of disease with which the sick person was afflicted.[86] He might best be described as the diagnostician, though his diagnosis consisted merely in the examination of an article of clothing belonging to the sick man. From this he claimed to be able to determine the nature of the disorder and he sent back word accordingly. Of course, many doctors, partly from having seen so many cases diagnosed by the kīla, would be so expert that they would not ordinarily need to refer to him. The kīla was something of a clairvoyant and probably a juggler also, and about this class many wonderful tales are told. It was thought that the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient kīla. Natchez and Cherokee informants stated that twins would be prophets until they were 8 or 10 years old, when the gift would leave them, but if they were carefully watched they would become prophets when they grew up. My Cherokee interpreter had a brother and sister who were twins. His father, a man often outlawed, said that they frequently warned him of impending trouble. It was thought that triplets might know still more. In one case triplets told their father, who had been acquitted several times before the courts, that the next time he would be hung, and in consequence he took good care to keep out of trouble. It was the kīla who learned events from birds as narrated on page 496. He could foretell death, sickness, or crime, and in the last case he would sometimes send his dogs to punish the offenders. 791 756

[86] The people of Tukabahchee and neighboring towns believed that Megillis Hadjo [mikō hilis hadjo?], the prophet of Tukabahchee, met by Hitchcock in 1842, had control over the elements and could make the weather pleasant or disagreeable. They thought he could see into the future and predict events, and in cases of sickness he was frequently called upon to divine and to define the cause.—Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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It is asserted that a prophet could tell a person where to find a stolen horse; could shorten a road, making it draw together as if it were made of rubber; could make beads, finger rings, or bullets swim on the surface of the water; could throw a bead into the middle of a stream, make it swim toward shore, and cause another bead to swim out to meet it. He could determine whether a person's life was to be long or short by setting up a stake and making another object move toward it "by his power." If this reached the stake, the person's life would be long; if it fell short of it his life would be short.

Near Yahola station, on the Midland Valley Railroad, lived an old kila from whom the station derived its name. He had cleared out spaces around his house said to represent the square grounds of the different Creek towns (pl. 13, *c*).

The Texas Alabama tell of a prophet who stopped rain by fasting and putting medicine on the water of a creek. Another stopped a storm which was brought on when his companion shot a buzzard, mistaking it for a turkey. On another occasion some people were in the middle of a lake and were surrounded on all sides by enemies who had lighted fires all about on the banks so that they could not escape during the night. However, a prophet among the people on the water made it rain, thereby putting out the fires, and enabling them to get through the lines of their enemy. Still another prophet brought on rain in the following manner. He sent a boy out to catch fish, and when they were brought he dived with them to the bottom of a creek and gave them to certain long, horned snakes living there which go under both the water and the land. These snakes are called in Alabama tcinto sáktco and have been described on page 494. Then these snakes made the rain fall. More often, however, rain making is ascribed to a separate set of rain makers.

Although he confounds knowers and shamans, it must be the former to whom Bossu refers in the following words:

"The savages have much confidence in their medicine men; the cabin of the jugglers (jongleur) is covered with skins which serve him as a covering or clothing. He enters it entirely naked and begins to pronounce some words which none understands: it is, says he, to invoke the spirit; after which he rises, cries, is agitated, appears beside himself, and water pours from all parts of his body.

"The cabin shakes, and those present think that it is the presence of the Spirit; the language which he speaks in these invocations has nothing in common with the language of the savages; it is only through a heated imagination that these charlatans have found the means of making it pass for a divine language, it is thus in all times that the most clever have duped the others."[87]

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[87] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. 2, p. 58, note.

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The "Fasters" or Doctors

The doctors or priests—at least a great majority of them—belonged to a class of learned men called isti poskálgi ("fasting men"), already referred to, who had received their training in certain schools of higher learning, if we may so denominate them. This training was called by the same name, pōskita, "to fast," as that given to the great town ceremonial, because in both fasting was an essential element. It was generally undertaken in summer when a person can lie out of doors comfortably and proceeds about as follows, according to Jackson Lewis, who had taken five courses in this aboriginal college. From one to four young men—Lewis did not remember parties of more than four—would go into the town and engage some old Indian who was known to have passed through the course and was prepared to teach them. Then all repaired together to a stream of water, usually a densely wooded creek bottom where they were not likely to be observed. As a further protection they threw together boughs so as to screen themselves still more completely, for during their stay there they did not want to be so much as seen. The "red root," miko hoyanídja, was dug by each candidate, pounded up and put into a pot already provided, and the pot filled with water. Then the instructor came in and blew into the medicine through a cane. After blowing into it and singing over it he went away. This was supposed to give the medicine virtue. Then the novice drank great quantities of medicine at intervals of an hour or more, so arranging it that by noon he would have taken it four separate times. At noon the instructor came back and then began to tell the novice either by words or songs some of the most elementary things he had to learn. After talking for some time he went away. When the sun was just above the western horizon he came back and gave more instruction and left the man in the woods again.

The first thing that would be taught was how to treat gunshot wounds. There were three ways of treating these: (1) For flesh wounds, (2) for bowel wounds, (3) for head wounds. The instructor would tell what to do and what songs to sing in order to give virtue to the medicine they made for the wounds. Then the instructor said, "You sing this. Sing it as I have sung it to you." Sometimes these are merely recited formulas. When the novice had repeated as best he could what the instructor had told him the instructor criticized, and corrected him where he had made mistakes. Then he instructed him again and said, "Now go over it as I have." He did not stop because his pupil had repeated it correctly once but made him go over it often later, because unless it was gone over in just such a manner it would not be effective when used. After this

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756 785 "During the whole of this ceremony, the physic is administered by the Is-te-puc-cau-chau thluc-co, (great leader,) who in speaking of a youth under initiation, says, 'I am physicing him,' (Boo-se-ji-jite saut li-to-misce-cha,) or 'I am teaching him all that is proper for him to know,' (nauk o-mul-gau e-muc-e-thli-jite saut litomise cha.) The youth, during this initiation, does not touch any one except young persons, who are under a like course with himself, and if he dreams, he drinks the possau." [88]

Those who had gone through with this training were held in high esteem, and there appears to have been no fast for persons not intending to become doctors except at the great annual ceremony. In lore of this kind the Shawnee are believed to be very rich. The following quotation from Adair shows that, in spite of Lewis's claim that this ordeal was peculiar to the Creeks, a similar institution existed among the Chickasaw, except that admission was secured through inheritance:

756 791

"*Ishtohoollo* is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest: those friend-towns, which are firmly confederated in their exercises and plays, never have more than one *Archi-magus* at a time . . . They, who have the least knowledge of Indian affairs, know, that the martial virtues of the savages, obtains them titles of distinction; but yet their old men, who could scarcely correct their transgressing wives, much less go to war, and perform those difficult exercises, that are essentially needful in an active warrior, are often promoted to the pontifical dignity, and have great power over the people, by the pretended sanctity of the office" . . . [89]

It appears that this order of "magi" were the custodians not only of medical secrets but of secrets supposed to be of value in warfare, of the sacred myths, and of various branches of learning.

At the head of the priesthood in each town was the hills-haya or "medicine maker," who communicated the necessary spiritual qualities to the medicines at the annual busk, had general charge of the public health, protected all from ghosts, and so on. While fitness was regarded rather than descent in selecting this high priest, some towns at least preferred to take him from a certain clan, oftenest the clan of the miko. According to the last miko of Chiaha the medicine maker of that town was elected for four years only, at the end of which period he might be reelected or displaced. Speaking of the Chickasaw in the middle of the eighteenth century, Adair says: "the title of *old beloved men*, or *archimagi*, is still hereditary in the *panther*, or *tyger family*." [90] Bartram calls this functionary the "high priest." The Creeks "have," he says, "an ancient high-priest, with juniors in

[88] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 78-79.
[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 81.
[90] Ibid., p. 81.

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every town and tribe. The high-priest is a person of great power and consequence in the state. He always sits in council, and his advice in affairs of war is of the greatest weight and importance, and he or one of his disciples always attends a war party." "It sometimes happens," he adds, "that the king is war-chief and high-priest, and then his power is very formidable and sometimes dangerous to the liberty of citizens, and he must be a very cunning man if the tomahawk or rifle do not cut him short." [91]

The following statement by the same writer bears out what Jackson Lewis says regarding the insignia of graduates and adds some details.

"The junior priests or students constantly wear the mantle or robe, which is white; and they have a great owl skin cased and stuffed very ingeniously, so well executed, as almost to represent the living bird, having large sparkling glass beads, or buttons, fixed in the head for eyes; this ensign of wisdom and divination, they wear sometimes as a crest on the top of the head, at other times the image fits on the arm, or is borne on the hand. These bachelors are also distinguishable from the other people by their taciturnity, grave and solemn countenance, dignified step, and singing to themselves songs or hymns, in a low sweet voice, as they stroll about the town." [92]

They were, of course, men who had taken some courses in medicine. Regarding the headdress it is instructive to compare those in some of Le Moyne's drawings of the Florida Indians.[92a]

A graduate in medicine, or at least one of a certain degree, could paint a black circle round each eye when he went out at night. This was in imitation of the markings of the raccoon and signified that he could see anything in the dark. If a man had been killed at night a doctor having this power would paint these circles about his eyes and track the murderer right to his own house. He could see his tracks "like a spider's web" and follow them. One of the means for attaining this ability to see in the dark was by using the "star medicine" (kodjodjámbá hiliswa). According to Silas Jefferson, a man with a "skunk's pouch" was considered a great medicine man capable of charming any kind of animal. There was no uniformity, however, in the costumes worn by doctors. Outside of certain generally understood insignia each dressed to suit himself. One doctor is said to have carried big spiders and snakes about in order to scare people.

Frequent scratchings were resorted to by the medicine men that they might keep in health. A graduate in medicine was not allowed to eat catfish, for if he did it was thought that the fish bones would cause weevil to bore into the beans.

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[91] Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 24. [92a] Le Moyne, Jacques, Narrative, Trans., Boston, 1875.
[92] Bartram, Travels, p. 502.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day."[99]

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have intercourse with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man
[752 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor
727] was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the tcokofa as a means of cure. This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for his services, in skins or cattle."[1] This dangerous side of shamanism is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my informants.[2]

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
791 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

[99] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 123.
[1] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[2] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 52.

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kerchief at a tree up which it ran like a squirrel. His opponent then produced a number of centipedes which ran about everywhere but hurt no one. The first then began to try to reach his antagonist in the shapes of various animals, sometimes burrowing under the earth to get at him. Finally, however, the other created a centipede which bit him in the hand and killed him.

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As noted above, Shawnee doctors were in particular esteem among the Creeks, an esteem shared by all the other peoples in contact with them. Even the Texas Alabama know the reputed powers of Shawnee doctors well and told me the following story regarding the accomplishments of one of them.

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Some Alabama were once traveling along with this doctor. One night they heard what sounded like the whinnying of horses. The Shawnee told them, however, that it was produced by some Comanche Indians, and when day came they discovered four of these Indians in a tree. By his medicine he caused these persons to fall asleep and then tumble to the ground without waking up. In a river bend near by was a great crowd of Comanche, but the Shawnee rendered himself and his companions invisible, so that the Comanche did not see them, and they passed safely on.

It was claimed that when a doctor died all of the medicine he had taken ran away from him in the forms of animals of various kinds, such as lizards and snakes. He died because or when these creatures became too powerful for him. As long as he kept his power over them they remained in him and were his strength. This is from Creek sources and is confirmed in substance by what is said about witchcraft, to which we will turn presently.

The following from Adair leads one to suppose that the medicine maker and other doctors whose positions were official or semiofficial were forced to undergo a special fast and purification before taking their posts, but I have no other evidence regarding it.

"The Indian priests and prophets are initiated by unction. The Chikkasah some time ago set apart some of their old men of the religious order. They first obliged them to sweat themselves for the space of three days and nights, in a small green hut, made on purpose, at a considerable distance from any dwelling; through a scrupulous fear to contracting pollution by contact, or from the effluvia of polluted people—and a strong desire of secreting their religious mysteries. During that interval, they are allowed to eat nothing but green tobacco, nor to drink any thing except warm water, highly imbittered with the button-snake-root, to cleanse their bodies, and prepare them to serve in their holy, or beloved office, before the divine essence, whom during this preparation they constantly invoke by his essential name, as before described. After which, their priestly

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pected by a soft ear, to have been sufficient to drive out the devil if he lay anywhere hid in the house. When I afterward asked him the name, and the reason of such a strange method of diversion, he told me the dance was called *Keetla Ishto Hoollo*, 'a dance to, or before, the great holy one;'[5] that it kept off evil spirits, witches, and wizards, from the red people; and enabled them to ordain elderly men to officiate in holy things, as the exigency of the times required.

"He who danced to it, kept his place and posture, in a very exact manner, without the least perceivable variation: yet by the prodigious working of his muscles and nerves, he in about half an hour, foamed in a very extraordinary manner, and discontinued it proportionally, till he recovered himself."[6]

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The Indians were and still are satisfied that their system of doctoring is vastly superior to that used by the whites, but the system of white doctoring with which the Indians were formerly familiar can not be said to represent upon the whole a very perfect development of the medical art, and there has been more than one occasion for them to complain like the Chickasaw of Adair's time of the performances of "civilized" surgeons. The success of native remedies was due in part without doubt to the real medicinal virtues of the plants used, in part to the good effects of such a simple assistant as sweat bathing, and perhaps to a greater extent to the power of suggestion. Swan was, however, quite right in saying that the results were not ascertain as had commonly been reported.[7]

WEATHER CONTROLLERS

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Besides the healers there were men and women who professed to be able to cause rain or drought, to blow away the clouds, or "blow the rain" as they described it. When a storm was coming up an Alabama doctor would blow into his clasped hands, rub them together, and then wave them upward and outward. Then, even if it rained, the wind would not blow. The same person claimed to be able to cause rain or drought.

Hitchcock says: "There are people who affect to think they can make it rain and they go to a piece of shallow water and roll and wallow in the muddy water every morning for four mornings in succession. They have a pot of medicine in one hand and a buffalo tail in the other and sing continually for an hour or more. During this time they take black drink every morning."[8]

He also gives some interesting particulars regarding the meteorological activities of Megillis Hadjo, the prophet or kiła of Tukabah-

[5] Hila ishto holo, "dance of the spirit or spirits"; hila, "dance"; ishto, "big"; holo, what is "holy, sacred," or "supernatural."

[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 178.

[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.

[8] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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chee town. "In the summer of 1840," he says, "there was a great drought in the country, threatening the destruction of the crops, and the old man was called upon to make it rain. After performing his ceremony for a time he published that he was about to be so successful that the country might be flooded, and he thought it best to desist, which he did. Last winter (1840–41) was very cold and the old man was requested to moderate the weather; the present winter (1841–42) is remarkably mild and the old man explains it by saying that he blew off the cold of last winter so far that it has not come back."[9]

Some interesting particulars regarding rain makers are also given us by Adair. According to him, these persons obtained rain by interceding through their conjurations with "the bountiful holy Spirit of Fire," by which he supposes they referred to the supreme deity of the southern Indians, although in fact it may have been the particular being presiding over thunder.[10] This power of intercession had been established in ancient times and was not exercised merely at the option of its possessor, but was a duty which he owed to the community and which the community could demand from him. If he failed he was likely to be shot dead because it was supposed that he really had the power but refused to exercise it, and was thus an enemy to the state. However, he frequently saved himself by laying the blame upon lay infractions of the sacred regulations or taboos—among them the payments which they owed to him—which rendered his best endeavors unavailing. If the drought were prolonged as much as two years, a council was held at which they did not fail to discover that the trouble was due to persistent violations of the taboos by certain individuals, who were then promptly dispatched. Too much rain might work as much to the harm of the rain maker as too little, Adair instancing a case of a Creek rain maker who was shot because the river overflowed the fields to a great height in the middle of August.[11] These men had a transparent stone "of supposed great power in assisting to bring down the rain, when it is put in a basin of water," and this power was supposed to have been passed down to this one from a stone to which the power had originally been committed. As usual, this stone could not be exposed to the gaze of the vulgar without losing mightily in efficacy.[12] The control of the rain maker extended only to the summer rains and not to those which fell in winter, and it was believed that this was also of supernatural ordination. The summer rain had to be sought for; the winter rain was given unsought. If the seasons were good, the rain maker was paid a certain proportion of each kind of food. It is amusing to note that, like the apologist for obsolescent institutions at the present day, the Chickasaw rain maker with whom Adair conversed took the ground "that though the former beloved speech

[9] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.
[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 85.
[11] Ibid., pp. 85–86.
[12] Ibid., pp. 86–87.

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had a long time subsided, it was very reasonable they should still continue this their old beloved custom; especially as it was both profitable in supporting many of their helpless old beloved men, and very productive of virtue, by awing their young people from violating the ancient laws."[13] 791

There were others who claimed they could make the waters in swollen streams subside, and still another class of dew makers, who could also prevent the dew from falling. If there had been a dry spring someone might say, at the time of the first stomp dance, "There is a dew maker over yonder. Let us invite him to make dew for us." It is said that such a man could not assist anyone, even though he desired to do so, unless he were formally invited. The council having agreed, he would come over and go through with his incantations, and a treat was given him by way of payment. If, after this had been done, it still continued dry at the time of the next stomp dance, it might be suggested that a rain maker be called in. Eakins remarks dryly that "the weather, about the time of the distribution of the annuity, in some parts of the nation, falls under the scrutiny of the physic-makers."[13a] He probably means men of the above class.

According to early writers some doctors claimed to be able to control the thunder and lightning, but we are not informed whether they were a separate class or identical with one of those already mentioned. Bartram was present when a Seminole chief threatened one of the white traders that, if he did not comply with his requests, he would cause the thunder and lightning to descend upon his head and reduce his stores to ashes.

WITCHCRAFT

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The great powers which doctors and graduates of the native schools generally enjoyed, while in theory capable of being exerted for the good of the community and the individuals composing it, might equally well be perverted to their injury or destruction. Jackson Lewis said that the same learned men who acted as instructors in medicine and the lore of the tribe generally could teach witchcraft, but he added that they advised against it, saying that it was only for mischief and that anyone who practiced it would eventually come to a dog's death, because witches were killed. But since such knowledge was known to reside in the great doctors and graduates and it was never certain that it would not be employed, these people were constantly open to suspicion, and, as Swan tells us in the quotation given above, a doctor whose patient died was apt to suffer from the imputation of witchcraft and be put to death himself. An Alabama informant told me that when he was a young man an old woman was accused of being a witch and cut to pieces. This sus-

[13] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 94-94. [13a] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 277

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[For seating arrangements of village officials and religious functionaries in square grounds, see category 621]

[For ceremonial seating arrangements in square grounds, see category 621]

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173 539 [361] were their war talkers (inhulupuna'ya). And behind the house, lying toward the south, they had what they called the tâdjo. It was round; a ridge of earth was about its edge; and in the middle their ball post was erected. It was a source of amusement, and when it became dark they danced there through the night. The women danced with them.[40b]

173 539 796 "And in the middle of summer at the time of the big harvest they met together at what was called the poskita, and they had what was called the 'big feast' on one day, when they went about eating until evening. The day after that they fasted, took medicine, and vomited it up, and they sat there until evening as moving about was prohibited. They remained there without sleeping until morning. And when they had sat through until the eighth morning, fire produced by boring with a stick was taken to each house.

"After that they considered what amusements they could institute. On the evening of the day of the 'all-day eating (hû'mpi isya'fkita),' they danced what was called the gun dance (taputcka-obânga). And if one had been treated by doctors he went to this dance with his body naked, the bullet wound painted red, and on his back the pay of the doctor, a back load.

"The next morning they kindled a fire by boring with a stick of 'slimy switch' (afo'slipakfa—the slippery elm), drank medicine which had been compounded there, and fasted; and they remained there fasting ceremonially, not eating any kind of food. And they were prohibited from eating meat, salt, and honey, and from touching women and children. When four days were passed they danced different kinds of dances. At noon they had the women dance by themselves the shooting dance[40c] (its obânga), and afterward the men by themselves danced the long dance (obâ'nga tcâ'pko). The men and women together danced the old buffalo dance (yana's' atcu'li) holding sticks. The women also danced what was called the old dance (obânga atculi) with turtle-shell rattles tied to their legs. After dark the men and women danced [again and they kept it up] until morning. Then they went to their homes.[40d]

173 539 796 526 "[Following the dances] they played what they called 'Shooting the ball' (puk' i'tcita), holding two bent ball sticks with which they caught and threw the ball. And if they were going to bet, if two towns had dared provoke each other, they advanced to the meeting place, and when they got near they made a camp and stayed there until dark. [On each side] two men, one holding a drum, another a rattle, sat singing for them, the women standing behind them and dancing. Then the men kindled a fire and marched around it whooping and praising themselves continually. From time to

[40b] See pp. 174-190 for descriptions of the ceremonial grounds.
[40c] Probably a mistaken translation. See p. 609.
[40d] For descriptions of the poskita or busk, see pp. 548-614.

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time they stopped and the fourth time they retired and slept until daybreak. Then they went up to each other, undressed, and met. They wagered such things as horses, money, coats, handkerchiefs. The distance between them in either direction was two hundred yards. The sticks of the ball posts were planted in the ground side by side. Then the ball was thrown up, they ran after it, and they wrestled if they wished. They stood up twenty counting sticks against each other and whichever side first made twenty points won the game. They threw the ball between the posts which had been planted on each side. Afterward those who had won the wagers went off, taking them along.[40a] 173 539 796 526

"The Muskogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Nokfila, Yamasee, Natchez, and people like them continued their mutual enmity. For some time they kept on killing one another. And one tribe, the Nokfila,[41] was lost. The tribe was in part killed out and in part enslaved. 173 539

"The Yamasee were good people. They did not want to fight, but, being harassed, they walked deep into the water very humbly, singing pretty songs, and so that tribe was lost.[42] The old people said that this happened because it was in the thought of God that it should be so.

"While that was taking place the mutual killing went on. And since it had to cease, finally it did cease. The peace that was first made came about in this wise.

"There was a man of the Kasihta tribe known as Good-child Chief, celebrated for his ability and praised on account of the awe which he inspired. His ears were split and his body marked with tattooings [of his war honors]. At intervals he would kill Cherokee, strip off their scalps, and carry them home. Upon one occasion he went out as usual to kill people and reached the land of the Cherokee. There he saw human footprints. Observing that they were fresh he followed them. And then he saw a deer having widely branching horns and he shot at it. Afterward it ran on and was lost in the distance. Then he thought 'It would be better to kill *people*,' and he went forward. He followed a stream until he came to a foot log lying across it. Then, seeing that the human tracks by it were fresh, he thought 'I will kill [the people] when they cross upon that log.' He saw a bush covered with leaves near the water, its branches reaching toward him, and, thinking 'I will hide in there and when they cross over I will kill them,' he sat down behind it.

"The people came, he saw them cross, and he pointed his gun at them but put it down again and they passed on leaving him sitting in the same place. Then it happened that he heard someone on

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[40a] See pp. 420–426 for a description of the ball game.

[41] "Nokfila" is also given as an old Muskogee designation of the white people.

[42] The character of this warlike tribe is here entirely misrepresented, and solely because in Muskogee yamasi is the word meaning "gentle."

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551 554 614 totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

551 554 622 Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tàstânâgi and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imała łàkâlgi was always called Imała yahola, the leader of the tàstânâgâlgi Tàstânàk tcâpko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tàstânâgi, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Âhâ'łàk tàstânâgi, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti âtca'gâgi (abbreviated into I'sti tcagâgi) [78a] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

553 614 796 The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson [571] Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

[78a] See pp. 301-305.

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a. A Seminole home in Oklahoma

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b. Conjuring the medicine before a ball game

c. Ball players taking the medicine

CREEK CEREMONIALS

[facing p. 235]

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624 failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to
625 attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the henihas, the functions of the tástánágis became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one tástánági, who took the places of the old yatika and chief's heniha. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate mikos and the isti átcagági as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes.[28] They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

624 Milfort speaks of the "tastanégy" as if he were the head war chief
701 of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the tástánági łáko of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity." [29]

624 Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he
701 was subjected when he was made tástánági is also worth reproducing.
796 As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary tástánági, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

[28] Speck, in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112. [29] Milfort, Voy., pp. 236-238.

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ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.[48]

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

[48] Evidently the ini.

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entered, the six priests or medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all repaired there together. The old man who had placed me on the litter, came at once to help me descend, and placed me on a bison skin which had been prepared for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank the cassine or the tea-like drink, and for twenty-four hours they took nothing but the war medicine.

"I had not yet drunk this medicine although I had been made a little war chief and I had commanded in the place of the grand chief, because I had taken care to make for myself a particular medicine; for it is indispensable to have one in order to be assured of the confidence of the savages; but this time it was necessary to imitate the assembly, and drink the general medicine. I was not long in experiencing a strong feeling of sickness, which forced me to eject all of the medicine I had taken, and to imitate the assembly in that. This very disgusting ceremony lasted until sunrise next day. Then the entire assembly undressed, and we went, absolutely naked, into a circular cabin where the priests had gone to await us. Each of them had brought thither a brass kettle, in which they had had the war medicine boiled. Shortly afterward the subordinate chiefs brought stones which they had heated red hot in the fire in the center; and the priests, while singing, threw upon them the water which was contained in the two gourds of which I have already sopken which occasioned a dreadful heat and steam. The entire assembly was in a very profuse perspiration, and it was so great on all parts of my body that, although I was very healthy, I thought that it would be impossible to resist it. We remained in this condition about half an hour, and then part of the chiefs went out of the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all left and went immediately to throw ourselves into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without much fear that I decided to imitate the entire assembly in that; it appeared to me very dangerous in the perspiring condition in which I then was to throw myself at once into the cold water; but it was impossible for me to do otherwise, and I suffered nothing more than the fear (j'en fus quitte pour la peur). I think, however, that the purgation which I had undergone in drinking the war medicine, prevented the ill effects of such a bath. On going out of the water, where we remained only a short time, each one dressed himself, and we returned to the grand cabin, in which a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to enter the square in the grand cabin, to dance around the fire, which burned continually during the entire period of this ceremony, lasting three days, during which no member of the assembly was allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, or to sleep. I was so much the more under obligations to remain there with the assembly, as it was for me alone that the ceremony took place.

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"I was seated in a distinguished place, and I had priests on both sides; if I happened to get drowsy, one threw fresh water in my face, and the other rubbed it with little stones, which he had taken care to put into some water beside me for this purpose. 624 701 796

"The three days having elapsed I was conducted home in the same manner as had been observed in bringing me to the grand cabin. When we arrived there the oldest chief proclaimed my appointment, and informed me that I was now the first sentinel of the nation, at whose voice all of the young warriors were prepared to march; that the ordeals through which I had just passed, had for their object to make me understand that nothing must cause my zeal to relax, and that I must bear with equal courage cold, heat, and hunger, in order to defend the interests of the nation. When the old man had finished the assembly broke up, and each person returned to his home."[41]

The imałas were of course of less importance; in the progressive decline of Creek institutions few towns have retained them, and many people have forgotten there ever was such a class of officials. By one informant an imała was described as "a man whose advice was worth receiving anywhere." I was told that at Tukabahchee the big imałas were called into council by the Chiefs along with the tàstànàgis on rare occasions, but this was never done in the case of the little imałas. Nevertheless a question might be referred from the town council to the tàstànàgis to be considered by them and all of the imałas in a separate council: The imałas acted in general as assistants and messengers for the tàstànàgis, and performed the smaller services. 624

Below the imałas were the tàsikayàlgi. This word is now used in the general sense of "citizens" but it means "warriors" and originally designated the common warriors, those who had received busk names but as yet had done nothing to merit further promotion. Hawkins says of them: "The second class of warriors [he treats the tàstànàgis and imałas as one class] is the Tusse-ki-ul-gee. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co, or *war name*."[42] It would seem, therefore, that the name tàsikayàlgi applied to all those in the fourth bed and that tàsikayàlgi intupa might very well be a synonym for tcibànàgàlgi intupa, "youths' bed," the term usually given to it nowadays. As a matter of fact I find it used for that very bed by the Nuyaka Indians. 624 701

There is one other class of officials to be noted and this an important one, but a class which has fallen so much into abeyance 624

[41] Milfort, Voy., pp. 220-228. [42] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 76.

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particular the earlier writers were at a better advantage even than in other matters connected with the customs of the aborigines. Perhaps no account of native Indian warfare ever published excels that given by James Adair. We have frequently had to remark on the excellence of his information and have often quoted him, but in this place he surpasses himself. 721

War expeditions were undertaken as early in spring as possible and lasted through the summer. Adair remarks "in our Indian-trading way, we say that, when the heat of the new year enables the snakes to crawl out of their lurking holes, the savages are equally moved to turn out to do mischief."[97] He gives the following account of the disturbances leading up to wars and the method of raising and conducting a war party: 726

"Should any of the young warriors through forwardness, or passion, violate the treaty of peace, the aggressing party usually send by some neutral Indians, a friendly embassy to the other, praying them to accept of equal retribution, and to continue their friendship, assuring them that the rash unfriendly action did not meet with the approbation, but was highly condemned by the head-men of the whole nation.[98] If the proposal be accepted the damage is made up, either by sacrificing one of the aggressors, of a weak family, or by the death of some unfortunate captive, who had been ingrafted in a wasted tribe. If a person of note was killed, the offended party take immediate satisfaction of their own accord, and send back the like embassy, acquainting them, that as crying blood is quenched with equal blood, and their beloved relation's spirit is allowed to go to rest, they are fond of continuing the friend-knot, and keeping the chain of friendship clear of rust, according to the old beloved speech: but, if they are determined for war, they say *Mattle, Mattle*, 'it is finished, they are weighed, and found light.'[98a] In that case, they proceed in the following manner.

"A war captain announces his intention of going to invade the common enemy, which he, by consent of the whole nation, declares to be such: he then beats a drum three times round his winter house, with the bloody colours flying, marked with large strokes of black,—the grand war signal of blood and death. On this, a sufficient number of warriors and others, commonly of the family of the murdered person, immediately arm themselves, and each gets a small bag of parched corn-flour, for his war stores. They then go to the aforesaid winter house, and there drink a warm decoction of their supposed 726 796

[97] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 347.

[98] Says Bossu: "When there is among them a raisiner or disturber of the public peace, the old people speak to him thus: 'You can go, but remember, that if you are killed, you will be disavowed by the nation, that we will not weep for you at all, and that we will not exact vengeance for your death.' Such a disorderly life is branded among these people, as everywhere else, with the last degree of contempt."—Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 50-51.

[98a] Chickasaw ima, "that"; ili "it is ended."

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726 holy consecrated herbs and roots for three days and nights, sometimes without any other refreshment. This is to induce the deity to [796] guard and prosper them, amidst their impending dangers. In the most promising appearance of things, they are not to take the least nourishment of food, nor so much as to sit down, during that time of sanctifying themselves, till after sunset. While on their expedition, [785] they are not allowed to lean themselves against a tree, though they may be exceedingly fatigued, after a sharp day's march; nor must they lie by, a whole day to refresh themselves, or kill and barbecue deer and bear for their war journey. The more virtuous they are, they reckon the greater will be their success against the enemy, by the bountiful smiles of the deity. To gain that favorite point, some of the aged warriors narrowly watch the young men who are newly initiated, lest they should prove irreligious, and prophane the holy fast, and bring misfortunes on the outstanding camp. A gentleman of my acquaintance, in his youthful days observed one of their religious fasts, but under the greatest suspicion of his virtue in this respect, though he had often headed them against the common enemy: during their three days purification, he was not allowed to go out of the sanctified ground, without a trusty guard, lest hunger should have tempted him to violate their old martial law, and by that means have raised the burning wrath of the holy fire against the whole camp. Other particulars of this sacred process for war, have been related in their proper place.

"When they have finished their fast and purifications, they set off, at the fixed time, be it fair or foul, firing their guns, whooping and hallooing, as they march.[99] The war-leader goes first, carrying the supposed holy ark: he soon strikes up the awful and solemn song before mentioned, which they never sing except on that occasion. The rest follow, in one line, at the distance of three or four steps from each other, now and then sounding the war whoo-whoop, to make the leader's song the more striking to the people. In this manner they proceed, till quite out of the sight, and hearing of their friends. As soon as they enter the woods, all are silent; and, every day they observe a profound silence in their march, that their ears may be quick to inform them of danger: their small black eyes are almost as sharp also as those of the eagle, or the lynx; and with their feet they resemble the wild cat, or the cunning panther, crawling up to its prey. Thus they proceed, while things promise them good success; but, if their dreams portend any ill, they always obey the supposed divine intimation and return home, without incurring the least censure. They reckon that their readiness to serve their country,

[99] "To this day, a war-leader, who, by the number of his martial exploits is entitled to a drum, always sanctifies himself, and his outstanding company, at the end of the old moon, so as to go off at the appearance of the new one by daylight; whereas, he who has not sufficiently distinguished himself must set out in the night."—Adair, pp. 99-100.

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In an earlier part of his work Adair gives another account of the organization of the war party and adds a considerable description of the sacred ark:

"When the leader begins to beat up for volunteers, he goes three times around his dark winter-house, contrary to the course of the sun, sounding the war-whoop, singing the war-song, and beating the drum. Then he speaks to the listening crowd with very rapid language, short pauses, and an awful commanding voice, tells them of the continued friendly offices they have done the enemy, but which have been ungratefully returned with the blood of his kinsmen; therefore as the white paths have changed their beloved colour, his heart burns within him with eagerness to tincture them all along, and even to make them flow over with the hateful blood of the base contemptible enemy. Then he strongly persuades his kindred warriors and others, who are not afraid of the enemies bullets and arrows, to come and join him with manly cheerful hearts: he assures them, he is fully convinced, as they are all bound by the love-knot, so they are ready to hazard their lives to revenge the blood of their kindred and country-men; that the love of order, and the necessity of complying with the old religious customs of their country, had hitherto checked their daring generous hearts, but now, those hinderances are removed: he proceeds to whoop again for the warriors to come and join him, and sanctify themselves for success against the common enemy, according to their ancient religious law.

[783] "By this eloquence, but chiefly by their own greedy thirst of revenge, and intense love of martial glory, on which they conceive their liberty and happiness depend, and which they constantly instil into the minds of their youth—a number soon join him in his winter-house, where they live separate from all others, and purify themselves for the space of three days and nights, exclusive of the first broken day. In each of those days they observe a strict fast till sun-set, watching the young men very narrowly who have not been initiated in war-titles, lest unusual hunger should tempt them to violate it, to the supposed danger of all their lives in war, by destroying the power of their purifying beloved physic, which they drink plentifully during that time. This purifying physic, is warm water highly imbittered with button-rattle-snake-root, which as hath been before observed, they apply only to religious purposes. Sometimes after bathing they drink a decoction made of the said root—and in like manner the leader applies aspersions, or sprinklings, both at home and when out at war. They are such strict observers of the law of purification, and think it so essential in obtaining health and success in war, as not to allow the best beloved trader that ever lived among them, even to enter the beloved ground, appropriated to

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the religious duty of being sanctified for war;[3] much less to associate with the camp in the woods, though he went (as I have known it to happen) on the same war design;—they oblige him to walk and encamp separate by himself, as an impure dangerous animal, till the leader hath purified him, according to their usual time and method, with the consecrated things of the ark. . . . 726 726

"The Indian ark is of a very simple construction, and it is only the intention and application of it, that makes it worthy of notice; for it is made with pieces of wood securely fastened together in the form of a square. The middle of three of the sides extend a little out, but one side is flat, for the conveniency of the person's back who carries it. Their ark has a cover, and the whole is made impenetrably close with hiccory-splinters; it is about half the dimensions of the divine Jewish ark, [just stated to have been three feet nine inches in length, two feet three inches broad, and two feet three inches in height] and may very properly be called the red Hebrew ark of the purifier, imitated. The leader, and a beloved waiter, carry it by turns. It contains several consecrated vessels, made by beloved superannuated women, and of such various antiquated forms, as would have puzzled Adam to have given significant names to each. The leader and his attendant, are purified longer than the rest of the company, that the first may be fit to act in the religious office of a priest of war, and the other to carry the awful sacred ark. All the while they are at war, the *Hetissu*, or 'beloved waiter,' feeds each of the warriors by an exact stated rule, giving them even the water they drink, out of his own hands, lest by intemperance they should spoil the supposed communicative power of their holy things, and occasion fatal disasters to the war camp."[4] 726 778

In another place Adair says:

. . . "It is also highly worthy of notice, that they never place the ark on the ground, nor sit on the bare earth while they are carrying it against the enemy. On hilly ground where stones are plenty, they place it on them: but in level land upon short logs, always resting themselves on the like materials. Formerly, when this tract was the Indian Flanders of America, as the French and all their red Canadian confederates were bitter enemies to the inhabitants, we often saw the woods full of such religious war-reliques. . . . *Opae* [Hopaii], 'the leader,' obliges all during the first campaign they make with the beloved ark, to stand, every day they lie by, from sun-rise to sun-set—and after a fatiguing day's march, and scanty allowance, to drink warm water imbittered with rattle-snake-root very plentifully, in

[3] In another place Adair says: "But a few weeks since, when a large company of these warlike savages were on the point of setting off to commence war against the Muskohge, some of the wags decoyed a heedless trader into their holy ground, and they stript him, so as to oblige him to redeem his clothes with vermilion. And, on account of the like trespass, they detained two Indian children two nights and a day, till their obstinate parents paid the like ransom." (pp. 181-182.)

[4] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 180-181.

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Next comes the disposition of the scalps, rejoicing over their victory, and the conferring of new war titles: 727

"When the Indians have finished their captive tragedies, they return to the neighboring town in triumph, with the wild shrieking oise of destroying demons: there, they cut the scalps into several pieces, fix them on different twigs of the green leaved pine, and place them on the tops of the circular winter houses of their deceased relations—whose deaths (if by the hand of an enemy) they esteem not revenged till then, and thus their ghosts are enabled to go to their intermediate, but unknown place of rest, till, after a certain time, they return again to live for ever in that tract of land which pleased them best, when in their former state.[11a] They perform this supposed religious duty with great solemnity, attended by a long train of rejoicing women, chanting with soft voices, their grateful song of triumph to *Yo He Wah;* while the favoured warriors echo their praises of the giver of victory, with awful notes, and intermix with them the death whoo-whoop. They dance for three days and nights, rejoicing before the divine presence, for their victory; and the happiness of sending the spirits of their killed relations from the eaves of their houses which they haunted, mourning with such painful notes as *Koo-Koo-Koo*, like the suffering owls of night in pinching winter, according to their creed. In their dance, they represent all the wild-cat movements they made in crawling to surprise the enemy, and their wolfish conduct in killing with safety; or the whole engagement, when they could no way attack by surprise. Now, they lift up one foot, then put it down slowly on tip-toe in a bent posture, looking sharply every way. Thus, they proceed from tree to tree, till the supposed enemy be either defeated by stratagem, or open battle. Then they strut about in parade, and the chief will tell the people he did not behave like a blind white man, who would have rushed on with his eyes shut, improvident of danger; but having wisely considered that his bare breast was not bullet proof, he cunningly covered himself from tree to tree, and by his skilful conduct vanquished the hateful enemy, without exposing his own valuable life to danger. All people praise, or blame another's conduct, in proportion to the parity or disparity it bears to their own standard, and notion of virtue.

"In the time of their rejoicings, they fix a certain day for the warriors to be crowned; for they cannot sleep sound or easy, under an old title, while a new, or higher one is due. On that long-wished for day, they all appear on the field of parade, as fine and cheerful as the birds in spring. Their martial drums beat, their bloody 727 703 796

[11a] See succeeding article, p. 511.

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colours are displayed, and most of the young people are dancing and rejoicing, for the present success of their nation, and the safe return and preferment of their friends and relations. Every expectant warrior on that joyful day wears deer-skin maccaseenes, painted red, his body is anointed with bear's oil, a young softened otter-skin is tied on each leg, a long collar of fine swan feathers hangs round his neck, and his face is painted with the various streaks of the rain-bow. Thus they appear, when two of the old magi come forth holding as many white wands and crowns, as there are warriors to be graduated: and in a standing posture, they alternately deliver a long oration, with great vehemence of expression, chiefly commending their strict observance of the law of purity, while they accompanied the beloved ark of war, which induced the supreme chieftain to give them the victory, and they encourage the rest to continue to thirst after glory, in imitation of their brave ancestors, who died nobly in defence of their country. At the conclusion of their orations, one of the magi calls three times with a loud voice, one of the warriors by his new name, or war title, and holds up the white crown, and the scepter, or wand. He then gladly answers, and runs whooping to, and around them, three times. One of the old beloved men puts the crown on his head, and the wand into his hand; then he returns to his former place, whooping with joy. In like manner, they proceed with the rest of the graduate warriors, to the end of their triumphal ceremony, concluding with this strong caution, 'Remember what you are (such a warrior, mentioning his titles) according to the old beloved speech.' This is equal to the bold virtuous lessons of the honest Romans, and uncorrupted Greeks. The concluding caution of the magi to the warriors, points at the different duties of the honourable station, that they should always aspire after martial glory, and prefer their own virtue, and the welfare of their country, more than life itself. The crown is wrought round with the long feathers of a swan, at the lower end, where it surrounds his temples, and it is curiously weaved with a quantity of white down, to make it sit easy, and appear more beautiful. To this part that wreathes his brows, the skilful artist warps close together, a ringlet of the longest feathers of the swan, and turning them carefully upward, in an uniform position, he, in the exactest manner, ties them together with deer's sinews, so as the bandage will not appear to the sharpest eyes without handling it. It is a little open at the top, and about fifteen inches high. The crowns they use in constituting war-leaders, are always worked with feathers of the tail of the cherubic eagle, which causes them to be three or four inches higher than the former." [12]

[12] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 397-399.]

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There are some instances on record of women who received the rank and title of warriors,[13] but in a Hitchiti story collected by Gatschet a woman's brave deed was recompensed by conferring a war title upon her son. 727 703 562

That the scalps might be repainted from time to time and made to play a part in later ceremonies is shown by what Adair says of the Choctaw. "At the time Mobile . . . was ceded to Great-Britain, the lower towns of the Choktah brought down all the Chikkasah scalps they had taken, in their thievish way of warring, and had them new painted, and carried them in procession on green boughs of pine, by way of bravado, to show their contempt of the English."[14] 727 648

The following account of ceremonies actually witnessed by Adair is most interesting in this connection: 727 796

"In the year 1765, when the Chikkasah returned with two French scalps, from the Illinois, (while the British troops were on the Mississippi, about 170 leagues below the Illinois) as my trading house was near the Chikkasah leader, I had a good opportunity of observing his conduct, as far as it was exposed to public view.

"Within a day's march of home, he sent a runner ahead with the glad tidings—and to order his dark winter house to be swept out very clean, for fear of pollution. By ancient custom, when the outstanding party set off for war, the women are so afraid of the power of their holy things, and of prophaning them, that they sweep the house and earth quite clean, place the sweepings in a heap behind the door, leaving it there undisturbed, till *Opáe*, who carries the ark, orders them by a faithful messenger to remove it. He likewise orders them to carry out every utensil which the women had used during his absence, for fear of incurring evil by pollution. The party appeared next day painted red and black, their heads covered all over with swan-down, and a tuft of long white feathers fixt to the crown of their heads. Thus they approached, carrying each of the scalps on a branch of the ever-green pine, singing the awful death song, with a solemn striking air, and sometimes Yo He Wah; now and then sounding the shrill death *Whóo Whoop Whoop*. When they arrived, the leader went a-head of his company, round his winter hot-house contrary to the course of the sun, singing the monosyllable Yo, for about the space of five seconds on a tenor key; again, He He short, on a bass key; then Wah Wah, three times, gutturally on the treble, very shrill, but not so short as the bass note. In this manner they repeated those sacred[15] notes, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, three times, while they were finishing the circle, . . .

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[13] For one such see Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 42.

[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 310.

[15] Adair calls them "sacred" because he believed the Indians to be descended from the Hebrews and these monosyllabic syllables to be an attempt at the name Jehovah.

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"The leader's *Hetissu*, or 'waiter,' placed a couple of new blocks of wood near the war pole, opposite to the door of the circular hot-house, in the middle of which the fire-place stood; and on these blocks he rested the supposed sacred ark, so that it and the holy fire faced each other. The party were silent a considerable time. At length, the chieftain bade them sit down, and then enquired whether his house was prepared for the solemn occasion, according to his order the day before; being answered in the affirmative, they soon rose up, sounded the death whoop, and walked round the war pole; during which they invoked and sung three times, Yo, He He, Wah Wah, in the manner already described. Then they went with their holy things in regular order into the hot-house, where they continued, exclusive of the first broken day, three days and nights apart from the rest of the people, purifying themselves with warm lotions, and aspersions of the emblematical button-snake-root, without any other subsistence between the rising and the setting of the sun.

"During the other part of the time, the female relations of each of the company, after having bathed, anointed, and drest themselves in their finest, stood in two rows, one on each side of the door, facing each other, from the evening till the morning, singing Ha Ha, Ha He, with a soft shrill voice and a solemn moving air for more than a minute, and then paused about ten minutes, before they renewed their triumphal song. While they sung, they gave their legs a small motion, by the strong working of their muscles, without seeming to bend their joints. When they had no occasion to retire, they have stood erect in the same place, a long frosty night; and except when singing, observed a most profound silence the whole time. During that period, they have no intercourse with their husbands; and they avoid several other supposed pollutions, as not to eat or touch salt, and the like.

"The leader, once in two or three hours came out at the head of his company, and raising the death whoop, made one circle round the red painted war pole, holding up in their right hands the small boughs of pine with the scalps fixed to them, singing as above, waving them to and fro, and then returned again. This religious order they strictly observed the whole time they were purifying themselves, and singing the song of safety, and victory, to the goodness and power of the divine essence. When the time of their purification and thanksgiving expired, the men and women went and bathed themselves, returned in the same manner, and anointed again, according to their usual custom.

"They joined soon after in a solemn procession, to fix the scalps on the tops of the houses of their relations who had been killed without revenge of blood. The war chieftain went first—his religious attendant followed him; the warriors next, according to their rising merit; and the songstresses brought up the rear. In this order they went

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round the leader's winter-house from the east to the north, the men striking up the death whoop, and singing the death song; and then Yo, He He, Wah Wah, as described; the women also warbling Ha Ha, Ha He, so that one might have said according to the sacred text, 'great was the company of the women who sung the song of triumph.'[16] Then they fixed on the top of the house, a twig of the pine they had brought with them, with a small piece of one of the scalps fastened to it; and this order they observed from house to house, till in their opinion they had appeased the ghosts of their dead. They went and bathed again; and thus ended their purification, and triumphal solemnity—only the leader and his religious waiter kept apart three days longer, purifying themselves. I afterward asked the reason of this—they replied they were *Ishtohoollo*."[17] 727 796

In other words these men were temporarily of the same class as the priests of whom he says elsewhere:

"The Indian *Ishtohoollo* "holy men" [ishto, "great," holo, "holy"] are by their function absolutely forbidden to slay; notwithstanding their propensity thereto, even for small injuries. They will not allow the greatest warrior to officiate, when the yearly grand sacrifice of expiation is offered up, or on any other religious occasion, except the leader. All must be performed by their beloved men, who are clean of every stain of blood, and have their foreheads circled with streaks of white clay."[18] 791 784

Regarding the devotion of prisoners to death in advance Adair speaks more at length elsewhere. As already stated, the younger captives were frequently adopted and the lives of others were sometimes spared, but all would be killed indiscriminately if, before they started upon the expedition, the warriors had devoted them to death. Apparently this "devotion to death" might take many forms. They might vow to kill all they should meet on a certain trail, or all of a certain nation, or all during a certain time. The old Indians informed Adair that formerly they had devoted to death only the guilty and had adopted the rest,[19] but inasmuch as a clan or tribe according to Indian law was responsible for the actions of all of its members this signifies little. It was because of a previous "devotion to death" that the English traders could not save those Frenchmen captured in their unsuccessful invasions of Chickasaw territory.[20] In the same way Adair accounts for the burning by the Creeks of an Indian who happened to be a Cherokee only in part on his mother's side.[20] Adair continues regarding this matter: 727 782

"The Indians use no stated ceremony in immolating their devoted captives, although it is the same thing to the unfortunate victims,

[16] Last year I heard the Chokitah women, in those towns which lie next to New Orleans, sing a regular anthem and dirge, in the dusk of the evenings, while their kinsmen were gone to war against the Muskohgs.—Note by Adair.

[17] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 124-127.

[18] Ibid., p. 122.

[19] Ibid., p. 154.

[20] Ibid., p. 155.

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"Before the Indians were acquainted with firearms, they used in combats only arrows and clubs; they have now entirely abandoned these arms, but they have preserved the club, as a sign of war only, and have replaced it in battle with the tomahawk or little hatchet. 726

"When the nation is forced to take arms, the head war chief or Tastanégy has exposed in the public squares a club, part of which is painted red; he also sends one to each band chief, accompanied by a number of sticks equal to that of the days which must elapse before he must present himself at the rendezvous. The head chief has absolute authority in fixing this day. 726 796

"When this club comes, each band chief has the drum beaten in front of the grand cabin [tcokofa] of the town or village where he lives. All of the inhabitants repair thither immediately; he makes known to them the day and the place where he is going to light his fire; he repairs to this place before the appointed day, and lights the fire by rubbing two sticks of wood against each other; he places it in the middle of a square formed of four stakes, which is only large enough to hold the number of warriors which he wishes to assemble.

"At daybreak the chief places himself between the two stakes which face the rising sun; he holds in his hand a bundle of sticks. When a warrior enters the enclosure, which is open only on this side, he throws down a stick and continues until he reaches the last, when the number equals the number of soldiers which he needs. All of those who present themselves afterward are not admitted, and return home to take their hunting weapons, leaving directions where they are going to hunt, so that they can be found if they are needed. Those who thus present themselves too late are ill received when they return to their families, who reproach them for the lack of enthusiasm which they have shown in defending their fatherland.

"The warriors who are within the enclosure take there, for three days, a war medicine, of which I will speak presently; their women bring their arms and the things needed in the campaign; they place everything a hundred paces from the square; they add to these a little sack, in which is some corn or maize meal, an ounce of which suffices to make a pint of porridge. It is only necessary to dilute it with cold water and in five or six minutes it becomes as thick as porridge cooked over the fire: two ounces are sufficient to nourish a man for twenty-four hours. The savages make use of this porridge only when they are in the presence of the enemy, because then they are unable to go hunting.

"The three medicine days having expired, the chief leaves with his warriors, in order to be present at the general rendezvous indicated by the head chief. Independently of this medicine, taken generally, each band chief has a particular medicine, or rather

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726 796 talisman, which he carries with himself religiously; it is a little sack in which there are certain stones and some pieces of cloth which he has taken from the clothing of the head chief, on returning from war. If the band chief should forget the sack he would not be able to command, and he would become a simple soldier during the entire expedition.[a]

"The Tastanégy or head war chief presents himself at the rendezvous promptly on the day indicated, and he is sure to find the youth assembled there; then he places himself at the head of the army, makes all of the arrangements he considers proper, without being obliged to render an account to anyone, and, certain that the discipline and his orders will be punctually observed, he marches against the enemy with confidence.

726 272 "When the army is thus prepared to march, each subordinate chief must be provided with a drink which they call the war medicine. This medicine consists in a slightly purgative liquor, which each warrior must take for three successive days before setting out to war.

"The Indians attach very great virtue to this war medicine and they have such confidence in it that it would be difficult for a head war chief to take any part of his army if it were deprived of it. He would be exposed to the greatest danger, if, by a surprise, he was forced to make [his army] fight before having complied with this duty. If he suffered a reverse, which could not fail to happen, because the soldiers would have no confidence, and would be defeated in advance by their superstitious fears, the chief would be accused of having brought on [the disaster] by his negligence in not having had the war medicine distributed, and he would become responsible for all of the events resulting from it.

"If this custom presents such dangers to the chief of the army, it furnishes him in exchange with exceptional means for the success of his enterprises. There are two medicines, the great and the little, and it is for the head chief to designate which must be taken. The great medicine makes a fanatic, so to speak, of the soldier; when he is filled with this medicine, he believes himself invulnerable, like Achilles dipped in the Styx. The little medicine serves to diminish the dangers in his eyes. Full of confidence in his chief, he is easily persuaded that, if he offers him only the little war medicine, it is

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[a] Elsewhere Milfort gives the following account of the way in which the bits of clothing were obtained: "When a campaign is finished, and the army has returned, all the band chiefs accompany the Tastanégy or head war chief as far as the door of his house; and there the two oldest war chiefs descend from their horses, and set about stripping him completely; during this time two other chiefs present him with a piece of bark and some leaves of trees out of which a belt is made for him. As soon as he is disrobed, the two old men who have taken off his clothes tear them into small pieces and distribute them among all of the band chiefs who have been engaged in the expedition, and each of them puts his portion into the little medicine sack of which I have spoken.

"The army attaches such great virtue to this little sack that the chief who should forget it would not be able to command. When this distribution has been made, they sing a war song, each discharges his gun, and they separate to return to their respective homes." (Mém., pp. 321-322.)

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821 If the bodies of young children were not put into trees in the way elsewhere described it was thought there would be a drought.[93] If, after they had been so disposed of, it began to get dry, the people would go to the tree where the body had been placed and sprinkle water all about it.

823 That locations might be considered lucky was shown in the case of my Alabama interpreter. After he had lost two wives in succession the people said that something about the situation of his house was "wrong," so he changed it.

821 773 An Indian preacher, who, of course, was glad to see Biblical resemblances in native lore, told me that there was a story of a great and long-continued drought in which the people were fed on bread and meat by The One Above. This bread is said to have been "something like white peas" (lady peas).

796 The annual busk was the principal occasion with them. Bartram observed in one town that they kept Sunday in his time out of respect to the white people,[94] but this custom could never have been very widespread.

SACRIFICES

782 224 Sacrifices or offerings similar in kind were made by all of the southern Indians. Adair says:

"They sacrifice in the woods, the milt, or a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, both in their summer and winter hunt; and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health and for their former success in hunting; or that the divine care and goodness may be still continued to them. . . . Formerly, every hunter observed the very same religious economy; but now it is practised only by those who are the most retentive of their old religious mysteries. . .

"The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology. . .

"The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in their divine presence, singing Yo Yo, etc. for their success and safety [in case they have lost none of their companions]: but . . . both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill. . .

"They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned; unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity."[95]

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[93] See p. 398. [94] Bartram, Travels, pp 455-456. [95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 117-119.

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535 •796 With the Mikasuki, the Chiaha, and probably the Creeks generally, the bison dance was held just at sundown of the day of the busk, but while there was still light.[18a] The music was furnished by one drummer and one rattler. At the beginning these two men stood near the ball post and the dancers assembled there, the male dancers each carrying a cane. When all was ready the musicians walked into the yard between the beds and the dancers followed them in couples, two men and two women alternating. Then they danced around the fire until the three songs belonging to this dance, which were rather long, were finished. This dance was followed by the long or old dance.

535 The fox, ăkitȧ, kinia, and skunk dances are said to have been danced exclusively by women. Jackson Lewis and Cook confirmed this for the Creeks so far as the fox dance is concerned and the chief of the Mikasuki asserted it for the skunk dance. Therefore the custom must have been fairly widespread. At least among the Alabama these dances were always in June, July, or August. Before the fox dance was held two men went all around the grounds to drive the dogs away, for, if any dogs should come in or any men except the two musicians, it would be unlucky. The two musicians, a drummer and a rattler, sat near the fire and they did all of the singing. One of the women acted as leader of the dancers and they went around the fire in sinistral circuit. The dance began slowly and increased in rapidity until it became very fast at the end. The two "dogwhippers" were provided with long sticks with needles, gar teeth, or crawfish claws at the ends, and, if a woman was slow or lazy in dancing, they reached these out and scratched her ankles. Sometimes old women performed this function. My informant himself never saw this, but he has often heard it described. The fox dance may have had some of the other features of the skunk and kinia dances.

The ăkitȧ is said to be a small animal living in the woods and looking like a rat. Charlie Adams, my informant, has never seen one and the creature may be entirely fabulous. During this dance every woman carried in each hand a stick about 2 feet long. On the ends of each stick were four crane feathers of different colors—white, black, blue, etc. The leading woman and the last woman each had entire crane wings on the ends of their sticks. The women would dance around for a certain time sinistrally, and when the singer struck a certain note all turned about, the last woman leading, and danced around dextrally until the note again sounded. They danced twice each way in all.

The kinia is said to be an animal like the ăkitȧ. In this dance the women started around sinistrally, and at certain beats stopped and danced where they were and then at other beats went on again and again stopped. This was repeated about ten times.

[18a] See pp. 573-574.

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535 turned around and danced backward facing the two men and then turned back again. There were two songs; a rattle only was used.

In the corn dance they went in two files, a man and a woman side by side. The rattle was used alone and there were six songs.

In the hair dance two women went together and then two men alternately. There were four songs and the rattle only was used.

In the chigoe dance men and women mingled, joined hands, and danced round the fire in single file. A rattle was used and one song.

The old men's dance was danced about the time when pokeweed berries are ripe—i. e., about the middle of October. Young men were usually the performers. They fixed themselves up in imitation of old-time Indians. Each wore a mask made out of a pumpkin, gourd, or melon, holes being cut for the eyes and mouth and the latter provided with teeth made out of grains of corn. A headgear was constructed out of leaf stalks of the sumac, the small ends of which were tied together and the body opened out and fitted over the head. Long earrings were fastened to the mask and a shawl thrown over the head behind. They stained the outside of the mask with the berries of the pokeweed (osá in Creek). Finally the performer fastened tortoise-shell rattles on his legs, drew a blanket round himself, and performed all sorts of antics to make people laugh. He carried a bow and arrows improvised for the occasion, pretended to see game, and did other things supposed to be amusing. The children were scared half to death with his performances and William Berryhill, one of my informants, well remembers how frightened he was at them. The dance was known also to the most of my other old informants.[19a]

Regarding the catfish, small frog, sheep, beaver, cow, crane, and wolf dances I have no information other than that they existed. In the mosquito dance the women played jokes on the male dancers by pricking them with pins. The buzzard dance is said to have been a very pretty affair, the arms of the dancers being spread out and made to flap like the wings of buzzards.

The drunken dance was used just before gatherings broke up. The people formed a circle, acted as if they were intoxicated, and gradually scattered backward into the bushes and disappeared. It is said to have been like the skunk dance.

CEREMONIES

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

•796 In the section on music and dancing I have spoken of the monthly ceremonies which early writers, including Bartram and Du Pratz, allege were performed by the southern Indians. This may be explained partly on the ground that social dances took place oftenest near the full of the moon. But, while most of the dances and feasts which I have described elsewhere can be explained as furnishing

[19a] See p. 556.

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outlets for the purely social instincts, ceremonial elements entered into certain of them in such a way that it might be difficult to say where the social element ended and the ceremonial element began. There is a suggestion of this sort in the regulations connected with the snake, horned-owl, and skunk dances. Ceremonies or fasts of a somewhat extemporaneous character were undertaken from time to time in cases of national distress, as we learn from Bartram, who says: 796

"At this time the town [Atasi] was fasting, taking medicine, and I think I may say praying, to avert a grievous calamity of sickness, which had lately afflicted them, and laid in the grave abundance of their citizens. They fast seven or eight days, during which time they eat or drink nothing but a meagre gruel, made of a little cornflour and water; taking at the same time by way of medicine or physic, a strong decoction of the roots of the Iris versicolor, which is a powerful cathartic."[20] [751]

Religious ceremony was more or less mixed up with social relaxation in the feasts held after a successful hunt or upon the arrival of strangers. Bartram again gives us a view of one of these impromptu gatherings which he witnessed in the Seminole town of Talahasutci, of which a man called by the whites the White King was then miko. 574 [796]

"On our arrival at the trading house, our chief was visited by the head men of the town, when instantly the White King's arrival in town was announced: a messenger had before been sent in to prepare a feast, the king and his retinue having killed several bears. A fire was now kindled in the area of the public square; the royal standard was displayed, and the drum beat to give notice to the town of the royal feast.

"The ribs and the choice pieces of the three great fat bears already well barbecued or broiled, were brought to the banqueting house in the square, with hot bread; and honeyed water for drink.

"When the feast was over in the square (where only the chiefs and warriors were admitted, with the white people), the chief priest, attended by slaves, came with baskets and carried off the remainder of the victuals, etc. which was distributed amongst the families of the town. The king then withdrew, repairing to the council-house in the square, whither the chiefs and warriors, old and young, and such of the whites as chose, repaired also; the king, war chief, and several ancient chiefs and warriors were seated on the royal cabins; the rest of the head men and warriors, old and young, sat on the cabins on the right hand of the king's: the cabins or seats on the left, and on the same elevation, are always assigned for the white people, Indians of other towns, and such of their own people as choose.

"Our chief, with the rest of the white people in town, took their seats according to order: tobacco and pipes were brought; the calu-

[20] Bartram, Travels, p. 454.

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574 met was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink concluded the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine, and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

"After the public entertainment was over, the young people began their music and dancing in the square, whither the young of both sexes repaired, as well as the old and middle aged: this frolick continued all night."[21]

•746 623 Bartram has the following regarding the ceremonies connected with an ordinary Creek council:

"As their virgils and manner of conducting their vespers and mystical fire in this rotunda [the tcokofa], are extremely singular, and altogether different from the customs and usages of any other people, I shall proceed to describe them. In the first place, the governor or officer who has the management of this business, with his servants attending, orders the black drink to be brewed, which is a decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender shoots of the Cassine: this is done under an open shed or pavilion, at twenty or thirty yards distance, directly opposite the door of the council-house. Next he orders bundles of dry canes to be brought in: these are previously split and broken in pieces to about the length of two feet, and then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution encreases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly or meeting is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the earth, however I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blaze instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up. Soon after this illumination takes place, the aged chiefs and warriors are seated on their cabins or sophas on the side of the house opposite the door, in three classes or ranks, rising a little, one above or behind the other; and the white people and red people of confederate towns in the like order on the left hand; a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall about breast high, separating them: the king's

[21] Bartram, Travels, pp. 233-235.

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cabin or seat is in front; the next to the back of it the head warriors; and the third or last accommodates the young warriors, etc. The great war chief's seat or place is on the same cabin with, and immediately to the left hand of the king, and next to the white people; and to the right hand of the mico or king the most venerable head-men and warriors are seated.

"The assembly being now seated in order, and the house illuminated, two middle aged men, who perform the office of slaves or servants, pro tempore, come in together at the door, each having very large conch shells full of black drink, and advance, with slow, uniform and steady steps, their eyes or countenances lifted up, singing very low but sweetly; they come within six or eight paces of the king's and white people's cabins, when they stop together, and each rests his shell on a tripos or little table, but presently takes it up again, and, bowing very low, advances obsequiously, crossing or interesecting each other about midway: he who rested his shell before the white people now stands before the king, and the other who stopped before the king stands before the white people, and as soon as he raises it to his mouth, the slave utters or sings two notes, each of which continues as long as he has breath; and as long as these notes continue, so long must the person drink or at least keep the shell to his mouth. These two long notes are very solemn, and at once strike the imagination with a religious awe or homage to the Supreme, sounding somewhat like a-hoo—ojah and a-lu—yah.[22] After this manner the whole assembly are treated, as long as the drink and light continue to hold out; and as soon as the drinking begins, tobacco and pipes are brought. The skin of a wild cat or young tyger stuffed with tobacco is brought, and laid at the king's feet, with the great or royal pipe beautifully adorned; the skin is usually of the animals of the king's family or tribe, as the wild-cat, otter, bear, rattle-snake, etc. A skin of tobacco is likewise brought and cast at the feet of the white chief of the town, and from him it passes from one to another to fill their pipes from, though each person has besides his own peculiar skin of tobacco. The king or chief smokes first in the great pipe a few whiffs, blowing it off ceremoniously, first towards the sun, or as it is generally supposed to the Great Spirit, for it is puffed upwards, next towards the four cardinal points, then towards the white people in the house; then the great pipe is taken from the hand of the mico by a slave, and presented to the chief white man, and then to the great war chief, whence it circulates through the rank of head men and warriors, then returns to the king. After this each one fills his pipe from his own or his neighbour's skin."[23]

[22] Possibly intended for Yahola and Hayuya (see pp. 485, 544).
[23] Bartram, Travels, pp. 448-452.

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By "the royal standard" Bartram means nothing more than the feathered calumet. The drum, as we learn on all hands, was used to call assemblies at the square for whatever purpose, and bear skins were usually laid down for the principal men and their guests on such occasions. The all-night dance mentioned at the end was a familiar accompaniment of the daily lives of the people.

Ceremony of the Asi

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At least one ceremony is involved here which was more religious than social and I will proceed to a more intimate account of it. This is the ceremony connected with the taking of the *Ilex vomitoria* or "black drink." The longest and best description of this is given by Swan and is as follows:

"The ceremony of the Black-drink is a military institution, blended with religious opinions.

"The black-drink is a strong decoction of the shrub well known in the Carolinas by the name of Cassina, or the Uupon tea.

"The leaves are collected, parched in a pot until brown, boiled over a fire in the center of the square, dipped out and poured from one pan or cooler into another, and back again, until it ferments and produces a large quantity of white froth, from which, with the purifying qualities the Indians ascribe to it, they style it white-drink; but the liquor of itself, which, if strong, is nearly as black as molasses, is by the white people universally called black-drink.

"It is a gentle diuretic, and, if taken in large quantities, sometimes affects the nerves. If it were qualified with sugar, etc., it could hardly be distinguished in taste from strong bohea tea.

"Except rum, there is no liquor of which the Creek Indians are so excessively fond. In addition to their habitual fondness for it, they have a religious belief that it infallibly possesses the following qualities, viz.: That it purifies them from all sin, and leaves them in a state of perfect innocence; that it inspires them with an invincible prowess in war; and that it is the only solid cement of friendship, benevolence, and hospitality. Most of them really seem to believe that the Great Spirit or Master of breath has communicated the virtues of the black-drink to them, and them only (no other Indians being known to use it as they do),[22a] and that it is a peculiar blessing bestowed on them, his chosen people. Therefore, a stranger going among them can not recommend himself to their protection in any manner so well as by offering to partake of it with them as often as possible.

"The method of serving up black-drink in the square is as follows, viz:

[22a] This was by no means the case since, in one form or another, the drink was used by practically all Southeastern tribes. See below.

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272 783 throws light upon just this point. He stated that formerly the black drink (àsi) was taken at the same time as the busk medicines, though it has now long been abandoned. But, while those who take the ordinary busk medicines go to the medicine pots to drink, the black drink was brought to the drinkers by four bearers. Each of these men would hand a pot of àsi to one who was to drink and when the latter placed it to his lips the bearer would utter a cry, which, as described to me, was something like this, "ā-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a-a dī—i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i-i," both syllables being drawn out very long and gradually fading away. The drinker had to keep on imbibing the liquid until this cry came to an end. The cry was called the cry of the Yahola, a being described already, who with his companion Hayuya presided particularly over the square ground,[32] and it appears to have been uttered on other occasions, as for instance by the official who drew circles on the square ground just before the women's dance to indicate where the women were to stand. It is also said to have been applied to the cry used in calling a youth out when a new war name was to be conferred upon him. By some the medicine bearers were believed to be imitating the rapid fluttering of certain beetles or wasps, and the cries which they made were supposed to be in imitation of them, but this may have been merely an association by analogy. Questions of precedence were very carefully observed in the serving of àsi and were, I am informed, an occasion for frequent quarrels.

Minor Ceremonies Connected with the Square Grounds

344 796 The communal grounds with their various appurtenances were, of course, laid out in a new place with great ceremony. I have already given all that I know regarding the ceremonies performed in putting up the tcokofa.[33] The planting of the ceremonial ball post also took place with certain peculiar observances.

Wiley Buckner, a leading man among the Okchai Indians, said that he had heard that the Alabama Indians before setting up a new post laid a scalp down, placed a stone over that and set the butt end of the post above. Woksi mi'ko, a Hilibi Indian, had heard that, when the Okchai were going to put up a new post, they went into the woods, selected a pine tree suitable for the purpose, and felled it so that it would come down on some logs without touching the ground. Then they cut all of the sap wood away, leaving only the heart of the tree. This done, a number of persons would go out to it, raise it, and carry it to the place where it was to be erected without letting it touch the ground. They would then bring a scalp taken from an

[32] See p. 485.
[33] See pp. 177-181.

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enemy, place it at the bottom of the hole prepared for the pole, and set the pole over it. While this operation was taking place the men engaged in it abstained from food—and probably went through some medicine ceremony—during seven days. Sanger Beaver, an old man of Tcatoksofka, the busk ground of which has long been given up, remembered seeing such a ceremony himself at a time when he was just old enough to take any notice of the customs of his people. He remembered that on one occasion, after they had cleared off the square ground and while they were still fasting, a great crowd of men went into the bottoms and cut down a very tall tree.[34] Without letting this fall to the ground they brought it to the busk ground and dug a hole for it. Then one of the henihas brought a human skull and deposited it at the bottom. They set the pole above this, and afterwards ran around it four times, shouting. Finally the man who had brought the skull climbed to the top of the pole and fixed there a wooden figure of a bird.

When beds were erected for a new ground those who had seats in each vied with one another to see which bed should be up first, and the party which won made great sport of the others as if they had won a ball game. The extra bed for the women and children was finished by all working together.

Big Jack, one of the leading Hilibi Indians, said that before establishing a new fire in the square ground after it had been moved they took some ashes from the old fire and buried them about a foot under ground in the place where the new fire was to be made. A doctor conjured these and repeated a formula over them as he put them in place. A small stone was also brought from the miko's bed in the old square ground and placed under the new one in the same manner. It was to show that the miko ought to be settled like a rock and a man of weight. The posts of the beds—which properly should be eight—particularly the front posts, had to be conjured and some hitci pâkpâgi put into each post hole. The same informant added that all foundations must be started with hitci pâkpâgi, which may therefore have been used under the ball post also. The removal of ashes from old to new fireplaces was confirmed by others and so was the use of hitci pâkpâgi under the posts, but I heard nothing further about the stone. Two of the leading Coweta Indians and a Tulsa Indian said that under their old fire in Alabama the Coweta had a "can" of medicine supposed to contain the dried residue of the first medicine ever used in the old country. It was about an arm's length under ground. When they emigrated to Oklahoma this medicine was dug up, carried along with the emigrants and buried in the same way underneath the fire in the first busk ground on the Arkansas River. But when the square was again moved the medicine was not dug up, and it is supposed to be in the same place. These

[34] He called it a cedar, but there seems to be some doubt on this point.

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344 796 men also affirmed that all Creek towns had such a "can" of medicine, but I am not certain of this. Perhaps they were thinking of the custom of removing ashes from the old fire. However, the Tulsa Indian to whom reference has been made asserted that there was such a custom, and that when the Coweta and Kasihta Indians separated they divided the contents of the medicine "can." The "can" at Coweta was declared to be about 14 inches long by 4 in diameter.

An Okmulgee Indian told me that when the old Lutcapoga busk ground was laid out the Creeks would not use animals to bring out the posts and other timbers but carried them 4 or 5 miles on their shoulders or by means of other sticks run under them.

The Great Annual Ceremony or Busk

796 The word "busk" is a traders' corruption of the native Creek poskita or boskita meaning "a fast." This term was of course applied to many different kinds of fasts, but to two above all, first the fast undergone by those desiring to become doctors or learned men, in the manner to be described presently,[35] and second the great annual ceremonial ushering in the Creek New Year.

796 773 Without doubt there was a long myth relating the origin of this observance and probably detailing how it was to be conducted. Probably there were several such myths. Indeed fragments are preserved in Chekilli's migration legend and in those recorded by Hawkins, Gatschet, and others,[35a] but the Creeks of the present day for the most part know only that it was established in the beginning of things for the benefit of the Indians and that its observance is thought to keep them and their families in good health throughout the ensuing year. A Kasihta informant said that when God made the earth he put in these medicines to be used for the good of the Indians and decreed that they must obey the instructions of the old people. A Coweta Indian also said that the busk customs were given by God when he made the world. Big Jack of Hilibi affirmed that Ibofánga (The-One-Above) gave the Indians the pasa and the miko hoyanīdja to keep as long as time should last. Alindja, a Tukabahchee, maintained also that Ibofánga laid the foundation of the fire and gave the medicines to go with it. A Hilibi Indian said that the busk was given by God in earliest times for the good of the Indians, and it was said that all would be well so long as it was kept up. Jackson Lewis merely stated that the origin of the busk had "gone into the mist."

More specific was the information obtained by one of the Tulsa Indians from an old Alabama. This was to the effect that the busk medicines were sent down from God by two old gray-headed men.

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[35] See pp. 617-620. [35a] See pp. 23-68.

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As soon as the old men had delivered them they disappeared, returning to the sky. According to Tâl mutcâsi, the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łalogâlga, seven selected men were putting the four logs together to make a foundation, and, as they were making the foundation, "there was a fire built" and it was said of the four main sticks: "They shall be the white path. There shall be peace and harmony." At this time were established the laws by which the people were to be ruled. They were also given the medicine roots and were told "This shall be your medicine. This shall be respected and appreciated as long as time lasts." 796 773

Still another story is from Sanger Beaver, a Tcatoksofka Indian. He had heard that in ancient times the people were continually fighting, scalping, and killing, were without law, and went about nearly naked, clothed only in the skin breechclout. A certain man among them meditated much on this troublesome way of living. He fasted and thought for a long time, and finally he declared that he had received "the white day" (ni'ta hâtki). This had been given to man through him by Ibofânga along with the miko hoyanîdja, the pasa, the sawâtcka, and the âsi, and songs for each medicine. These were, to quote the language of this anonymous person, "for the building up of our future generations, to make grow up the women and the children." Having said this he started the fire of the confederacy by using four sticks of wood, and the other Indian tribes came there and obtained their fires from the one kindled by that old Indian. For this reason the Creeks claimed to be the originators of all of the national fires of the various Indian nations. Beaver added the important information that most of this story is contained in a kind of song that had been handed down from the old Indian that received the "white day." There is, of course, very much more to the story, but he did not know the rest. From such an origin grew the customs and practices of the busk, and it is said that the tribe was instructed that so long as it adhered to the use of these medicines, customs, etc., it would grow strong, but if at any time they became lax in attending to them they would grow weak and perish. The busk and the stomp dances which preceded it were all for the sake of the tribal health.

Many of the Indians claim that the first busk fire was built in the town of Tukabahchee and that all of the other towns derived their fire from that source, but I have shown elsewhere that this is a later explanation. It is admitted, nevertheless, by nearly all of the other Upper Creek towns. By some, all of their laws and regulations are traced to the Ispokogis and presumably the busk fires also. It is also said that when the Shawnee came east into the country of the Creeks they found that the stomp ground and the busk were not quite "right" and they remodeled them. Then they returned to 796 173

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796 173 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 642 621 619 182 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

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at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved. 000

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following information obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker of the Tuskegee, is very valuable: 796 614

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'[35b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikinobânga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others." [36]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atâsâ, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[37] Atâsâ posts 796 642 621 619

[35b] This is really the horned owl.

[36] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134-135.

[37] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atâsâ sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

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796 642 621 619

are shown in Figure 5 of the preceding paper, from an early French sketch.[38] As in the reform movement of Hiawatha among the Iroquois and similar reforms in other parts of the world, that perception of the injurious effects of war with which the confederacy started was not carried on progressively toward its legitimate conclusion, the absolute extinction of warfare, but halted part way. In the relative benefits which the new union conferred by introducing local peace were lost to sight the very much greater benefits which would have been conferred by carrying out the project to its only logical end. The local well being and warlike effectiveness of a certain group of tribes was very much advanced as compared with that of many of their neighbors, and with this they remained content.

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The busk was in reality the fourth of a series of ceremonials, the first three of which are called "stomp dances" and included only a minimum of ceremony, being in a way preparatory to the great busk proper. It is likely that in ancient times these were of more importance and perhaps deserved the name of busk also. The time of these ceremonies was formerly fixed by the period of the new moon and therefore varied somewhat. The first stomp dance was usually in April, but sometimes probably in May, while the busk proper was usually in July but with some towns as late as August. In ancient times the date of the busk was supposed to be governed by the first ripening of the large or flour corn,[39] and this will account for the fact that among the Florida Seminole it is said to occur as early as June.[40]

The Koasati observed one of the three first stomp dances with more than ordinary care. It was the one held in May and was when the mulberries were ripe. It will be remembered that Adair says of the Koasati that "they annually sanctify the mulberries by a public oblation,"[41] and I was told as much by David Cummings, probably the only Creek living in 1912 who could remember about the old busk ground of the main body of Koasati, known as Koasati No. 1. He said that they busked in May when the mulberries were ripe and again when the roasting ears were ripe. Stiggins states that the Koasati celebrated the coming of the new crop of beans in addition to the coming of the new corn, and this was probably identical with the mulberry feast.[41a]

The following feast mentioned by Adair was perhaps at the time of one of these stomp dances—at least it was at the same time of the year—although there are features reminding one of the "old peoples' dance" which the Creeks held in October. Adair says of this feast:

[38] Journ. Société des Amér. de Paris, 1922.

[39] Adair says it was anciently fixed by "the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full eared," but later by the time of harvest. (Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.)

[40] See MacCauley, Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

[41] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 367.

[41a] See p. 568.

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"Every spring season, one town or more of the Mississippi Floridians, keep a great solemn feast of love, to renew their old friendship. They call this annual feast, Hottuk Aimpa, Heettla, Tanaa [hàtàk aimpa, hila, tànaa], 'the people eat, dance, and walk as twined together.' [42] The short name of their yearly feast of love, is Hottuk Impanaa, 'eating by a strong religious, or social principle.' [43]

"They assemble three nights previous to their annual feast of love; on the fourth night they eat together. During the intermediate space, the young men and women dance in circles from evening till morning. The men masque their faces with large pieces of gourds of different shapes and hieroglyphic paintings. Some of them fix a pair of young buffalo horns to their head; others the tail, behind. When the dance and their time is expired, the men turn out a hunting, and bring in a sufficient quantity of venison, for the feast of renewing their love, and confirming their friendship with each other. The women dress it, and bring the best they have along with it; which a few springs past, was only a variety of Esau's small red acorn pottage, as their crops had failed. When they have eaten together, they fix in the ground a large pole with a bush tied at the top, over which they throw a ball. Till the corn is in, they meet there almost every day, and play for venison and cakes, the men against the women; which the old people say they have observed for time out of mind." [44]

The Creek year was divided, as explained elsewhere, into two seasons of six months each and the busk in July or August marked the beginning of the new year, from which they counted at least every event of a sacred nature.[45] Another division at right angles to this might, however, be made, into a ceremonial and nonceremonial season, the former from April to about October, the latter including the balance of the year. It is by no means certain that there were no regular public ceremonies during the strictly winter months, but no proof of their existence survives. On the other hand there is a very coherent account of the summer ceremonies and feasts, showing them to have extended in an almost unbroken series from comparatively early in the spring until late in the fall. I have a fairly clear outline of this from Mr. Ellis Childers, the last chief of the Chiaha before they gave up their busk ground, and a man of former prominence in the affairs of the Creek Nation.

"When the new moon at the end of April or beginning of May approaches the medicine man (hilis-haya) tells the miko to call his people.[46] He also tells the miko in what phase of the moon to

[42] Tàna means to knit, weave, or plait.
[43] There seems to be no especial religious connotation in these words.
[44] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 113-114. Cf. pp. 525-526, 555-556; 404 in preceding paper.
[45] Ibid., pp. 76-77.
[46] Hawkins says that the date of the Kasihta busk was fixed by the miko and his counselors.

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send out. Immediately the miko sends a ta'pala or 'messenger' through the town to notify everyone to meet at the square-ground that night. They gradually assemble during the day. After all is ready they generally dance the obânga hadjo until midnight, when the medicine-maker orders the miko to prepare for the next day. The miko then directs certain men to dig the medicine plants. That night the men sleep on the square ground, and next morning each medicine hunter goes to get the medicine he is to provide. The principal of these is the miko hoyanīdja. Others are the pasa, cedar, and a plant called hitū'tàbi, 'ice weed,' about which ice accumulates on frosty mornings. Those medicines which consisted of the boughs of trees were taken from the east side. On their return these men lay each of the medicines in a certain designated place. Then officers appointed called 'medicine mixers' place all of the medicines except the pasa in one pot. All go into this at the same time except the miko hoyanīdja and cedar. Formerly there were four pots of medicine which were used at as many different times during the night; in later times only two pots were used.

"It should be mentioned that cedar twigs must be tied to the middle post of each bed in front, and sometimes such twigs are tied on the corner posts also.

"The miko hoyanīdja is tied into four bunches, a certain amount going into each. This is generally done by the diggers. The medicine mixers now take one bunch of miko hoyanīdja, wash it, beat the bark off, and put all into the pot containing the mixture. These men have entire charge of the handling of the medicine pots throughout. In the meantime two messengers of the chief called ta'pala secure buckets and place them in front of those persons sitting on the beds who are to bring water. They must bring this from a running stream, and some of it is then added to the medicine in the pots. The medicine being now ready the medicine man takes a long cane and blows into it, usually four times, generally chanting as he does so. Then the chief usually stands up in his place, and one of the medicine mixers takes a bucket of medicine and a cedar bush. He dips the bush into the medicine and sprinkles a little over each bed and over the entire square ground. One bucket of medicine is set apart, and the medicine maker blows into this in the same way as before. Afterward, one of the medicine mixers goes through the same sprinkling process again, first calling up and sprinkling all those who have dug graves or handled dead bodies in any manner. Then each medicine mixer seizes a bucket, and they carry the medicine to each person present. About one or two quarts is given to each, and for this purpose each person is supposed to bring a cup; if he does not, a cup is supplied.

"After all have taken the medicine and vomited they wait a certain time and then the second bunch of miko hoyanīdja is mixed in, the

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pot being refilled with water. The medicine is then passed around again, and the same process is gone through four times in all during the day, once for each bunch of miko hoyanīdja. Each time the medicine maker blows into the pot before it is distributed. The pasa is used but once and is the last drink of the day. It is slightly warmed over a little fire. Generally it is not mixed until after the medicine has been taken for the third time. Roots of the wormseed [46a] (wīlana) are dug and many of them placed on a near-by bench. After the last drink they march out to the creek to bathe, and on the way each takes a few wormseed roots, chews and swallows a little, and rubs his head thoroughly with them, after which he dives into the creek four times. This completes the ceremonies for the day.

"During the intervals between the taking of the medicine the business of the town is attended to. In cases of misunderstandings and quarrels between persons or families the parties are questioned, either by the chief or by those whom he selects, generally persons from the henihas' bench, who finally determine which way the dispute should be settled. When the decision is agreed upon, the parties are called up and informed, and almost invariably they abide by this judgment.

"After they have returned from bathing the participants are allowed to eat, and in the evening after dark they are summoned to the square. A dance then begins in the ball ground to the southeast of the square ground, and they start with a song in which certain things are done at intervals in keeping with the words. Finally, at a particular, understood place, they march in around the fire in the square ground. A dance leader is now selected by the chief's messengers (ta'palas). Dances now follow each other, one after the other, all night, but at intervals the chief makes speeches, and he also invites good speakers who happen to be present to address the people. In that way good advice is given regarding the proper conduct of the rising generation and the proper way of living. It is the chief's duty to inform the people in this way of any occurrence which concerns his town. He imparts the messages which he has received from other towns, and which come through him, to his people. This assembly is thus an aid to government. Next morning the meeting breaks up and the people go home.

"At the next new moon the same performance is gone through. On the new moon after that a third meeting is held. On the morning of the day when this meeting opens all of the male members of the town are requested to be present in the square and the chief and a chosen number from each bed decide upon the date for the annual

[46a] Usually but erroneously called "Jerusalem oak." I am indebted to Mr. Paul C. Standley, of the U. S. National Museum, for the correction.

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busk. Then a switch cane is split up into pieces about the size of a match, and bunches are made of these, each bunch containing as many sticks as there are days to the time of the great busk. Each is tied up with a buckskin string. One of these bundles is tied immediately over the chief's seat in the square. Each of the others is sent to one of the friendly towns—that is, those of the same fire clan—as an invitation to share with them in the annual busk. It is immediately delivered to the town chief of that town by the ta'palas appointed by the town chief.

"The fourth day before the date of the busk is known as 'camping day'; on this all must be encamped about the square ground. The next day is known as 'visitors' day' when all visitors are looked after and provided with camping quarters. The third day is known as 'the feast day,' on which food is kept prepared all day, so that one can help himself whenever he wants to. The day is generally passed in playing ball, either the men's game being played or the one-pole game between men and women. The fourth day is the 'busk day' in which medicine is taken. Medicine is gathered, mixed, and taken as already described for the stomp-dance. Up to the time of this busk the inhabitants of the town have been forbidden to eat certain vegetable productions, the principal of which is green corn, and from this fact is derived the term 'green-corn dance.' In case one has eaten green corn before this time, medicine is administered to him before the general medicine taking, and he is also scratched on the muscles of the arms and legs, four scratches being made with a one-pointed needle or one scratch with a four-pointed one. The scratches made were pretty deep. In olden times the snout of a garfish was employed exclusively.

"On the afternoon of 'visitors' day' friendly relations are shown by an exchange of tobacco. The people of the town giving the busk are seated on their beds, and the visitors, marching in, offer a piece of tobacco to each, beginning with the chief, saying at the same time 'Partake of this with me.' After they have taken it each of the town people, beginning with the chief, offers the leader of the visitors a piece of tobacco in his turn. This exchange has superseded the custom of smoking together, when a large pipe was filled with tobacco and passed from hand to hand. The order observed was probably N E S W, the chief sending around to the beds successively in this direction.[47] The chief of the visitors then took a pipe around in turn, beginning at the west bed where was the chief. All orders were given by the town chief to a ta'pala (who was not necessarily a henîha) and by him to the people. This pipe, therefore, was first lighted by the chief and by him given to the ta'pala to be carried along.

[47] The correctness of this is doubted.

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"On the morning of the 'busk day,' after breakfast and before the medicine has been prepared, the visitors return home. First, however, they march up in a line and pass the southeast corner; as they do so they wave their right hands in unison toward the square so as to take it all in and say apokatcges ayīpalăs ('While you abide I will return'), a friendly expression. In reply the people of the town respond hō ('Yes,' 'All right,' or 'Very well').

"To make the fire, four green sticks are cut from tree limbs extending toward the east. These are known as 'the back logs' (tăkhudji). To renew the fire they use the term to'hsoloti', 'to shove them in together.' Four roasting-ears are placed across the back sticks, as in Figure 108. Then kindling, hay, or other dry stuff is placed on top and ignited by rubbing two dry sticks lengthwise [?] over it. Fire can be started very quickly in this way. All the fires in the camps have meanwhile been put out, and this new fire is taken to them. It is used for the first time in cooking the first meal after the men break their fast. All disputes have now been settled by the henīhas and a new life begins.

FIG. 108. — Arrangement of ears of corn on the fire sticks at the Chiaha busk

"After invitation sticks have been sent, anyone who fails to appear at the busk is considered disobedient to the chief, and on the morning when the busk breaks up the chief calls together the leaders of each bed and they make a list of all those who have failed to attend. Then a number of messengers (ta'pala) are sent to these individuals to collect a fine which is said to have amounted to $2.50 in cash. It is customary to send to each man someone of the clan to which he himself belongs. When the ta'pala arrives he seizes any animal the man may have that is eatable, kills it, and brings it back to the square. It has been agreed upon on what day the fines shall be brought to the square, and then a second feast is called to eat up these things.

"This feast initiates a series of games between the women and men, wherein a wager is made—generally between a man and his 'sister-in-law,' i. e., a woman who has married into his clan. The man wagers part of a deer, while the woman puts up a pot of blue dumplings, or some sofki, or both. This game is played once a week for three weeks, and after the third a day is set for the hunters to go out. A day for finishing the fourth game is also agreed upon between the parties who made the wager. At that time the deer or other game is brought to the square ground and delivered to the woman who made the wager, she being encamped there with other women to assist her. Among the things that they feast upon that day is a great pot of soup, and the feast is therefore called 'the

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soup-drinking feast.' This wager having been concluded another pair lays a wager in the same manner and the same games and feasts are repeated. The night of each of these feasts they generally dance all night, and commonly they have one every month. The town chief is present if possible, and if anything should keep him away, the second chief takes his place. This series of feasts generally extends through the warm weather until it begins to get cool, the latter part of September or the first part of October, and the season is closed by what they call 'the last dances.' One of these is known as 'the old men's dance,' and another is the 'wolf dance.' The first has been discontinued for a number of years, especially by the Chiaha, because all of those who were able to lead it have died. I saw only one and that when I was a boy. I can not give details regarding the conduct of it, but it is different from anything else I ever saw or heard of. As nearly as I can remember the men went off and dressed in masks, some representing bear, some wolves, panthers, or even cattle, bulls, etc., or perhaps a band of Indians of some foreign tribe. Others dressed in still other ways, but all appeared as very old people. They seemed to represent dramatically an event in hunting, an attack by some dangerous animal, and their conquest over it by means of their skill and experience as old men. A number of ceremonies took place in connection with this dance; women also took part. This dance was held in all of the Creek towns."[1]

"To dance the Wolf Dance the men rise very early on a day that has been previously fixed upon and meet at the square, each riding his best pony. The men who take part in this dance are principally the young men of the town. They then proceed to the nearest house, generally at full speed, yelling, whooping, and singing. On reaching the house, all dismount and they dance around it, their leader singing a song, the rest whooping and yelling in discord to represent the howling of wolves. Then the inmates set out some food, and each of the dancers rushes up and snatches a little of it and runs off with it. Having eaten this they proceed to the next house and the same thing is repeated. So they visit all of the houses in the neighborhood. Afterward they return home, but that afternoon all meet at the square and at night they have the dance. The dances that night, especially those begun after midnight, are different from the regular stomp dances. Among these are the horse dance, the duck dance, the chicken dance, the catfish dance, a dance called a 'double dance' in which there are two leaders, etc. Next morning just as the sun rises they close the season by dancing the 'drunken man's dance.' Meanwhile the chief is generally present to communicate the news, and the henihas are always about to compose differences."

[1] For another description see p. 534.

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This sequence is no longer preserved in anything like its ancient completeness, those feasts that follow the busk especially having dropped out of use, but the busk itself still (1912) holds on in about eleven towns not counting the Yuchi and in six Seminole towns. In some of these, for instance the Tukabahchee, the three stomp dances are kept up in some form, and in fact my most complete account of the three stomp dances and the busk is from Zachariah Cook, a former miko of Tukabahchee town. This is as follows:

"At the end of the busk the chief says to his people 'Go home and do the best you can, and next year when the moon is about at such and such a place I will send you the "broken days." When the time approaches, which is near the time of the new moon in April, he sends a bunch of seven little sticks to the head man in each neighborhood who throws one stick away each day, and leaves home so as to get to the square ground on the night of the seventh day. On the eighth they fast all day and tásikayas, under the supervision of the imalas, work for the hilis-haya (medicine maker), each getting four shoulder loads of wood. After that they are told to prepare for the all night dance. A man called itci yahola dances the war dance (paihka obánga, "whooping dance") with a scalp and a tomahawk. They give him a fawn skin and a ribbon and he is the leader in the women's dance. Owing to this fact the women plant his field for him—at least the two leaders of the women called tcukolcidji do so and sometimes the others help.[416] The same day they procure new brooms if any are needed. Then all are told to go and rest and abstain from eating. They take that time for the performance of necessary duties such as watering horses. Early that same morning four persons, two isti-átcagagi-sûlgas and two henihas, are sent to dig miko hoyanídja. The tconoh hola'ta is called up and sent with one of the henihas to get the cedar and other ingredients of the warm medicine. The medicine is placed at the north end of the west bed. Two youths are then called up to fix the medicine. They go for water, and after they have brought it put hitci pákpâgi in each pot as a foundation for the 'warm bath.' The rest of the ten medicines are piled upon this, and the whole is called adiloga or atiloga. Then they get rocks, pound up the miko hoyanídja and put it into another vessel side of the first. After that they get canes and straighten them and tell the hilis-haya that all is ready. They provide a deerskin for him to sit on and another for a footstool.

"The hilis-haya then blows into the medicines, and an old henîha sitting close to him summons another, and they remove the pots, placing the atiloga on the north side by the fire and the miko hoyanídja just west of it. Then the old henîha who was sitting by the hilis-haya gets one gourdful of each medicine and gives it to

[416] At Tukabahchee and Kealedji this field was close to the northwestern edge of the square ground.

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the miko and his henīha who lay it in the bed right back of them. The miko then summons the two youths who mixed the medicine and he and his henīha hand the gourds to them, after which they go round inside close to the beds, keeping the fire on the left, the isti-ätcagägi-sûlga in the lead, and they sprinkle the medicines toward the beds with their hands. This is to prevent the spirits of the dead from interfering. These gourds are then returned to the bed back of the miko. This circuit is performed four times during the night, the youths being called up each time for that purpose. Through his henīha the miko then summons the speaker who rises and shouts as loudly as he can for all the men to come inside of the grounds. All the women remain outside. Having assembled, the men are notified that they must fast that day, but that all who had handled the dead are to wait and take their medicine afterward. Then the medicine is taken in the following order: miko, speaker (yatika), miko's henīha, the other mikos, the two youths who sprinkled medicine, the Wind clan, tästänägälgi, imalälgi, isti-ätcagagi-sûlga, Bird clan, and the other clans down to the Panther and the Potato which is usually last. They take first the warm medicine and then the cold, and go afterward to vomit them out. Now the miko summons two ta'pslas, a Raccoon and a Wind usually, though if necessary some other clan is substituted for the Raccoon, to manage the dance, and he tells them to choose a dance leader to keep the dance going. This is done while the drinking is still going on so that by the time it is over the miko can call out 'There is a dance leader over yonder.' When this leader starts all get out and help him, and after they have danced the common, or 'stomp' dance (sätkita obänga) four times the women come in with rattles on their ankles and prepare to dance. When they get a little tired of the common dances they may take up special dances such as the gar dance, buffalo dance, quail dance, duck dance, etc. The hīnätä dance is a very pretty one and so are the quail and horse dances. If they can get a capable singer who knows them they may dance these special dances all night; otherwise they keep on with the common dance. Finally a time is set for the second 'stomp' dance which proceeds in the same manner. The third dance is a big dance.

"At that dance a council is held by the isti-ätcagägi-sûlga as to whether they will remodel their square ground, and if they decide to do so they set a time in the fall, perhaps in September, for carrying on this work. If the hot house is to be fixed up a time is also set in September. The same men are called in to arrange for the busk. They go over the entire program, one saying 'I will do this,' another 'I will do that,' and so on. Then they say 'We will meet ten days from tomorrow.' When they do meet they say 'We will meet in five days,' but they count in the day on which they make the arrange-

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ment and also the day of meeting at the end, therefore there are only three whole days between. At that meeting they say 'We will meet in three days,' but one day intervening; and then they say 'We will meet in two days,' meaning the next. Finally they say 'We will meet in one day,' but they mean the very same day, so they simply go back home and then return, clear the ground off, and prepare the 'broken days,' of little canes, seven to the bundle, a bundle for each neighborhood. The messenger who delivers these pulls one stick out and throws it away, and afterward the head man at that place does the same each day until the time has arrived. When this distribution of sticks is made, they send a bundle to every fire of the same fire clan. The Atasi used to come down and busk with the Tukabahchee until the last dance, the women's dance, when they took some of the medicine which had been prepared for them and carried it back to their own women, who finished the dance. The Kēaledji simply sent two men to Tukabahchee for the new fire, which they carried home in a pot, putting new fuel in this from time to time until they got back. The Łapłáko used to do like the Atasi, but later they got a hilis-haya of their own and tried to have their own ceremonial, but they soon gave it up. The Łiwahali also brought their fire from Tukabahchee. Hilibi and Eufaula acted more or less together and had their own fires. This was in late times.

"The day of the last meeting when the ground was cleared the leaders of the women, the tcukolaidji, came to the ground and sat on a small bench in a cleared space in the southwest corner. They helped some in clearing the yard except their own space which they did not touch.

"On the fifth day of the seven all the people are supposed to be at the busk ground. On the night of the fifth the miko appoints a man of the Deer clan, which is a 'choice clan,' as an 'orderly' (lā'ta mi'kągi) to manage the women's dance. He brings him in and puts him next to the post at the south end of the center section of the Chiefs' bed. The same night the miko empowers two youths to call in the small boys, who come into the square and have a jolly dance in which women and girls also join. While this is going on the 'orderly' calls up the itci yahola and a henīha. A cane a yard long is given to each and they are sent to see how the preparations of the women for the dance next day are advanced and whether leaders have been selected, so that everything will be ready that night. After that four singers have to be called up, the ones who are to sing for the women next day. These singers have a waiter (saogadjilaia) who prepares the gourds, wraps their handles with hickory bark, etc., and places them in the back part of the youths' bed so that they may be ready in the morning. The 'orderly' then calls up a speaker and instructs him what he is to do and after that a drummer. By this time it is 10

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or 11 o'clock at night and the women and young people go home, while the men stay on the busk ground, inside of the beds or around the ceremonial post, and sleep there.

"Very early on the following morning the 'orderly' prepares a little pot of mikó hoyanīdja and places it in a little entrance between the center posts at the back of the Chiefs' bed. A little hitci pákpągi is put into it first as a 'foundation,' the miko hoyanīdja and water are added, and finally the hilis-haya blows into it. Then the 'orderly' summons the itci yahola and henīha who had gone out before, gives each a little piece of tobacco, and tells them to go and ask the women to hasten. They go around four times to call them. If they still delay, these officials stand upon a little mound belonging to the women at the southwestern angle and shout to hurry them. The leaders of the women and the male officials fast. The women are dressing during this time, and they drift in to the rallying place until 10 or 11 o'clock. The man who prepared the gourd rattles has to move them (the rattles) to the end of the Panther bed. One of the henīhas is also sent to get the small pot of miko hoyanīdja and set it down in the little yard at the southwest corner, where the women take it and put it on their turtle-shell rattles and other paraphernalia. There are three leaders for the women, but there could be a fourth and probably that is the proper number. The leaders are a Raccoon, a Wind, a Panther (and a Bird). When they are ready the first woman, carrying her rattle, goes a short distance and stops; then woman number two follows her example and the same with woman number three who leads the crowd. Meanwhile, the miko has been calling the same two men repeatedly, giving them tobacco and sending them to hurry things up. The gourd rattles are put overhead in the Panthers' bed in front, then moved to a position close to the corner post, and again to the center of the Panthers' bed where the singers can reach them.[49] The speaker and singers also have to be ordered up. Meanwhile the women have to be drilled and prepared, and the itci yahola is called over to the Chiefs' bed to receive a deer skin and ribbons. Four dog-whippers are appointed for the corners of the square. Before the women come in the speaker gives orders to the drummer, who is out on the tádjo, a mound of earth back of the warriors' cabin, to beat his drum and at the fourth beat the men have to be in their places. A little basket is set down in front of the speaker, and he tells the women to bring small pieces of tobacco and throw them into it. Then he gives them a lecture, advising them to be silent, respectful, not too vulgar, etc. The Tcunuk hola'ta is called over, receives a paddle-shaped stick, and, following instructions, makes a circular mark on the ground in front of the east end of the Panthers' bed,

[49] Here the singers sit in the Panthers' bed; at Hilibi they sit on the end of the Raccoons' bed.

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and a large circle around the fire. The former is the place where the leading woman is to stand and the large circle indicates where the rest are to range themselves. The speaker now calls the itci yahola who remains standing facing the north until he has been called twice. A fawn skin and ribbon are behind the miko and he hands them to the speaker who hands them in turn to the itci yahola standing to receive them. Holding these he goes through the circle of women and around some bushes which are set up in a circle about the fire, calling the yahola cry as he goes and holding his breath all the way around. When he gets back he says 'yux yu' as a mark of respect to the chief and then takes his seat. His heníha follows and takes his seat. The women dance two rounds, go out and rest, and then their leaders go out and bring them in for two more rounds.

"The miko next gets an ímała łáko and an ímała łábotski. In the first or second verse of a song, at least at a certain place in it, these ímałas run out and shout to the warriors 'Go and get the tea brush (ási sábcnga)' meaning the brush with which to kindle the fire. All of the warriors then go for it. Now the heníha is told to call the fus isá 'to go and get the hickory bark,' meaning the punk with which the fire is started. Another heníha accompanies him, and they go out at the third or fourth verse (or song). Next four men are called up to get the four back sticks. They are instructed to secure sticks with the tops already broken off and such as they themselves can break off to a length of about four feet. These are placed at the end of the bed of the henihálgi. Six or eight youths are sent for the pasa and the same youths are sent again for the miko hoyanídja. The dance is now over and they retire for that day. The people who remain have a ball game after dinner and a big time generally, and that night they have a jolly dance and afterward all retire, the men sleeping inside of the busk ground. The same night a man is selected to be captain over the young men and keep watch of them. The miko summons him next morning and tells him to assemble the youths and move the ashes of the old fires. From ten to fifty youths then set to work and soon have the ashes removed. Then the miko directs the leader to have them bring a lot of sand, which they move on boards, in their hands, or in any other way, and spread over the fireplace, covering a circle perhaps five feet in diameter. Then they are sent after more sand which they take out and spread back of the henihas' bed, on the site of the old hot house. If a little is left over it is put in front of the hilis-haya's place for the copper shields to rest upon. (From this point on the ceremony has now been modified. The older form which continues from here will be found on pp. 564–568.)

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"Now the fire maker (tōtki dīdja) gets some blossoms of hitci pâkpâgi. The night before the miko has called eight or more isti âtcagâgi in person saying 'So-and-so, you must wake up in the morning early,' to each in turn. These men may call in some young fellows to help, and early in the morning they spread out a deer skin, lay down punk, and light a fire with flint and steel. In more ancient times they made a fire by rubbing two sticks together. The deer skin is on the seat on the north (or rather northwest) end of the Henīhas' bed. After the fire has been fed with a little bark most of it is removed from the skin, and what is left is used to kindle a little fire near the same end of this bed. Meantime the hilis-haya has made a cross-mark in the center of the square, the ends pointing toward the entrances between the cabins, and at the end of each and at the center he sets a piece of hitci pâkpâgi. The henīha is right behind him with four pieces of bark on which is fire and he places these in the center of the marks. The hilis-haya now goes and gets one of the four back sticks, conjures it, and sticks a little hitci pâkpâgi in the outer end of each. Then he lays it down pointing toward the west (or southwest) bed, just south of the line extending toward the west entrance. He then gets another stick, does the same with it, and places it toward the south (or southeast) bed. He does the same with the other two sticks, proceeding round the fire contra-clockwise. When all are in place he brushes one hand over the other with an outward sweep as a sign that the job is finished. Next lines are drawn, hitci pâkpâgi put in, and fire started on the site of the hot house, but no sticks are laid there. Finally the firemaker's henīha builds the small extra fire above mentioned at the end of the Henīhas' bed. A little pot of wormseed is now prepared in front of the Henīhas' bed, the hilis-haya blows into it, and moves it out to the third fire at the west end of the Warriors' bed.[50] It is placed near the fire there. The Wind clan, the henīhas, sat at the north end of the west or Chiefs' cabin, in what is ordinarily called the Chiefs' bed. This part of the cabin is called the Henīhas' bed.

"Eight roasting ears provided in advance are placed on the north end of the Henīhas' bed by the post. The husks of four are stripped back and tied together and they are hung overhead between the beds of the henihâlgi and mikâlgi. The oldest henīha brings the other four ears to the place where the medicine was prepared. The miko then gives the hilis-haya some hitci pâkpâgi, and the hilis-haya takes an ear of corn, blows on a blossom of hitci pâkpâgi and sticks it into one end of the ear. He lays this ear side of the back stick pointing to the west (toward the Chiefs' bed). He goes around the fire and comes back to the place from which he started. Then he

[50] Or "the north end of the Henīhas' bed"; my notes give it both ways. It is in the same entrance way in either case.

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treats the ear for the south stick and the ones for the east and north sticks successively in the same manner. Finally he rubs one hand over the other to show that the work is completed.

"Now two īmałas are called who go out and notify the different camps to come and get the new fire. While they are doing this the medicine is being made. The captain of the youths is told to get them and go after the medicines. The oldest henīha already referred to as sitting by the post puts down a pounding-block with a deer skin over it for the hilis-haya to sit upon. It is placed right back of the medicine pots. The old henīha and a young boy of the henīhas now bring two pots for the medicine. They also bring up all of the pasa and all of the miko hoyanīdja, but they select out of this for the hilis-haya four pasa plants and four sticks of miko hoyanīdja. The hilis-haya now goes to the block covered with the deer skin and sits upon it. He lays a rock in front of him and uses another as a mallet. Then he takes one plant of pasa first, blows upon it, repeating some formula meanwhile, gives it one blow to break the roots off, and puts these into the pot. He does the same thing to the rest of the pasa and to the miko hoyanīdja. The captain of the youths is now told to summon them and have them pound up the rest of the medicine and put it into the pots, which they do. The youths have already filled the pots with water.

"Now all retire and it is quiet for a space. On the morning of this day the little boys' busk is 'destroyed,' i. e., they cease to fast.

"Now the miko summons two waiters previously selected, one from the Raccoon clan and one fron the Wind clan. He tells them to go out, fill two pots about eight inches across with medicine, and serve this to the men assembled in the square. He has already given instructions what order to observe and who are not to be served until the last because they have touched a dead body or for any other reason. The warm pasa is given first and then the cold miko hoyanīdja. The miko and the other occupants of the central section of the Chiefs' bed are served first, then those at the south end right down to the Bird clan, then the henihâlgi at the north end of the Chiefs' bed, then the tástánâgis and īmałas in turn, i. e., those in the Warriors' bed from west to east, then those in the south bed from west to east, and finally those in the east bed from south to north. All those in the back seats come to the front unless some have to wait because they have dug a grave or something of the sort. The waiters drink last. Those who had eaten roasting ears of the same season already had to wait for their medicine until the others were through. Meanwhile a youth has been sent out after a pot of wormseed which is placed in front of the hilis-haya and as soon as the other medicines have been taken he blows into it. Each person then takes a little of it, chews some, and smears some on his body. They say this is 'to

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"In the morning while the above ceremony is taking place the boys are again summoned and sent for miko hoyanîdja and the ten medicines used in the stomp dance. They take their busk medicine, which has been left for them on the bed of the henihâlgi, when they come back. The stomp dance medicine is placed near the fire and taken there and they dance the stomp dance all that night until dawn.

"Next day the people lounge around, sleep, or play ball if they want to, but all come in that night for another jolly dance. On that morning thay have broken their fast. During this day a council is also held, and the miko sends word to the tástánągis that there will be a hunt next day, so all come up in the morning prepared for it. After the third drum beat all must be ready with their horses, and then they go out to some place where they think there will be good hunting. If they kill anything they leave it at the end of the Henîhas' bed; if they are unsuccessful, they say to the head tástánągi 'We did not get anything,' and he reports to the miko.

"Next morning a piece of beef is brought; the hilis-haya blows upon and conjures this and puts it into the very center of the fire. Presumably this is to purify the people and insure them health, and also to feed the fire or some being in or through it. About noon the women dance in the same order as before, and this is also a day of feasting. The day after they fast all day, take their medicine as in the stomp dance, and dance all night. Before day the head tástánągi addresses them telling them to behave well, that they have had a good time together and must not feel disturbed if their property has become injured during their absence. The miko then tells them to meet at such and such a time when the moon is at such and such a place, and they all go home.

"The above is an account of the later form of the busk at Tukabahchee, but in earlier days it was amplified in several particulars. The older form was identical with the above up to the appearance of the copper shields. From there it proceeds differently. The shields are carried out just at daylight by a squad of youths including one of the isti-átcągągis and one of the henîhas, or an even number of each—under the direction of the youths' captain. They proceed two at a time, those in advance each carrying a brass shield, and those behind each one of the pointed copper objects until there is a long procession. Proceeding to the creek before the fire is made they wash and scour them and carry them back. Then they hand them to the miko who lays them down in front of the hilis-haya. In addition to the regular pots of miko hoyanîdja four others are conjured, after which the henîhas carry one to each bed and put it up in the

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center inside overhead. Then all are told to go and see about their horses, attend to other necessary duties, and come back again. A number of the isti-ȧtcagȧgi remain, however. Meanwhile the boys have been sent out to get the ȧsi, which two men are appointed to parch. Then eight men come out and the miko has strings of beads put on the necks of four of them, who upon receiving these go back to their seats. A henīha gets the ȧsi and lays it down by the other medicines. The ȧsi looks like red haw. It is put into a pot and one of the boys appointed to do the parching stands on each side. Each holds a long paddle and stirs slowly. There is no water in the medicine until it is entirely parched, when water is poured into the pot to fill it up. It is then dipped up and strained back into the same pot through a basket strainer. All this is done with a regular rhythmic motion, and two men lying in the center of the east bed, an isti-ȧtcagȧgi and a Panther, sing a slow, doleful song and shake their old gourds.

"It is now getting on toward noon. While the parching is proceeding the leader of the men who are going to carry the shields gets out near the medicine house and whoops twice. Then the eight men previously summoned, four of whom have probably returned their beads to the miko by this time, go out into the square and form two lines of four each extending from north to south on each side of the fire, facing the fire and with two leaders at the south end. The miko's henīha and another then go and fill their gourds or little pots with ȧsi which they then carry to the benches, and serve all those entitled to receive it, beginning with the miko and the other principal men. Each henīha crosses to the man immediately opposite to the one that his companion faces. The hilis-haya meanwhile is between the two lines near the fire. When the man who is served raises the pot to his lips the waiter shouts 'hwa-u-u-u' (the yahola cry), extending the sound as long as he can hold his breath, and when he is through the other takes a sip, spits it out, and hands the pot back to the waiter who then proceeds to the next man. After they have been round, what is left is taken to the hilis-haya. The hilis-haya and the old tȧstȧnȧgi (tcilaleiga?) have ladles with which they dip out the rest of the medicine until it is all gone, a fact which each announces. Then more ȧsi is parched and the man near the medicine house shouts two times more. This medicine is drunk like the first, and then the word is given to hurry, upon which the two men who have been singing and shaking their rattles run out toward the man in charge of the shields and the three pass around the tȧdjo mound and back into the square on a 'dog-trot.' Then the miko takes the shields and plates and distributes them to the eight tȧstȧnȧgis who stand in line to receive them. The leader of the īmala lȧbotcki orders them out, and each goes and gets a cane with a feather on the end of it. Th

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two men who had lain in the northeast bed singing dance slowly out of the north entrance, round the tâdjo mound and in again at the west entrance while the warriors and younger men dance round and round them faster all the way. They make this circuit four times, and the warriors and young men dance until the two old men have taken their seats. This dance is called the 'long dance' or the 'long whoop.' The feathers are fastened upon the canes used at this time by members of the Bird clan who have received orders that morning from the tâlsâ miko. The eagle feathers are placed near the kosi miko in the Beaver bed, and crane feathers at the end of the bed of the Bird clan. After that all retire until the evening.

"That evening the eight waiters start out at the northwest (or west) exit shouting 'yuayux,' the last man saying at intervals 'wâtâgu' (or natâgu'?). They go all the way round on the outside until they come to the northeast bed and say 'I found nothing, I found nothing.' Then the isti-âtcagâgi in that bed, who have set out a little gift of tobacco for them, shout 'hitci laiktci" ('here is tobacco'). They repeat the same performance at each bed, and they make the circuit four times in all. They are called the 'tobacco beggars' and act as if they were spies or guards. Those fasting eat nothing and touch no women or anybody and the speaker gives the word to keep silence. That day is their 'sabbath.'

"Orders are issued that all the men return to the grounds before night, and there is a men's stomp dance that night to which no women are admitted. First they will perhaps dance 'the long dance,' with the feathers but without the shields. The shields lie on the bed of sand prepared for them all day until the morning of the day on which meat is put into the fire when they are returned to their usual place. During this time outsiders may look in from beyond the limits but none may come inside. Very early next morning a man is heard coming from the eastward whooping in the distance. By sunrise he gets behind the southwest bed and enters by the south entry. This is the itci yahola, who wears beads, leggings, a fancy hatchet, and four tufts of hair, like scalps, on 'the rim of a cap.' While he dances the tcukoleidji (women leaders) sing for him, beginning before he enters. These tcukoleidji used to sit in the Alligator bed at this time, but, the Alligator clan having died out, they were later in the Panthers' bed. While this man is dancing the warriors, assembled by command back of the Warriors' bed, divide into two parties, get out bows and arrows and pistols and act as if they are going to fight. Then the women and the two old men who sang when the âsi was being parched move out to the tâdjo mound, stopping a few minutes at the Alligator bed on the way, and singing all the time. The itci yahola dances

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around with his scalp headdress and tomahawk; he approaches in this way the north entrance where he is met by two other men, one of whom carries a gun. They and the two men on the tâdjo mound sing responsively for a while. Meanwhile an image made of weeds has been placed half way between the tâdjo and the north entrance, and when the singing is finished the man with the gun shoots at it and the one with the tomahawk runs up to it and pretends to scalp it. Upon this all the warriors (including the tcukoleidji) rush in together, first around the tâdjo and then into the square, part dancing round in the usual manner and part in reverse, shooting off their guns and making a great noise. Then they all stampede down the hill to the creek and all are supposed to dive into the creek four times, though usually the women merely dash the water into their faces. This is the 'gun dance.' Then they (the tcukoleidji) will run back and catch some visitors and make them carry a log or something of the kind. There were eight or ten tcukoleidji, two being leaders. This ceremony is finished early in the day, and during the remainder of the day they lie about and rest. In the evening they have a little fun by dancing the dumpling dance, using the feathered sticks that were employed before, some having eagle feathers and some crane feathers.

"That same night orders are given to go hunting on the following morning. The men remain inside of the grounds every night; they may eat fresh sofki, fresh bread or honey or molasses, but no meat until the fourth morning. The morning after the gun dance they go hunting and the morning after that the meat is put into the fire as already related. This finishes the conjuring of the fire. Then the wormseed is used, they bathe in the creek, and 'the busk is destroyed.'

"The women dance that night and then they dance the 'old dance,' after which the men attend to their horses, and do any other necessary work. Next day they fast all day and have a stomp dance at night, and the morning following the miko makes them an address, tells them to be good, etc., and says 'When the moon is so and so you will hear from me.' Then they eat breakfast and go home.

"If any of the warriors does not come to the busk they afterwards send to exact a fine from him, or, if he is within reach, the first day they go out hunting they go and see what they can get from him. If a man stayed away from the busk persistently his seat might be declared vacant and a young man selected to fill it. This regulation applied to the other Creek towns as well. In later times whiskey was not allowed on the grounds and if any one brought it he was subject to a severe fine.

"Anciently two orderlies were sent around among the camps to see whether any of the young men who should be fasting had broken the bounds and gone off into the woods to sleep or to have inter-

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course with woman." According to my informant such offenders were almost always found out.

Some say that anciently the Tukabahchee had to busk before all other Creek towns. As we have seen, Atasi, Łiwahali, and Łapłáko used to go to Tukabahchee in later times to get their medicine; the Kealedji only sent for fire and returned the next morning while the rest remained and finished the busk with the Tukabahchee. It is said that Alabama and Hilibi were formerly attached in the same manner but became separated in course of time. In the same way Coweta and Eufaula are said to have busked together at one time.[51] Any stranger who once took medicine at Tukabahchee had to take it there for four successive years before he could take it anywhere else. These statements were made by a very old Indian, but for the most part they represent not an ancient condition but a later readjustment, after some of these towns had begun to fall off in numbers.

Earlier descriptions of the Tukabahchee busk, mostly confirmatory of the above though showing certain variations, are given by Stiggins and Hitchcock, the latter apparently mainly on the authority of James Islands. Stiggins says:

"I have made frequent mention of their celebration of the anniversary of the New Corn Crop, called by them *Booske tah*, as much as to say 'sacred purifying' which is the only thing wherein I ever saw them act as though they paid adoration to the all supreme. They seem even when they are preparing to go to the festival to solemnize their minds and actions as a devout person would enter a church to worship, and it is evident that originally it must have had great weight even in their political movements, for it will, after its celebration, stop the proceedings against any offender where life and death is not concerned, and stealing is not exempted. All other misdemeanors pass into oblivion, and a new score is begun for the ensuing festival. The Cowassawdays hold one festival more than the rest of the nation as they annually celebrate the coming of the new crop of beans with the same ceremonies as they do the festival of corn.[52] I have made a small digression from the point in [detailing] the order of their festival. I shall proceed to it in as accurate a manner as I can by saying that when the head men of a town see that the town or public corn is full in the ear and fit for use they set a day and inform the town people when the sacred festival is to commence.

"Before the day arrives they nominate some of their *emathlahs*, which word means 'gone at his bidding,' to boil their physic that they drink and bathe in in order to purify themselves, and of their most respectable chiefs they nominate three to officiate in the duties of

[51] Yet, according to another informant, the Eufaula formerly got their fire from Kealedji.

[52] Could this be the same as that held to "sanctify the mulberries?" (See p. 550.)

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the time as sacred priests or doctors. They then send some of the *emathlahs*, to gather a bush that acts as a quick and powerful emetic; they call it *micco ho yan ejah*. It is a 'kings cathartic.' They break enough to last the festival out. The bush is very much like the low myrtle bush in appearance but bears no berries. When the appointed festival day arrives all the town people put out their fires and repair to the town house or square when they commence the sacred festival. They have particular songs and dances for it; they dance during the festival at intervals. Their singers are generally some men of eminence invited from some other town as proficient singers, and they take it as a mark of distinction to receive an invitation for that purpose. After all have congregated they select men to boil physic, and those nominated to officiate as sacred men make a fire out of the public way so that they may not be polluted by the touch of an unpurified person during their strict penance, as they account their person sacred during their sacred and purified office. They proceed to boil their *a wo teach caw* [sawàtcka] which is an emetic. After it is thoroughly boiled the three men selected for the sacred office take it after it is put into large cooling pans of clay manufactory, and prepare it for drinking and bathing. Each man takes a pan and sets it before him and commences the process of cooling, having his head covered over and the joint of a cane in his hand. During the time they each sing a song of requests and thanks in a low under voice to the giver or taker of breath called *saw ga emisse*. In every interval the singer sticks his cane joint into the pan of *awa teach caw* and blows the virtue of said song of requests into the pan of physic in a most solemn manner, so that therewith it might operate in good to them that drink thereof. It is a quick and rapid emetic and drank for that purpose by all the men, and nearly all the women wash their children with it; the Creek Indians have no variation in their annual celebration of the new crop of corn, having particular songs and dances for the festive purpose. The commemoration in every town holds two days in the minor village towns, not including the first day. The Tuckabahchee town being the metropolis of the nation has a variety of show in their solemn feast; they continue it for six days. It is attended always by a large congregation who resort there to see and be seen.

"During their six days of *Boos ke tah* neither those set apart for doctoring or physic making, nor such as are appointed to show the strict rule or penance necessary on the occasion, make use of anything to eat or drink but the consecrated emetic of which they take profusely every day of the festival. They neither speak to nor touch a woman during said time as such a procedure would inevitably ruin their thanksgiving song, and instead of a blessing involve destruction,

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not only to the offender but to the community at large; nor will they shake hands with nor touch an unpurified friend during the time of their officiating. The whole festival is conducted with a grave, superstitious solemnity to the last day. On the last day they take out and exhibit the afore-mentioned six brass or breast plates. They are carried around by three men, one in each hand, in that day's dance. With much superstitious awe said plates are kept under the care of two men always, and after their exhibition in the dances they are laid in the depository, which is under the seats that uphold the mats that the kings sit on, in their part of the council square. It is said that three of said brass plates have hieroglyphic signs on them, whilst others say that they could trace Hebrew characters in a circle in the central part of the three oval ones. As they are scoured and burnished every year before they are exhibited no doubt the characters are nearly defaced. Their traditional account of how they came by them is that they were thrown or handed down by the *Giver or Taker of Breath*, viz. *Saw ga Emisse*, with an assurance to them that so long as they used them undefiled in their festivals no people could divest them of their festival ceremonies or country. On the same day they exhibit their manner of attack in warfare; several effigies are brought and placed about in the square to be attacked in a hostile manner by men appointed for the purpose, who, to show their skill in coming on their enemy by stealth, come on the effigies with all imaginable caution as though unperceived by them as an enemy. When they get near the square they all at once raise the war scream and charge on them, shoot, tomahawk, and scalp them, and though pursued by others they make their escape as they would in actual attack. As many have passed their time fasting it is necessary to eat of the new corn, and as all things in their political life have a new beginning, it is necessary to have new fire with which to cook their corn and other eatables, so that morning four men are appointed to the duty. Each takes a block with a small incision in it and a round stick and apply it in the indenture of the block and roll it to and fro in the palms of their hands until it takes fire by the friction. There is great expression of joy when the new fire is made; every family in the town and even adjacent townspeople take the new fire home to use in cooking during that year.

"In the course of the festival and usually at night in intervals for rest the young men are divested of their given name that they had from infancy and invested with what is called a war name by which they are known for the rest of their lives. It is done thus. Previous to the ceremony of naming the name that he is thereafter to assume is intimated to the young man by one of the kings or warriors, for either can give names. When the time arrives for the cremony one of the kings or warriors rises from his seat and calls the name in a

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shrill, long tone of voice. At the call the young man rises, picks up the war club or mallet called by them *attussa* and goes forth to him, when he informs the new man that he is now named as other men and he now can assume the manners and customs of other men. He then puts a feather on his head and when that is done the newly dubbed man raises his war club above his head, starts a long whoop, and runs round in a circle to the place from which he started and when he stops he cries 'youh youh.' From that time on he is a man with a name. After the *Boos ke tah* it is known that all light offenses are past into oblivion."[23]

Hitchcock's account runs thus:

"At the season of green corn, usually in July, the chiefs of the town meet and have a talk with their people about the Green Corn Dance. At this meeting they give orders to make the pots and other utensils needed, except those which are sacred. Some of the sacred utensils have been handed down [from] time immemorial. They meet again in seven days, again four days afterwards, and then again in two days. At these several meetings they give orders for preparations, appoint persons to procure wood, others to procure cane, etc., etc. At the fourth meeting they give out the 'broken days' for the Busk, seven from the day they give notice, or six not counting the day when the notice is given.

"All persons on the fifth night are ordered to encamp in the vicinity of the Square. On the sixth day all the women, dressed in full costume loaded with ornaments, dance for about three hours in the middle of the day. There are men appointed to watch them and if anyone leaves the dance without a good excuse, as sickness or other sufficient cause, she is deprived of her ornaments which are confiscated and she does not return. A certain number of women are appointed to conduct the dance and these are not allowed to eat until after the dance is over and they have bathed in the branch or creek. Before the dance these conductors are covered with what is called medicine, some sacred preparation, and this must be washed off before they can eat. The night of the day on which the women dance the men and women dance together. This is a friendly, familiar dance without particular preparation or ceremony. The day following, that is the sixth day [but the first of the regular ceremonial days], is a sacred day and the men fast all day, and during the day they take a medicine prepared from an herb that operates like a powerful emetic. On this day, the sixth, the sacred fire is made in a small house in a corner of the Square. The twelve persons appointed for this purpose remain all of the preceding night in the square and at early dawn[24] they commence a frictional process, rub-

[23] Stiggins, Ms.

[24] Elsewhere he says "at the crowing of the cock in the morning."

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bing a piece of cane in decayed wood with great velocity until the wood ignites. Sometimes it requires many hours for this.[55] The persons appointed for the purpose then prepare, over the fire, the medicine (emetic) with which the men cleanse themselves. During the day only those who take this medicine and those having duties there by appointment are allowed to enter the square.

"On the same day (the sixth) the sacred plates and other holy utensils are taken by persons appointed for the purpose from the places where they have been preserved, unseen by human eyes, for a twelve month, they thoroughly scour and clean them, and about one o'clock they are brought into the square. These utensils are regarded as presents from the Great Spirit. They are brought into the square with great state and ceremony. The persons bearing them are preceded by two men provided with cocoanut shells which they rattle continually, the men singing all the time, and they are followed by others with long reeds from the ends of which white feathers stream in the wind. The whole procession dances into the square and around it four times and then passes outside and dances around another spot four times. Then they again enter the square repeating the dance in and out four times. After this the sacred pieces are delivered over to the King (Micco) and after fasting all day and all night and dancing all night [on the second day of the ceremony], they dance the War Dance. For this dance there are two men selected called the head warriors. These two come into the square just before day unclothed except for a piece of stroud, but they are painted and covered with ornaments and carry a pouch for their pipe and tobacco. There are a number of women selected to assist the men in singing the war song for the two men to dance after around the square, or the ring in the center of the square. During the dancing two separate parties are selected and dressed like the two warriors except that they have shot pouches and rifles, and effigies are prepared and set up outside of the square to represent enemies surmounted with scalps, generally representing one woman and two men. The warriors approach in the Indian mode of advancing to battle by stealthily crawling behind such objects as make the best screens. (During all this time the two warriors are dancing inside of the square.)

"There are spies out who discover the approach of the two parties about to surround the effigies, and they go to the corner of the square and give notice to the two warriors that their friends in two parties are about to surround their enemies, the effigies. As soon as this is done a man rushes out beating a drum, and at the tap of the drum the head warriors come out of the square, each with an aid, and all four take up a position resting upon one knee, the chiefs with the

[55] Elsewhere he says "all the morning and until afternoon."

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tomahawks and their aids with rifles presented towards the effigies. While in that position they sing a very solemn war song which is answered in a chorus by their friends, the two parties of warriors. During the singing, the women, who were appointed to sing in the square, pass to a heap of earth previously thrown up for the purpose and are joined by their female friends for the purpose of welcoming their husbands and brothers returned from war. As soon as the women are assembled the head warriors give orders to advance. They take the lead themselves and scalp the effigies, and the two parties meet over the effigies as soon as they are scalped and fire their rifles at will accompanied with an uproar of whooping and yelling. They then pass around the hill where the women are and while the women sing and the men dance, whoop and yell, loading and firing their rifles. After dancing around their women for some time the men enter, firing the guns and rejoicing and dance around the square four times. They then terminate the ceremony for that day, those who have been dancing going to the branch and bathing. After this they return to the square and break their fast by eating green corn without limit with every other kind of vegetable—pumpkins, water melons, etc—but no meat nor salt. This occurs about 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning and the remaining portion of the day is devoted to rest as also the night following, except that some may choose to dance for amusement.

"It is a rule that if, before the Green Corn Dance, any person has eaten green corn or even the food cooked at the fire where corn has been roasted or otherwise prepared for food he is not allowed to participate in the dance or Busk. All who participate in the ceremony are required to clear away the fire and ashes from their domestic hearths and rekindle it with fire which has been made at the square. All who participate in the Busk and take the medicine are obliged for four days to sleep at the square every night and are not allowed to be with their wives. On the third day of the Busk the men dance with the plates and then go out with their rifles to kill deer, returning early in the afternoon (about 2 o'clock) with meat. They eat no meat this day, however, but satiate their appetite with sofkee, etc. The night is passed in dancing and sleeping according to their pleasure, the women not being present. On the fourth day the meat is prepared with salt and eaten for breakfast. After breakfast the women dance in the square, the men merely looking on. Until this day those who have eaten salt are not allowed to touch the ones engaged in the ceremony, who do not, until the fourth day, touch salt themselves. Toward the close of the day the men and women dance what is called the bison dance. The men wear only the stroud except that they add bushes and other means of assimilating their appearance to that of animals. They bend half forward and

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while dancing imitate the bellowing of bison. The women have terrapin shells loaded with peas and fastened to strips of leather in rows of three or four tied below their knees. The night of the fourth day the men and women dance together and then disperse to their homes except certain persons appointed for the purpose who remain at the square and sleep there three or four nights. After dancing around the plates on the third day, they deposit the latter in their appointed place of safety where they remain carefully protected until required the next year.

"During the ceremony . . . the young men frequently engage in a ball play or other amusement and . . . everything wears the appearance of rejoicing and gladness, and thanksgiving for the blessings of a plentiful promise of the productions of the earth." [58]

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To these may be added an account of a visit to the Tukabahchee busk of July, 1917, by Mr. G. W. Grayson, late chief of the Creek Nation, found among his papers and copied by the writer with the kind permission of Mr. Grayson's family. Unfortunately, one page of the manuscript is missing. I have found it necessary to make a few changes in the wording for the sake of smoothness. The most important contribution contained in this narrative is the insight it gives into the customs observed in receiving a guest from a friendly town. A stray note informs us, on the authority of one of the oldest men in Tukabahchee, that the Power Above who had instituted the ceremony said, "You shall not call my name openly in the congregation; if you do, it will not be well with you."

"[I] arrived at Tuckabatchee Busk ground on July 27, 1917, while the women, twenty-six in number, were dancing. Most of them were apparently of middle age and probably mothers of families. They appeared to be very respectable women and were adorned with long wide ribbons of silk flowing gorgeously from their heads, very much like the women whom we saw some five years ago in the dances of this kind as then conducted by the Okfuskeys near the present town of Eufaula.

"After the women had executed several rounds, they were required to surrender their vttussa vhake ['like war-clubs,' little wooden sticks carved in a manner supposed to resemble the forms of the ancient war-clubs], when the men engaged in the Old dance (punka vcale) mixed up with the women in their ribbons and finery. One round of this was danced and that ended the exercises. At night the people danced until about 10 o'clock and recessed until the morrow.

(Here a page is missing.)

". . . Since last night the buskers have been fasting and must continue it all this day [July 28], and tonight and until tomorrow morning when they will be permitted to partake of food. It is with

[58] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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regret that they admit that the correct practices of the Busk as they obtained in the olden days are not now correctly known to any of the members. This fact became painfully evident some years ago when the old men counseled together over the subject and decided that they would hereafter confine the exercises of the Busk to what is known as the 'Boy's Fast' (Chebunuckochee im Pusketa), since no member appears able to instruct in or conduct correctly the proper exercises for the adults, while there were many who could conduct the Boy's Fast correctly. So all that we can now see of the Busk is what is known as the Boy's Fast.

"The copper or brass plates are so sacred, and their exposure and handling by incompetent hands so liable to be attended by dire consequences, that we cannot get a view of them. It appears that the town has no medicine men who are sufficiently educated in the mysteries to uncover and handle them. The tradition respecting these plates is that when the Town becomes unable to handle them properly, they are to be surrendered to the Shawnees, and the old man Sardy says they may come now and demand them any year.

"Late this evening I was informed that since the Cowetas, of which I am a member, have ever been the 'big friend' of the Tuckabatchees, and I, a Coweta, though unknown to the majority of the Buskers, had paid them a visit the town owed me a formal reception in keeping with the ancient custom of the respective towns which they desired should be tendered me in accordance with that custom. It transpired, however, that no one save the old gentleman Conchart Emarthla, by whom I had been entertained all day at his camp, knew anything of the ancient customs to be observed at such receptions, and he was lying prone on his back in his camp and in misery from muscular rheumatism. He was solicited by several different messengers from the town chief, sent at several separate times, to go to the dance circle and conduct the reception ceremony, which, despite his ailment, and in deference to me, he was willing to do provided he could be conveyed from his camp to the dance circle. After a number of consultations on the subject, during which the people were busily engaged in the common stomp dance in the square near by, it was decided that the old gentleman should be conveyed in his daughter's $1,600 automobile, standing a few steps from his camp. I accompanied him in the automobile, which his son drove for us, and on the way to the square he instructed me to remain in the auto while he went to confer with the authorities on the subject, after which a messenger would soon be sent to conduct me in as was customary on such occasions. I was to follow him and, when near the seats, say in a voice clearly audible to the assembly, 'I have arrived.'

"Accordingly, on our arrival at the square the old gentleman went in and after some little delay delivered a characteristic, old-

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fashioned speech treating in part of the ancient friendship subsisting between the Tuckabatchees and Cowetas. He told the audience that one of the Cowetas had arrived and that he should be received with all those formalities 'that it was the custom of our forefathers to observe on such occasions in times past.' The old gentleman, in short, delivered a splendid address in the ancient manner, the kind that was once so common with public speakers among the Creeks. After this address, I was conducted into the circle by a special messenger. When I came before the men, who were disposed on seats made of logs, I exclaimed as I had been previously instructed, 'I have arrived.' The old man then instructed the audience as to the order of the hand shaking that was now to be performed. After the hand-shaking I exchanged small bits of 'Star' tobacco—a brand of the manufactured weed much in vogue at this time with chewers of tobacco—with each of the audience, and when we finished the proceeding the pockets of my coat were well loaded with these bits of tobacco. When we were through with this performance, the old gentleman at whose side I sat called up Arbeca Micco, a son of Geo. Long deceased, and, informing him that I was of his own, the Tiger, clan, directed him to conduct me to a seat among the members of his clan where I could be with the other Tigers. This he did and I sat conversing with the Tigers, while the dance was going on, for about an hour, when I retired to my pallet in a tent assigned to me by John Harjo at his camp. The dance was continued until daylight Sunday morning.

"Sunday, July 29th, 1917.—I arose quite early this morning and after breakfast went out to the dance circle where a few men were lying about on the ground and on the old wooden log seats asleep and a few others were sitting in small groups conversing lazily, though much fatigued by the exercises of the all night dance. The only sight that I got was a better view of the United States flag, which floated from a staff near the town chief's seat. This flag the Indians call in their language A-book-he Tca-te ["red flag"]. I also saw the old pine box, about 30 inches square I should judge, sitting on the log seats provided for the chiefs' shed, in which I was informed were inclosed the Brass or Copper plates of which we have so often heard."

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If two families lived a long way from their own busk grounds but near each other's, they sometimes swapped duties, each going to the nearer ground. Such swapping usually took place only between towns in the same fire clan but Cook has known of such an exchange between Tulsa and Tukabahchee Indians. If a man had married outside his town, he was obliged to attend the busk in his wife's town as well as the one in his own, but he could not dance at the former. If he stayed away from the busk of his wife's people, he

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would be fined a sum amounting, in later times, to something like $10, and if he refused to pay his horse would be carried off. 716

The Tukabahchee busk proper lasted theoretically eight days, two more than the number given by Stiggins, and this number may be made out if we include the day of assembly and preparation and the day when the people separated to go home. Anciently the busks of Coweta, Kasihta, Kealedji, and perhaps some of the other larger towns were of eight days also, but those of the smaller towns were of four days' duration only, and this difference existed as far back as the time of Hawkins, at the end of the eighteenth century.[47] It is plain from the description of the Tukabahchee busk that it really consisted of a repetition of the same thing twice. First there is a day for arranging the preliminaries, placing visitors, etc., next a day of feasting, then a day of fasting, then a day of relaxation. Then comes a day of hunting corresponding to the day of preparation, a second day of feasting, a second day of fasting, and finally a day when they dispersed. The same idea of repetition by fours, or of the division of the long busk into two periods of four days each, is in evidence in the other accounts which we have of the long form, but the various elements are not always reckoned in the same manner nor do they occur in the same invariable sequence. The earliest account of a Creek eight-day busk which attempts to present the happenings day by day is that of Hawkins, which has been frequently quoted. As it is important to compare this with the accounts already given it is subjoined.

"*First Day.*—In the morning, the warriors clean the yard of the square, and sprinkle white sand, when the a-cee (decoction of the cassine yupon) is made. The fire-maker makes the fire as early in the morning as he can, by friction. The warriors cut and bring into the square, four logs, as long each as a man can cover by extending his two arms; these are placed in the centre of the square, end to end, forming a cross, the outer ends pointed to the cardinal points; in the centre of the cross, the new fire is made. During the first four days, they burn out these four logs.

"The pin-e-bun-gau, (turkey dance,) is danced by the women of the turkey tribe; and while they are dancing the possau is brewed. This is a powerful emetic. The possau is drank from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon. After this, the Toc-co-yule-gau [tokyûlga] (tadpole,) is danced by four men and four women. (In the evening, the men dance E-ne-hou-bun-gau [henîha obânga] the dance of the people second in command.) This they dance till daylight.

[47] That the eight-day busk was anciently more general is indicated, however, by Hakins's statement that it "formerly embraced a period of eight days, but now a period of four days." (Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 272.)

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"*Second Day.*—This day, about ten o'clock, the women dance Its-ho-bun-dau [Itcha obánga] (gun-dance).[58] After twelve, the men go to the new fire, take some of the ashes, rub them on the chin, neck and belly, and jump head foremost into the river, and they return into the square. The women having prepared the new corn for the feast, the men take some of it and rub it between their hands, then on their faces and breasts, and then they feast.

"*Third Day.*—The men sit in the square.

"*Fourth Day.*—The women go early in the morning and get the new fire, clean out their hearths, sprinkle them with sand, and make their fires. The men finish burning out the first four logs, and they take ashes, rub them on their chin, neck and belly, and they go into the water. This day they eat salt, and they dance Obengauchapco [Obánga tcápko] (the long dance).

"*Fifth Day.*—They get four new logs, and place them as on the first day, and they drink a-cee, a strong decoction of the cassine yupon.

"*Sixth Day.*—They remain in the square.

"*Seventh Day.*—Is spent in like manner as the sixth.

"*Eighth Day.*—They get two large pots, and their physic plants, 1st. Mic-co-ho-yon-e-juh [miko hoyanīdja]. 2. Toloh. 3. A-che-nau [atcīna]. 4. Cup-pau-pos-cau [kápapaska]. 5. Chu-lis-sau, the roots. 6. Tuck-thlau-lus-te [tokla lasti]. 7. Tote-cul-hil-lis-se-wau [totka hiliswa]. 8. Chofeinsuck-cau-fuck-au [tcufi insákofáká].[59] 9. Cho-fe-mus-see. 10. Hil-lis-hut-ke [hilis hátki]. 11. To-te cuh chooc-his-see. 12. Welau-nuh [wīlána]. 13. Oak-chon-utch-co [oktcanitcka]. 14. Co-hal-le-wau-gee [koha liwagi, young soft cane]. These are all put into the pots and beat up with water. The chemists (E-lic-chul-gee [Aliktcálgi], called by the traders physic makers,) they blow in it through a small reed, and then it is drank by the men, and rubbed over their joints till the afternoon.

"They collect old corn cobs and pine burs, put them into a pot, and burn them to ashes. Four virgins who have never had their menses, bring ashes from their houses, put them in the pot and stir all together. The men take white clay and mix it with water in two pans. One pan of the clay and one of the ashes, are carried to the cabin of the Mic-co, and the other two to that of the warriors. They then rub themselves with the clay and ashes. Two men appointed to that office, bring some flowers of tobacco of a small kind, (Itch-au-chu-le-puc-pug-gee [Hitci atculi pákpągi] or, as the name imports, the old man's tobacco, which was prepared on the first day, and put in a pan on the cabin of the Mic-co, and they give a little of it to every one present.

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[58] Hawkins has made an error here on account of the close resemblance of two words. Gun is i'tca, but this is itcha' and the dance is usually called a "women's dance."

[59] This is called "buck bush" in English. The Creek word means "rabbit's carrying-basket string."

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"The Micco and counsellors then go four times round the fire, and every time they face the east, they throw some of the flowers into the fire. They then go and stand to the west. The warriors then repeat the same ceremony.

"A cane is stuck up at the cabin of the Mic-co with two white feathers in the end of it. One of the Fish tribe, (Thlot-lo-ul-gee [Lálogálgi],) takes it just as the sun goes down, and goes off toward the river, all following him. When he gets half way to the river, he gives the death whoop; this whoop he repeats four times, between the square and the water's edge. Here they all place themselves as thick as they can stand, near the edge of the water. He sticks up the cane at the water's edge, and they all put a grain of the old man's tobacco on their heads, and in each ear. Then, at a signal given, four different times, they throw some into the river, and every man at a like signal plunges into the river, and picks up four stones from the bottom. With these they cross themselves on their breats four times, each time throwing a stone into the river, and giving the death whoop; they then wash themselves, take up the cane and feathers, return and stick it up in the square, and visit through the town. At night they dance O-bun-gau Haujo [Obánga hadjo], (mad dance,) and this finishes the ceremony."[60]

It is to be noticed that four logs are burned up on the first four days, at the end of which time the men rub ashes upon their bodies and go into the water to bathe, and that in the second period of four days the same thing is repeated except that clay is added to the ashes. The division into two periods is further accentuated by the use of pasa on the first day of the first period and the use of the miko hoyanídja and the other medicines, the adilŏ'ga, on the last day of the last period. It is also to be observed that ási was drunk early on the first and fifth days. This separate use of the two medicines is of course a considerable variation from the later usage, and there are in fact many differences. Among these it may be noted that the yard was cleaned on the first day of the busk and not at some previous time as is now customary. Next that the new fire was made on the very first day instead of the fasting day, but the women did not clean out their hearths and relight them until the fourth day, whereas they do it now —or did some years back—immediately after the kindling. Since the Turkey women danced the turkey dance on the morning of the first day, just before the pasa was drunk, and women participated in the tadpole dance right afterward, it would appear that the square was not shut off when this medicine was taken or if it was it was only for a few hours, "from twelve o'clock to the middle of the afternoon." It is to be noted that the men rubbed themselves with ashes and jumped into the river on the second day as well as the fourth and

[60] Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 75-78.

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eighth. This would suggest three periods f fasting instead of two, but Hawkins unfortunately does not tell us just when the men fasted and when they were shut up within the bounds of the square. On the third, sixth, and seventh days we are told that the men sat in the square but we do not know whether they were fasting or lounging. At least they appear not to have been taking the medicine at that time. The conjuration with native tobacco was probably, as we know it to have been in later times, to keep away ghosts. I do not know what the ceremonial with the river pebbles may have signified. It will be noticed that this ceremony closed as usual with the mad or drunken dance.

Hodgson gives a short reference to a busk, probably the Kasihta busk, on the authority of a white trader who had been in the Creek Nation 15 years.

"Before the corn turns yellow, the inhabitants of each town or district assemble; and a certain number enter the streets of what is more properly called the town, with the war-whoop and savage yells, firing their arrows in the air, and going several times around the pole. They then take emetics, and fast two days; dancing round the pole a great part of the night. All the fires in the township are then extinguished, and the hearths cleared, and new fires kindled by rubbing two sticks. After this, they parch some of the new corn, and, feasting a little, disperse to their several homes. Many of the old Chiefs are of opinion, that their ancestors intended this ceremony as a thank-offering to the Supreme Being, for the fruits of the earth, and for success in hunting or in war."[61]

If Bartram's short account, which probably applies to the Atasi busk, is to be relied upon there were considerable differences between the busks of even the Upper Creek towns in his time. He says that they fasted and took medicine for three days, and on the fourth day lighted the new fire, prepared new corn and fruits, and had a feast followed by an all night dance. "This," he says, "continues three days, and the four following days they receive visits, and rejoice with their friends from neighboring towns, who have purified and prepared themselves."[62] If we reckon in all of the days given here this busk would extend to from 10 to 12 days, but the account of it is too fragmentary to be trusted very far. From an earlier statement of Bartram's it would seem that this town made an unusually clean sweep of its worn-out property before the ceremony. He says that "having previously provided themselves with new cloaths, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old pro-

[61] Hodgson, Jour. through N. A., p. 268. [62] Bartram, Travels, p. 503.

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visions, they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire."[63]

Milfort, however, says much the same, speaking perhaps particularly of Otciapofa. "Each year, in the month of August, they assemble by settlements (par habitation) to celebrate the harvest festival; then they renew all that they have used during the year which has just expired; the women break and shatter all their household utensils, and renew them."[64]

The four-day ceremony as recorded and observed by myself is very like the Tukabahchee ceremony cut in half, minus, of course, the shield ceremonial and in general stripped of much of the complication of the latter. The Eufaula ceremony always came in July and within recent years, instead of being determined by the moon, it has been fixed definitely on the 15th of July. The 13th is the day of assembly, the 14th the feast day, and the 16th the day when all separate. Thus the four are made out. I have seen part of this busk myself, but the following account from Jackson Lewis is reproduced by preference, since it gives the less corrupted ceremonial of an earlier period.

The first day of the ceremonial is, as we know, the day for assembling. "On the second day the women begin dancing about 4 p.m. They get through before dark and at dark the men and women dance together around the fire for from one to three hours. Then the men are informed by the chiefs that they must prepare to take the medicine on the morrow. The woman's dance is conducted always by the Hathagas (owners of the white); no other clans can have anything to do with it. While the women dance the chiefs send out men to cut four sticks of wood three or four feet long, which are brought in and prepared. Next morning all of the ashes of the previous fires are raked away and in the place which they occupied a quantity of new earth is deposited brought in from outside of the grounds. On this the fire-maker kindles a new fire made of four sticks of wood pointing to the four cardinal points. One person is detailed for the sole purpose of watching and keeping up the fire during the day on which the medicine is being taken. After the sun is fairly well up two persons are sent to dig up medicine roots and macerate them ready for treatment by the doctor. As the drinkers of the medicine exhaust the supply these two men bring up water to replace it. One of these belongs to the same clan as the town chief and outranks the other who is from the henihàlgi, and is called his heniha.

"Any person can be detailed by the chiefs as replenisher of the fire. The maker of the fire, who is usually an old man well initiated into

[63] Bartram, Travels, p. 507. [64] Milfort, Mém., p. 216.

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the mysteries, puts the final medicine into the compound, sings a song over it, and blows into it through a cane. After this he sits still for a while thinking of what he is going to say and probably repeating a formula to himself. Then he again blows and again sits quiet, repeating this for some time, and finally he tells the people that it is ready for them. This medicine consists of mîko hoyanîdja, with which they combine wormseed. The âsi or cassine is not now used. When all is ready the chiefs are informed of it and they first of all come up and take large potations. All those of the north bed partake first, facing the east as they drink; afterward the henihâlgi, then the tástánâgâlgi, and finally all others. A portion of the medicine is carried over to a place between the north and east beds and placed there for the women and children. As it is to ward off disease and misfortune they wet their faces and hands in it and wet the faces and hands of their children. The medicine is taken in this way four times during the day. No particular number of pots is prescribed. Formerly they were pots made of earthenware, but now barrels have taken their place. They are always so placed that the sun cannot shine on the liquid inside. It is usually drunk in large quantities and then vomited forth, but some who do not wish to vomit it out take small quantities of liquid and wash their faces and wet their hands in it. About the third time the medicine has been taken the hathagâlgi gather a number of slender canes (here slender switches from the bottoms are used, 8 or 9 feet long). They kill a little white heron (fus hâtki)—if they can kill a white crane it is better still—take the white feathers from it and tie them on the ends of the canes. The hathagâlgi do this and they also detail two persons to superintend the dance and see that it is properly conducted. The functions of these two men are indicated by canes three or four feet long with feathers tied to one end. The long switches are then distributed to all of the men who have been taking medicine. Bearing them they then engage in the dance known as tcitahaia, after which they take the medicine for the fourth time and then repair to the nearest water-hole to bathe. During all this time the grounds are marked off and made prohibited ground, and anyone not taking medicine may not go beyond the line marked off around it. The people taking medicine dare not come in contact with anyone who is not taking it. When these people have bathed and gotten back these prohibitions are removed. During the taking of the medicine the chief's interpreter speaks for him and lectures the people, the chief telling him what to say. This speaker is generally taken from the Potato clan. In his speech the chief counsels the people, especially the women, not to speak evilly of each other, to dwell in fellowship with all, and he counsels hospitality to all who have come to the busk. Many similar talks through the same interpreter are made during the busk. This lecturing is of very ancient

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origin. On the night of the 15th all of the people—men, women, and children—engage in "the all-night dance." This concludes the busk for the year.

"Long intervals elapse between the first and second and second and third drinkings which the chiefs make use of to select young men to receive new names. A person is selected by the chiefs to inform the youths, and he goes to each of them letting him know what is planned. At Eufaula the men are usually named in pairs, and one of the two must be a person who has already been named at some previous time. One person, or more than two, may, however, be named. After the youths have been informed the chief usually employs his interpreter to call these young men up, and he calls out the new name the youth is to bear twice in a long drawn out voice as if the youth were far away. The youth does not come until the second call. When he comes up they give him a bit of tobacco, but in very ancient times they presented him with a small piece of a scalp taken from the enemy. It is handed to him by the chief's interpreter, and, having received it, the youth waves it over the head of the chief, toward the roof of his cabin and says 'Yu yu' upon which all in the cabin reply 'Mádō', thank you. Then he goes back to his seat."

If a man ate roasting ears before the busk no one would touch him or have anything to do with him. Such a person was given medicine last. At Hilibi if a person died during the busk they would fast, drink medicine, and dance all night and by the next noon take dinner as usual. They would do likewise if a man had gotten drunk. There is an indisposition to talk about sacred things, especially matters connected with the busk, unless one is fasting. One informant said "I can tell a little round the outside but not all for I have had my meals."

Swan gives the following account of a four-day busk on the authority of Alexander McGillivray, and it must therefore have been the ancient observance at Otciapofa:

"When corn is ripe, and the cassina or new black-drink has come to perfection, the busking begins on the morning of a day appointed by the priest, or fire-maker (as he is styled) of the town, and is celebrated for four days successively.

"On the morning of the first day, the priest, dressed in white leather moccasins and stockings, with a white dressed deerskin over his shoulders, repairs at break of day, unattended, to the square. His first business is to create the new fire, which he accomplishes with much labor by the friction of two dry sticks. After the fire is produced, four young men enter at the openings of the four corners of the square, each having a stick of wood for the new fire; they approach the new fire with much reverence, and place the ends of the wood they carry, in a very formal manner, to it.[66a] After the fire

[66a] Cf. pp. 561-562, 569.

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is sufficiently kindled, four other young men come forward in the same manner, each having a fair ear of new corn, which the priest takes from them, and places with great solemnity in the fire, where it is consumed. Four young warriors then enter the square in the manner before mentioned, each having some of the new cassina. A small part of it is given to the new fire by the priest, and the remainder is immediately parched and cooked for use. During these formalities, the priest is continually muttering some mysterious jargon which nobody understands, nor is it proper for any inquiries to be made on the subject; the people in general believe that he is then communicating with the *great master of breath*.

"At this time, the warriors and others being assembled, they proceed to drink black-drink in their usual manner. Some of the new fire is next carried and left on the outside of the square, for public use; and the women allowed to come and take it to their several houses, which have the day before been cleaned, and decorated with green boughs, for its reception; all the old fire in the town having been previously extinguished, and the ashes swept clean away, to make room for the new. During this day, the women are suffered to dance with the children on the outside of the square, but by no means suffered to come into it. The men keep entirely by themselves, and sleep in the square.

"The second day is devoted by the men to taking their war-physic. It is a strong decoction of the button snake-root, or senneca, which they use in such quantities as often to injure their health by producing spasms, etc.

"The third day is spent by the young men in hunting or fishing, while the elder ones remain in the square and sleep, or continue their black-drink, war-physic, etc., as they choose. During the first three days of busking, while the men are physicking, the women are constantly bathing. It is unlawful for any man to touch one of them, even with the tip of his finger; and both sexes abstain rigidly from all kinds of food or sustenance, and more particularly from salt.

"On the fourth day, the whole town are assembled in the square, men, women, and children promiscuously, and devoted to conviviality. All the game killed the day before by the young hunters, is given to the public; large quantities of new corn, and other provisions, are collected and cooked by the women over the new fire. The whole body of the square is occupied with pots and pans of cooked provisions, and they all partake in general festivity. The evening is spent in dancing, or other trifling amusements, and the ceremony is concluded.

"N. B.—All the provisions that remain are a perquisite to the old priest, or fire-maker.

"ANTH. ALEX. M'GILLIVRAY."[85]

[85] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 267-268.

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In this ceremonial, as in the Kasihta busk recorded by Hawkins, the fire was kindled on the morning of the first day, but here the similarity ends. The women were shut out of the square on this first day, whereas it is evident they were not at Kasihta. The pasa was drunk on the second day instead of the first. It is to be noticed that this is the only town of the Creeks, so far as we know, in which the ási was sanctified along with the corn. I am inclined to think that this description leaves out a great deal, since no mention is made of the miko hoyanīdja or other medicines besides the pasa and ási, and because the bath with which the busk broke up is not recorded. The feasting day appears to have been at the end instead of the beginning.

The Apalachicola busk was held in the latter half of July, lasted only four days like the two preceding, and the days were named like those at Eufaula, the days of assembling, eating, fasting, and dispersing. About four people got together to decide on the war titles conferred at that time. One informant said they were taken from the names belonging to the clan of the aspirant's father, so that they changed every generation, but this was contradicted by everyone else. The people in the north bed selected some persons to call out the new names for the people in the west bed (the Chiefs' bed) who did not move from their places. Those who were to make the new fire were selected by the head men of the town from a certain clan and they held office for four years. This clan was probably the Bear. Certain men were also selected to place the four main sticks for the fire. The medicine was taken four times, just as the sun was on the eastern horizon, at noon, in the middle of the afternoon, and at sunset. Then they went to the river and dipped four times, facing the east. After that they could eat the new corn, beans, etc.

At Tuskegee, according to information obtained both by Doctor Speck and myself, there was a feast for the visitors from friendly towns on the first day, and during the same day the medicines were collected. On the second day the men fasted, the medicines were prepared and taken, the new fire lighted, a game of ball played, and finally the dancers bathed and danced all that night. The bath may, however, have occurred on the following morning (Silas Jefferson). The introduction of a ball game on this day seems unusual, as also another fact which I give on the authority of the last chief, that those who were going to fast rubbed their bodies with medicine and were scratched on the calves of the legs, the hips, and the hands up and down and crosswise, and also crosswise of their breasts. Two pots of hot medicine were taken first and then two pots of cold medicine later to induce vomiting.[86]

[86] The ball game and scarification seem to have been adopted from the Yuchi, who were neighbors of the Tuskegee after they moved west.

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The Coweta busk has been given up for some time. As the capital town of the Lower Creeks, specific information regarding it would be of interest, but the notes I have are somewhat confusing and suggest that some of them apply to an earlier form of the busk and some to a later form. According to one informant, the day of gathering and the day of eating were identical. On the morning after this day six men went out very early before they had eaten anything and brought in the medicines. Those who were going to fast also abstained from food. The medicine was prepared and taken about noon. Afterwards there was a ball game between the men and women, followed by a dance which lasted until midnight. They rested from midnight until morning and next day began taking the medicine again. They took it four times a day for four days, fasted, and danced the feather dance and the gun dance. The night of the fourth day there was an all-night dance, and during this time the chief usually talked to them, warning them not to commit adultery or have sexual relations within the prescribed limits and bringing his remarks home by pointing to a long pole on which hung switches, and the ears, nose, and hair cut off of some earlier offender. Early next morning all went to the creek and dived into the water four times. Then they came back, all ate salted food, and the visitors, of whom there would then be crowds, were given food. That night they danced again, sometimes until midnight, sometimes all night. On the following morning the visitors prepared to go, and they gave a sign with the hand which signified "You friends that are here, now I am going." After the visitors had gone the chief made another speech to his own people, after which they, too, prepared to leave. The new fire was probably lighted on the first day of the fast, and four ears of corn were brought in and laid upon the sticks or beside them. Four fishes were also brought in. My informants did not know what was done with them, but, judging by the treatment accorded the meat at Tukabahchee, it may be considered probable that they were burned in the new fire. In late times there were only three men in the north bed during the fast, and these moved into the south bed when visitors were admitted. Women and children were admitted to seats in the east bed in later times, but anciently it was occupied by the younger men. There were two medicine pots, one of which contained both pasa and miko hoyanīdja and was warmed, while the other contained miko hoyanīdja alone and was cold.

According to a second informant the Coweta fasted one entire day and took what they called "the white nourishment" three days longer. This included all kinds of food but meat and salt. While this is probably correct I am doubtful whether we have here the original custom or a stage in the decay of the institution, a compromise to alleviate the asperity of the abstinence.

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The account of this busk given by a third informant differs considerably and is probably the later form:

When the time was approaching for the annual busk the town chief and his assistants, who were all from the same bed, would call together those Coweta men who lived near by and they would fix upon a date for the busk. Those Coweta living at a distance were notified in the usual way through a messenger who brought each a little bundle of sticks about as large as matches. One of these was thrown away every day until two were left, when the man knew that it was the day when he must start. On the day represented by the last stick all were gathered at the square ground. That night they had a dance, and in the morning before breakfast some persons were sent out after the different medicines. When these individuals came back they took a bath and then ate for the first time that day. The rest of the day all spent as suited them, and that night there was another dance. Next day was the day of feasting. If there were delegations of visitors from other towns of the same fire clan they would come in, one delegation at a time, the Chiaha, the Broken Arrows, etc. Each delegation would first dance around outside of the square toward the northeast while the Coweta men danced around toward the southwest. Then they came in and the visitors sat first in the north bed which had been vacated for them. As they did so they raised their right hands toward the Coweta (who were seated in the Chiefs' bed) but in a direction over the heads of the latter with a kind of sweep and said, "Are you friends here?" After remaining in the north bed a short time the visitors got up again and passed around in front of the Chiefs' bed. The Coweta chief would say "Have you come?" (ȧlahkitcka') and the chief of the visitors would answer "Yes" (Hehé). Each of the Coweta would then give a piece of tobacco to the visitor opposite him and the latter would give another piece in return. Then the visitors made the same salute as before and passed out to eat. After that 10 bowls of food were brought into the square all prepared. Then the visitors' women were called in and a bowl of food was sent to each delegation of visitors. The women took this to their own people and they feasted upon it.

Before this feast was served, however, the Coweta danced the gun dance (tabŏtcka obánga). Part of them came in with guns loaded only with powder and discharged them. Then all would run down to the creek while another squad armed with guns or bows and arrows pursued them all the way. All then bathed and returned. Women danced this dance and while they were doing so four men sang for them, using a drum and a cocoanut rattle. My informant added that nowadays this dance would be unsafe, for someone would certainly be shot to satisfy a grudge. After the women had been dismissed

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with their bowls of food and the visitors had begun their feast the Coweta commenced to fast, though they had in fact eaten nothing that morning. They remained inside the bounds of the square and could not so much as touch one of those who had eaten. In case a man did so he was fined 25 or 50 cents. Each of the three medicines, pasa, miko hoyanīdja, and âsi, was mixed in a different vessel. The bark of the miko hoyanīdja was scraped off before it was put into the pot, but the pasa was put in whole, after which water was added, the medicine man conjured it, and it was drunk hot. Two bearers carried the medicines in long-handled gourds to those who were to drink and uttered the yahola cry as they delivered it.[47] Each took enough of it to make him vomit. All of the fasters took the medicine four times during the day, but the day following was the regular busk day. Early on the morning of that day before sunrise four green logs about a yard long were brought in, placed in a cross shape, each stick toward one of the cardinal points, and, by means of flint and steel, fire was started at the place where all came together, the sparks being caught upon some punk (totpāfka). There had been a fire in this place during the preliminary days but before the new fire was lighted all of the ashes from this were cleared away along with all of those of the fire of the preceding year. In the time of my informant this fire was not distributed to the camps. The sticks were named after the points of the compass: South, wahâla; north, holīna; east, hasōsa ("rising sun"); and west, akâlatka ("toward the sunset"). Four roasting ears were brought in by persons who had special charge of them, but my informant did not know what was done with them. Two men called "the fishers" also went out and brought in four fishes. Probably these were all burned in the fire.

The medicine was taken at about 9, 12, 3, and 6 o'clock. After the first medicine taking they danced the tcidahaia obânga, with the usual feathered canes. One man led, accompanying himself with a rattle, and the others responded. The song goes like this:

hâtci dâ+hia
hâtci dâ+hia
hiha hī+hē+++

This refrain is repeated over and over many times. After this was over the dancers went down to the creek to bathe. By this time the four busk logs were about burned up and were all shoved on together and a big fire made up about which the people danced all night. When the fast was over they partook of a meal in which salt must be used. The dances on the last night were of various kinds, and at intervals the chief made speeches to his people, telling them how to behave, and in general inculcating virtues. Finally he

[47] This informant probably confused the customs connected with the âsi with the usages regarding the regular busk medicines.

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THE CREEK BUSK: THE WOMEN'S DANCE

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THE CREEK BUSK: WOMEN'S DANCE AT THE OKCHAI BUSK IN 1912

p. 588 (B)

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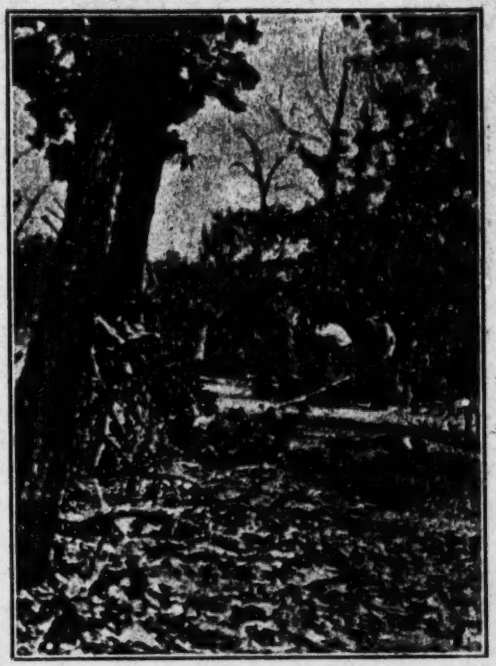
a. Box for tobacco, medicine, and drum in the Chiefs' Bed



b. Rite of the emetic

THE OKCHAI BUSK

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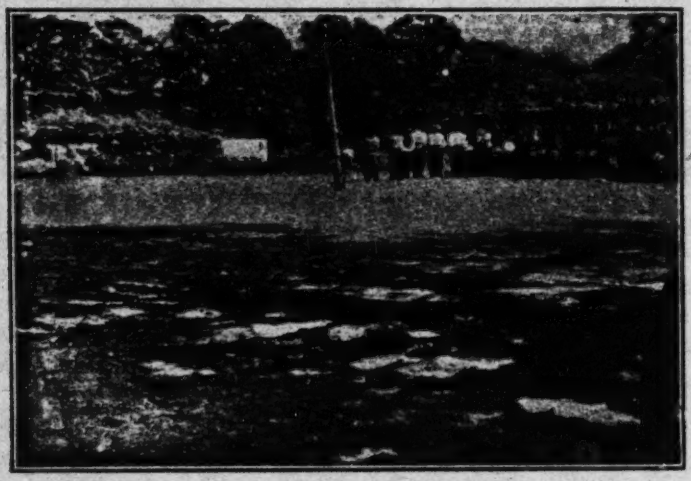

TAKING THE EMETIC AT OKCHAI

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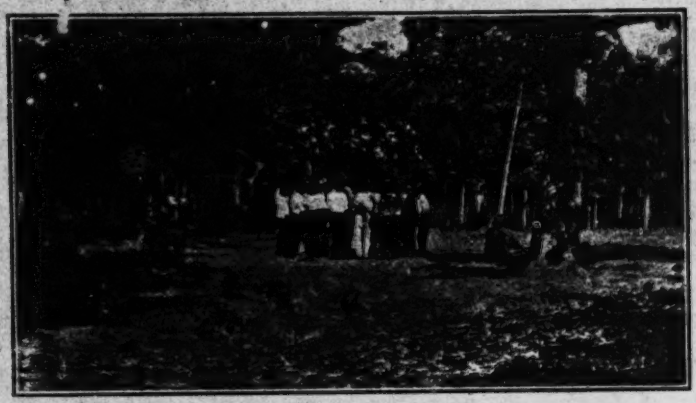

a. The tritahaia or "feather dance"

b. The tritahaia or "feather dance"

c. The Square Ground just after the fasters have left to bathe in a neighboring creek

THE CREEK BUSK

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told them that if they lived through another year they must all assemble at the busk again. The next morning all went home. In commenting on the Coweta busk Bosomworth says that it was said to be an ancient custom for the chief to remain eight days in the square ground after the ceremony was over, a period which he spent "in performing several ceremonies and giving several necessary orders to his people."[88]

I find a conflicting note to the effect that the four busk logs were pushed in every day for four days, after which occurred the all night dance. Perhaps this applied to the older form of the busk. During this fast a man of the Aktayatci and two others were the only occupants of the north bed. Like one or two of the extant grounds, Coweta had a small house for the medicine pots.

I have myself witnessed the busks of Eufaula, Hilibi, and Okchai, all of which are similar (see pls. 8–12). At Eufaula the women's dance took place very late in the afternoon, at Hilibi it was very early, while at Okchai it was intermediate in time. The medicine at Okchai was taken considerably earlier in the day than at the two other places. The following additional notes were obtained from Tàl mutcàsi, the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łàlogàlga, who was familiar with the older customs.

When the ashes were removed from the old fire[89] by the warriors the camps were cleaned up and the warriors removed the ashes from them also. The women's medicine was placed southwest of the square, the men's medicine on the north end of the Chiefs' bed. The fire has been lighted in recent years with a match. Like the Tukabahchee they brought sand and laid it out in the place where the fire was to be lighted. Each of the four foundation sticks was conjured in advance and placed at the center of one of the four beds. A man was appointed to take charge of each stick and at a given word they approached the center and laid their four sticks down at the same instant in their proper positions.[89a] Anciently two sticks of post oak were used in making fire and later flint and steel were obtained from the French, and the sparks were caught upon true punk obtained from hickory or sycamore trees where the limbs have come away. When the punk caught fire, it was picked off, mixed with hay, and fanned until the whole burst into flames. The Asilanabi and Łàlogàlga squares are within a few miles of each other, and nowadays (1912) they fast two days at Asilanabi and two days at Łàlogàlga to make the four.

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[88] The Bosomworth Journal Ms., S. C. Colls., p. 25.

[89] Burning coals were brought from the old square ground fire of the Okchai in Alabama by a leading man of the town and his heniha, kept alive during the migration west and buried about 2 feet under ground beneath the fire in the new square ground near Hanna, Okla. Ashes from the old Kasihta ground are also said to have been brought west for burial under the new ceremonial fire.

[89a] This treatment of the sticks is like that in the busk described by McGillivray. See p. 522.

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Before the Civil War the Lutcapoga busk included a fast of four days, from which it may be inferred that the entire length was eight. This would apply as well to Tulsa, the mother town. This fast was from the evening of the first day to the morning after the fourth. Medicine was taken every day.

One description of the busk now remains to be considered—the one given by Adair. This is in several separate fragments which have to be pieced together, and there is a running comparison with Hebrew customs which must be carefully excised. Of all accounts that have been preserved it is the most elaborate in detail, though the material is not systematically presented. Furthermore, we do not know certainly to which tribe or town it belongs. The context and the use of Chickasaw expressions throughout would lead us to suppose that we are having a Chickasaw ceremonial presented to us, but if so this is the only reference to a busk ceremonial in that tribe. As has been noted in several places, the Chickasaw were closely associated with the Creeks in many ways and had probably borrowed some of their customs—for a time there was a Chickasaw town among the Upper Creeks—but all other early writers are silent on the subject of a Chickasaw busk, and at the present day these Indians remember nothing whatever regarding such a ceremony. Their modern ceremonies are the Pishofa dances which differ from the Creek ceremonial in almost every particular. If this is a description of a Creek ceremony, it would probably be the busk of Coosa, Abihka, or Okfuskee, but this point along with the question whether it is Chickasaw or Creek must remain in doubt. In the square ground where it took place the Chiefs' bed was at the west, that of the Warriors at the south, that of the second men or henihâlgi north, and that of the Youths east. It is thus described:

"The Indians formerly observed the grand festival of the annual expiation of sin, at the beginning of the first new moon, in which their corn became fulleared; but for many years past they are regulated by the season of their harvest . . .

"As the first of the Neetak Hoollo, precedes a long strict fast of two nights and a day, they gormandize such a prodigious quantity of strong food, as to enable them to keep inviolate the succeeding fast, the sabbath of sabbaths, the Neetak Yah-ah: the feast lasts only from morning till sunset. Being great lovers of ripened fruits, and only tantalized as yet, with a near view of them; and having lived at this season, but meanly on the wild products of nature—such a fast as this may be truly said to afflict their souls, and to prove a sufficient trial of their religious principles. During the festival, some of their people are closely employed in putting their temple [the tookofa] in proper order for the annual expiation; and others are painting the white cabbin, and the supposed holiest, with white

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clay; for it is a sacred, peaceable place, and white is the emblem. Some, at the same time are likewise painting the war-cabbin with red clay, or their emblematical red root, as occasion requires; while others of an inferior order, are covering all the seats of the beloved square with new mattresses, made out of fine splinters of long canes, tied together with flags. In the mean time, several of them are busy in sweeping the temple, clearing it of every supposed polluting thing, and carrying out the ashes from the hearth which perhaps had not been cleaned six times since the last year's general offering. Several towns join together to make the annual sacrifice; and, if the whole nation lies in a narrow compass, they make but one annual offering; by which means, either through a sensual or religious principle, they strike off the work with joyful hearts. Every thing being thus prepared, the Archi-magus [i. e. the medicine maker] orders some of his religious attendants to dig up the old hearth, or altar [in the center of the square], and to sweep out the remains that by chance might either be left, or drop down. Then he puts a few roots of the button-snake-root, with some green leaves of an uncommon small sort of tobacco, and a little of the new fruits, at the bottom of the fire-place, which he orders to be covered up with white marley clay, and wetted over with clean water.

"Immediately, the magi [the doctors] order them to make a thick arbour over the altar, with green branches of the various young trees, which the warriors had designedly chosen, and laid down on the outside of the supposed holy ground: the women, in the interim are busy at home in cleaning out their houses, renewing the old hearths, and cleaning all their culinary vessels, that they may be fit to receive the pretended holy fire, and the sanctified new fruits, according to the purity of the law; lest by a contrary conduct, they should incur damage in life, health, future crops, &c. It is fresh in the memory of the old traders, that formerly none of these numerous nations of Indians would eat, or even handle any part of the new harvest, till some of it had been offered up at the yearly festival by the Archi-magus, or those of his appointment, at their plantations, though the light harvest of the past year had forced them to give their women and children of the ripening fruits, to sustain life. Notwithstanding they are visibly degenerating, both in this, and every other religious observance, except what concerns war; yet their magi and old warriors live contentedly on such harsh food as nature affords them in the woods, rather than transgress that divine precept given to their forefathers.

"Having every thing in order for the sacred solemnity, the religious waiters carry off the remains of the feast, and lay them on the outside of the square; others of the inferior order carefully sweep out the smallest crumbs, for fear of polluting the first fruit offering; and before sunset, the temple must be cleared, even every kind of

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vessel or utensil, that had contained, or been used about any food in that expiring year. The women carry all off, but none of that sex, except half a dozen old beloved women are allowed in that interval to tread on the holy ground, till the fourth day. Now, one of the waiters proclaims with a loud voice, for all the warriors and beloved men, whom the purity of the law admits, to come and enter the beloved square, and observe the fast; he likewise exhorts all the women and children, and those who have not initiated themselves in war, to keep apart from them, according to law. Should any of them prove disobedient, the young ones would be dry-scratched, and the others stript of every thing they had on them . . .

"Their great beloved man, or Archi-magus, now places four sentinels [the dog-whippers], one at each corner of the holy square, to keep out every living creature as impure, except the religious order, and the warriors who are not known to have violated the law of the first-fruit-offering, and that of marriage, since the last year's expiation. Those sentinels are regularly relieved, and firm to their sacred trust; if they discerned a dog or cat on the out-limits of the holy square, before the first-fruit-offering was made, they would kill it with their arrows on the spot.

"They observe the fast till the rising of the second sun; and be they ever so hungry in that sacred interval the healthy warriors deem the duty so awful, and the violation so inexpressibly vicious, that no temptation would induce them to violate it; for, like the Hebrews, they fancy temporal evils are the necessary effect of their immoral conduct, and they would for ever ridicule and reproach the criminal for every bad occurrence that befel him in the new year, as the sinful author of his evils; and would sooner shoot themselves, than suffer such long-continued sharp disgrace. The religious attendants boil a sufficient quantity of button-snake-root, highly imbittered and give it round pretty warm, in order to vomit and purge their sinful bodies. Thus they continue to mortify and purify themselves, till the end of the fast . . .

"That the women and children, and those worthless fellows who have not hazarded their lives in defense of their holy places and things, and for the beloved people, may not be entirely godless, one of the old beloved men lays down a large quantity of the small-leafed tobacco, on the outside of a corner of the sacred square; and an old beloved woman carries it off, and distributes it to the sinners without, in large pieces, which they chew heartily, and swallow, in order to afflict their souls. She commends those who perform the duty with cheerfulness, and chides those who seem to do it unwillingly, by their wry faces on account of the bitterness of the supposed sanctifying herb. She distributes it in such quantities, as she thinks are equal to their capacity of sinning, giving to the reputed,

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worthless old He-hen-pickers, the proportion only of a child, because she thinks such spiritless pictures of men cannot sin with married women; as all the females love only the virtuous manly warrior, who has often successfully accompanied the beloved ark.

"In the time of this general fast, the women, children, and men of weak constitutions, are allowed to eat, as soon as they are certain the sun has begun to decline from his meridian altitude; but not before that period . . .

"The whole time of this fast may with truth be called a fast, and to the Archi-magus, to all the magi, and pretended prophets, in particular; for, by ancient custom, the former is obliged to eat of the sanctifying small-leafed tobacco, and drink the snake-root, in a separate hut for the space of three days and nights without any other subsistence, before the solemnity begins; besides his full portion along with the rest of the religious order, and the old war-chieftains, till the end of the general fast, which he pretends to observe with the strictest religion. After the first-fruits are sanctified, he lives most abstemiously till the end of the annual expiation only sucking water-melons now and then to quench thirst, and support life, spitting out the more substantial part . . . Thus the Indian religious are retentive of their sacred mysteries to death, and the Archi-magus is visibly thin and meagre at the end of the solemnity . . . The superannuated religious are also emulous in the highest degree, of excelling one another in their long fasting; for they firmly believe, that such an annual self-denying method is so highly virtuous, when joined to an obedience of the rest of their laws, as to be the infallible means of averting evil, and producing good things, through the new year. They declare that a steady virtue, through the divine co-operating favour, will infallibly insure them a lasting round of happiness.

"At the end of this solemn fast, the women by the voice of the crier, bring to the outside of the holy square, a plentiful variety of the old year's food newly dressed, which they lay down, and immediately return home; for every one of them know their several duties, with regard to both time and place. The centinels report the affair, and soon afterward the waiters by order go, and reaching their hands over the holy ground, they bring in the provisions, and set down before the famished multitude. Though most of the people may have seen them, they reckon it vicious and mean to shew a gladness for the end of their religious duties; and shameful to hasten the holy attendants, as they are all capable of their offices . . .

"Before noon, the temple is so cleared of every thing the women brought to the square, that the festival after that period, resembles a magical entertainment that had no reality in it, consisting only in a delusion of the senses. The women then carry the vessels from the temple to the water, and wash them clean for fear of pollution.

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The costume assumed by the Archi-magus or fire maker at this time is thus described by Adair:

"Before the Indian *Archi-magus* officiates in making the supposed holy fire, for the yearly atonement of sin, the Sagan clothes him with a white ephod, which is a waistcoat without sleeves. When he enters on that solemn duty, a beloved attendant spreads a white-drest buckskin on the white seat, which stands close to the supposed holiest, and then puts some white beads on it, that are given him by the people. Then the *Archi-magus* wraps around his shoulders a consecrated skin of the same sort, which reaching across under his arms, he ties behind his back, with two knots on the legs, in the form of a figure of eight. Another custom he observes on this solemn occasion, is, instead of going barefoot, he wears a new pair of buckskin white moccasenes made by himself, and stitched with the sinews of the same animal. The upper leather across the toes, he paints, for the space of three inches, with a few streaks of red—not with vermilion, for that is their continual war-emblem, but with a certain red root, its leaves and stalk resembling the ipecacuanha, which is their fixed red symbol of holy things. These shoes he never wears, but in the time of the supposed passover; for at the end of it, they are laid up in the beloved place, or holiest, where much of the like sort, quietly accompanies an heap of old, broken earthen ware, conch-shells, and other consecrated things. . . . The American *Archi-magus* wears a breast-plate, made of a white conch-shell, with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the end of an otter-skin strap, and fastens a buckhorn white button to the outside of each . . . The Indian wears around his temples, either a wreath of swan-feathers, or a long piece of swan-skin doubled, so as only the fine snowy feathers appear on each side. And [he] wears on the crown of his head, a tuft of white feathers, which they call *Yatèra*. He likewise fastens a tuft of blunted wild Turkey cock-spurs, toward the toes of the upper part of his moccasenes. . . Thus appears the Indian Archi-magus . . . when he is to officiate in his pontifical function, at the annual expiation of sins.[71] . . .

[70] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 100-103. [71] Ibid., pp. 93-94.

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"Now every thing is hushed. Nothing but silence all around: the Archi-magus, and his beloved waiter, rising up with a reverend carriage, steady countenance, and composed behaviour, go into the beloved place, or holiest, to bring them out the beloved fire. The former takes a piece of dry poplar, willow, or white oak, and having cut a hole, so as not to reach through it, he then sharpens another piece, and placing that with the hole between his knees, he drills it briskly for several minutes, till it begins to smoke—or, by rubbing two pieces together, for about a quarter of an hour, by friction he collects the hidden fire; which all of them reckon to immediately issue from the holy Spirit of fire . . . When the fire appears, the beloved waiter cherishes it with fine chips, or shaved splinters of pitch-pine, which had been deposited in the holiest: then he takes the unsullied wing of a swan, fans it gently, and cherishes it to a flame. On this, the Archi-magus brings it out in an old earthen vessel, whereon he had placed it, and lays it on the sacred altar, which is under an arbour, thick-weaved a-top with green boughs . . .

"Their hearts are enlivened with joy at the appearance of the reputed holy fire, as the divine fire is supposed to atone for all their past crimes, except murder: and the beloved waiter shews his pleasure, by his cheerful industry in feeding it with dry fresh wood; for they put no rotton wood on it . . . Although the people without, may well know what is transacting within, yet, by order, a crier informs them of the good tidings, and orders an old beloved woman to pull a basket-full of the new-ripened fruits, and bring them to the beloved square. As she before had been appointed, and religiously prepared for that solemn occasion, she readily obeys, and soon lays it down with a cheerful heart, at the out-corner of the beloved square. By ancient custom, she may either return home, or stand there, till the expiation of sin hath been made, which is thus performed—The Archi-magus, or fire-maker, rises from his white seat and walks northward three times round the holy fire, with a slow pace, and in a very sedate and grave manner, stopping now and then, and speaking certain old ceremonial words with a low voice and a rapidity of expression, which none understand but a few of the old beloved men, who equally secrete their religious mysteries, that they may not be prophaned. He then takes a little of each sort of the new harvest, which the old woman had brought to the extremity of the supposed holy ground, rubs some bear's oil over it, and offers it up together with some flesh, to the bountiful holy Spirit of fire as a first-fruit offering, and an annual oblation for sin. He likewise consecrates the button-snake-root, and the cusseena, by pouring a little of those two strong decoctions into the pretended holy fire. He then purifies the red and white seats with those bitter liquids, and sits down. Now, every one of the outlaws who had been catched

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a tripping, may safely creep out of their lurking holes, anoint themselves, and dress in their finest, to pay their grateful thanks at an awful distance, to the forgiving divine fire. A religious waiter is soon ordered to call to the women around, to come to the sacred fire: they gladly obey.—When they come to the outside of the quadrangular holy ground, the *Archi-magus* addresses the warriors, and gives them all the particular positive injunctions, and negative precepts they yet retain of the ancient law, relating to their own manly station. Then he changes his note, and uses a much sharper language to the women, as suspecting their former virtue. He first tells them very earnestly, that if there are any of them who have not extinguished the old evil fire, or have contracted any impurity, they must forthwith depart, lest the divine fire should spoil both them and the people; he charges them to be sure not to give the children a bad example of eating any unsanctified, or impure food, otherwise they will get full of worms, and be devoured by famine and diseases, and bring many other dangerous evils both upon themselves, and all the beloved, or holy people . . .

"In his female lecture, he is sharp and prolix; he urges them with much earnestness to an honest observance of the marriage-law, which may be readily executed, on account of the prevalent passion of self interest. Our own christian orators do not exert themselves with half the eloquence or eagerness, as when that is at stake which they most value. And the wary old savage has sense enough to know, that the Indian female virtue is very brittle, not being guarded so much by inward principle, as the fear of shame, and of incurring severe punishment; but if every bush of every thicket was an hundred-eyed Argos, it would not be a sufficient guard over a wanton heart. So that is natural they should speak much on this part of the subject, as they think they have much at stake. After that, he addresses himself to the whole body of the people, and tells them, in rapid bold language, with great energy, and expressive gestures of body, to look at the holy fire, which again has introduced all those shameful adulterous criminals into social privileges; he bids them not to be guilty of the like for time to come, but be sure to remember well, and strongly shake hands with the old beloved straight speech, otherwise the divine fire, which sees, hears, and knows them, will spoil them exceedingly, if at any time they relapse, and commit that detestable crime. Then he enumerates all the supposed lesser crimes, and moves the audience by the great motives of the hope of temporal good, and the fear of temporal evil, assuring them, that upon their careful observance of the ancient law, the holy fire will enable their prophets, the rain-makers, to procure them plentiful harvests, and give their war-leaders victory over their enemies—and by the communicative power of their holy things, health and prosperity are

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certain: but on failure, they are to expect a great many extraordinary calamities, such as hunger, uncommon diseases, a subjection to witchcraft, and captivity and death by the hands of the hateful enemy in the woods, where the wild fowls will eat the flesh, and beasts of prey destroy the remaining bones, so as they will not be gathered to their forefathers—because their ark abroad, and beloved things at home, would lose their virtual power of averting evil. He concludes, by advising them to a strict observance of their old rites and customs, and every thing shall go well with them. He soon orders some of the religious attendants to take a sufficient quantity of the supposed holy fire, and lay it down on the outside of the holy ground, for all the houses of the various associated towns, which sometimes lie several miles apart. The women, hating sharp and grave lessons, speedily take it up, gladly carry it home, and lay it down on their unpolluted hearths, with the prospect of future joy and peace." [72]

After these lectures the women hasten to prepare food of the new year on the new fire which they have obtained, and meanwhile a dance takes place which is described in a different place by Adair as follows:

"While their sanctified new fruits are dressing, a religious attendant is ordered to call six of their old beloved women to come to the temple, and dance the beloved dance with joyful hearts, according to the old beloved speech. They cheerfully obey, and enter the supposed holy ground in solemn procession, each carrying in her hand a bundle of small branches of various green trees; and they join the same number of old magi, or priests, who carry a cane in one hand adorned with white feathers, having likewise green boughs in their other hand, which they pulled from their holy arbour, and carefully place there, encircling it with several rounds. Those beloved men have their heads dressed with white plumes; but the women are decked in their finest, and anointed with bear's-grease, having small tortoise shells, and white pebbles [or beads], fastened to a piece of white-drest deer-skin, which is tied to each of their legs [on the outside].

"The eldest of the priests leads the sacred dance, a-head of the innermost row, which of course is next to the holy fire. He begins the dance round the supposed holy fire, by invoking Yah, after their usual manner, on a bass key, and with a short accent; then he sings Yo Yo, which is repeated by the rest of the religious procession; and he continues his sacred invocations and praises, repeating the divine word, or notes, till they return to the same point of the circular course, where they began: then He He in like manner, and Wah Wah. While dancing they never fail to repeat those notes; then *Heleluiah*, *Halelu-Yah*, and Aleluiah and Alelu-Yah, 'Irradia-

[72] Adair, Hist. Am. Indians, pp. 105-108.

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tion to the divine essence,' with great earnestness and fervor, till they encircle the altar, while each strikes the ground with right and left feet alternately, very quick, but well-timed. Then the awful drums join the sacred choir, which incite the old female singers to chant forth their pious notes, and grateful praises before the divine essence, and to redouble their former quick joyful steps, in imitation of the leader of the sacred dance, and the religious men a-head of them. What with the manly strong notes of the one, and the shrill voices of the other, in concert with the bead-shells, and the two sounding, drum-like earthen vessels, with the voices of the musicians who beat them, the reputed holy ground echoes with the praises of Yo He Wah . . . They continue their grateful divine hymns for fifteen minutes, when the dance breaks up." [73]

At the same time the àsi was being prepared. Adair continues:

"The Archi-magus sends a religious attendant to pull some cusseena, or yopon, belonging to the temple; and having parched it brown on the altar, he boils it with clear running water in a large earthen pot, about half full; it has such a stong body, as to froth above the top by pouring it up and down with their consecrated vessels which are kept only for that use: of this they drink now and then, till the end of the festival, and on every other religious occasion from year to year. Some of the old beloved men, through a religious emulation in sanctifying themselves, often drink this, and other bitter decoctions, to such excess, as to purge themselves very severely,—when they drink it, they always invoke Yo He Wah [i. e., always utter the yahola cry].

"If any of the warriors are confined at home by sickness, or wounds, and are either deemed incapable or unfit to come to the annual expiation, they are allowed one of the consecrated conch-shells-full of their sanctifying bitter cusseena, by their magi. The traders hear them often dispute for it, as their proper due, by ancient custom: and they often repeat their old religious ceremonies to one another, especially that part which they imagine most affects their present welfare; the aged are sent to instruct the young ones in these particulars . . .

"Though the Indians do not eat salt in their first-fruit oblation till the fourth day; it is not to be doubted but they formerly did. They reckon they cannot observe the annual expiation of sins, without bear's oil, both to mix with that yearly offering, and to eat with the new sanctified fruits; and some years they have a great deal of trouble in killing a sufficient quantity of bears for the use of this religious solemnity, and their other sacred rites for the approaching year; for at such seasons they are hard to be found, and quite lean. The traders commonly supply themselves with plenty of this oil from winter

[73] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 96-98.

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to winter; but the Indians are so prepossessed with a notion of the white people being all impure and accursed, that they deem their oil as polluting on those sacred occasions, as Josephus tells us the Jews reckoned that of the Greeks. An Indian warrior will not light his pipe at a white man's fire if he suspects any unsanctified food has been dressed at it in the new year. And in the time of the new-ripened fruits, their religious men carry a flint, punk, and steel, when they visit us, for fear of polluting themselves by lighting their pipes at our supposed Loak ookproose [Luak okpulosi], 'accursed fire,' and spoiling the power of their holy things. The polluted would, if known, be infallibly anathamatized, and expelled from the temple, with the women, who are suspected of gratifying their vicious taste. During the eight days festival, they are forbidden even to touch the skin of a female child; if they are detected, either in cohabiting with, or laying their hand on any of their own wives, in that sacred interval, they are stripped naked, and the offender is universally deemed so atrocious a criminal, that he lives afterwards a miserable life. Some have shot themselves dead, rather than stand the shame, and the long year's continual reproaches cast upon them, for every mischance that befalls any of their people, or the ensuing harvest,—a necessary effect of the divine anger, they say, for such a crying sin of pollution. An instance of this kind I heard happened some years ago in Talase, a town of the Muskohge, seven miles above the Alebama garrison.[73a]

"[The food having been prepared] the women now with the utmost cheerfulness, bring to the outside of the sacred square, a plentiful variety of all those good things, with which the divine fire has blessed them in the new year; and the religious attendants lay it before them, according to their stated order and reputed merit. Every seat is served in a gradual succession, from the white and red imperial long broad seats, and the whole square is soon covered: frequently they have a change of courses of fifty or sixty different sorts, and thus they continue to regulate themselves, till the end of the festival; for they reckon they are now to feast themselves with joy and gladness, as the divine fire is appeased for past crimes, and has propitiously sanctified their weighty harvest.[74] . . .

"When we consider how sparingly they eat in their usual way of living, it is surprising to see what a vast quantity of food they consume on their festival days. It would equally surprise a stranger to see how exceedingly they vary their dishes, their dainties consisting only of dried flesh, fish, oil, corn, beans, pease, pompions, and wild fruit. During this rejoicing time, the warriors are dresst in their wild martial array, with their heads covered with white down; they carry feathers of the same colour, either in their hands, or fastened

[73a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 108-109. [74] Ibid., pp. 98-99.

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to white scraped canes, as emblems of purity, and scepters of power, while they are dancing in three circles, and singing their religious praises around the sacred arbour, in which stands the holy fire. Their music consists of two clay-pot drums, covered on the top with thin wet deer-skins, drawn very tight, on which each of the noisy musicians beats with a stick, accompanying the noise with their voices; at the same time, the dancers prance it away, with wild and quick sliding steps, and variegated postures of the body, to keep time with the drums, and the rattling calabashes shaked by some of their religious heroes, each of them singing their old religious songs, and striking notes in tympano et choro. Such is the graceful dancing, as well as the vocal and instrumental music of the red Hebrews on religious and martial occasions, which they must have derived from early antiquity. Toward the conclusion of the great festival, they paint and dress themselves anew, and give themselves the most terrible appearance they possibly can. They take up their war-instruments, and fight a mock-battle in a very exact manner: after which, the women are called to join in a grand dance, and if they disobey the invitation they are fined. But as they are extremely fond of such religious exercise, and deem it productive of temporal good, all soon appear in their finest apparel, as before suggested, decorated with silver ear-bobs, or pendants to their ears, several rounds of white beads about their necks, rings upon their fingers, large wire or broad plates of silver on their wrists, their heads shining with oil, and torrepine-shells containing pebbles, fastened to deer-skins, tied to the outside of their legs. Thus adorned, they join the men in three circles, and dance a considerable while around the sacred fire, and then they separate.

"At the conclusion of this long and solemn festival, the Archi-magus orders one of the religious men to proclaim to all the people, that their sacred annual solemnity is now ended, and every kind of evil averted from the beloved people, according to the old straight beloved speech; they must therefore paint themselvec, and come along with him according to ancient customs. As they know the stated time, the joyful sound presently reaches their longing ears: immediately they fly about to grapple up a kind of chalky clay, to paint themselves white. By their religious emulation, they soon appear covered with that emblem of purity, and join at the outside of the holy ground, with all who had sanctified themselves within it, who are likewise painted, some with streaks, and others all over, as white as the clay can make them: recusants would undergo a heavy penalty. They go along in a very orderly solemn procession, to purify themselves in running water. The Archi-magus heads the bold train—his waiter next—the beloved men according to their seniority—and the warriors by their reputed merit. The women follow them in the

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same orderly manner, with all the children that can walk, behind them, ranged commonly according to their height; the very little ones they carry in their arms. Those, who are known to have eaten of the unsanctified fruits, bring up the rear. In this manner the procession moves along, singing . . . till they get to the water, which is generally contiguous, when the Archi-magus jumps into it, and all the holy train follow him, in the same order they observed from the temple. Having purified themselves, or washed away their sins, they come out with joyful hearts, believing themselves out of the reach of temporal evil, for their past vicious conduct; and they return in the same religious cheerful manner, into the middle of the holy ground, where having made a few circles, singing and dancing around the altar, they thus finish their great annual festival, and depart in joy and peace.[75]

In a note he adds:

"They are so strictly prohibited from eating salt, or flesh-meat, till the fourth day, that during the interval, the very touch of either is accounted a great pollution: after that period, they are deemed lawful to be eaten. All the hunters, and able-bodied men, kill and barbecue wild game in the woods, at least ten days before this great festival, and religiously keep it for their sacred use." [76]

If this was indeed a Chickasaw ceremony it declined rapidly, and the declension had begun even in Adair's time, for he says: "As they degenerate, they lengthen their dances, and shorten the time of their fasts and purifications; insomuch, that they have so exceedingly corrupted their primitive rites and customs, within the space of the last thirty years, that, at the same rate of declension, there will not be long a possibility of tracing their origin, but by their dialects, and war-customs." [76] It may be added that a comparison of the earlier and later forms of the busk tends to bear out Adair's statement with reference to the lengthening of the dances and the shortening of the fasts and purifications. In other words, the social features progressively expanded at the expense of those of a strictly religious nature. It is a process common in all parts of the world where faith in an institution is gradually decaying. In this case the decay was due not so much to the direct influence of European missionaries as to the general modifying tendencies accompanying the advance of white civilization.

A word or two might be added regarding the busk of the Alabama Indians now living in Texas. It is rather curious to find that the Alabama in Oklahoma who have been in close contact with the whites still maintain a busk ground, while those in Texas, though they are

[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 108-111. [76] Ibid., p. 98.

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796 [177] comparatively remote from white settlements of any size, gave theirs up so long ago that only the oldest people know much about it. The Alabama kept their busk some time in June. It was thought that after it was held the corn would not hurt anybody but before that it was wrong to touch it. If anyone did not take part in the ceremony the other people would not talk to him, let him come into their houses, or have anything to do with him. They said "it was wrong." At the beginning of this ceremony each family brought a quantity of ears of corn already roasted to the square ground and it was put up on a scaffolding made of canes and raised on forked posts to a height of perhaps 4 feet. Then all the people came there and danced until midnight. At about that time some of the roasting ears were shelled and a few men took a handful apiece and threw it over the house. This was done four times. What was left they ate. Then one man blew through a cane into a pot of medicine which had previously been heated and all had to drink some of this. After drinking it they went away and vomited it up. They used the pasa (Koasati pasé), but there was another medicine in the pot with it. The taking of this medicine was thought to bring good luck and health. Early on the following morning the new fire was made in the square by twirling a stick from a bush called hàsa'lápo against a stick of slippery elm (bákca). Previously all of the fires in the village had been extinguished, and each woman carried home some of the new fire. The new fire is said to have been made out in the woods and was brought into the square from there. Next day the people went home and roasted more corn which they brought to the same place. In the evening they danced, threw more corn over the roof, and again ate. They did this four nights in succession and then the ceremony ended.

The "old dance" was probably danced at this time, but I am not sure. As the Alabama performed it there was one drummer and he had one assistant to help him sing. There were five or six songs. The dancers went about the fire in two files, the women next to the fire, the men outside. Each dancer held his hands clasped in front and twisted his body from side to side as he proceeded. They danced around the fire once, stopping and completing the first song at the same time. Then they went around singing another song and stopped again at the end of one circuit. When the last song was taken up they went around twice before they stopped.

796 171 Ceremonies modeled after those of the Creek busk seem to have spread to the Cherokee within recent years, though certain changes have been introduced. When I first visited the few surviving speakers of Natchez near Braggs, Okla., the ceremonial ground of the Indians near by had the four cabins typical of Creek practice and was resorted to by Natchez, Creeks, and Cherokee,[77] but on my next

[77] See Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pl. 10.

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visit the ground had been moved and seven cabins had been substituted for the four (pl. 13, *b*). This was to conform to the sacred seven of the Cherokee and the seven clan system, each cabin being occupied by some one of the seven clans. Afterwards I visited two or three other ceremonial grounds in the Cherokee Nation, all with the same arrangment, but I know practically nothing regarding the ceremonies which take place there. My Natchez informant stated that anciently the miko used to stand in front of the fire in the ceremonial ground holding the peace pipe with the stem away from him and the other men would then come in succession, take it from his hands and puff four times toward the sky in the direction of the deity. This happened just before they began dancing. He also stated that they had about three special "stomp dances" during the year, accompanied by feasting and a ball game, from which it appears either that he is citing the Creek custom or that the Natchez usage was the same.

We will now give an abstract of the more important ceremonials which have been described:

THE CHIAHA BUSK (ELLIS CHILDERS)

First day.—Camping day, when the people go into camp about the square ground.

Second day.—Visitors' day, when visitors from towns of the same fire clan are entertained.

Third day.—Feasting day; visitors and townspeople both eat quantities of food.

Fourth day.—Visitors leave for their homes early in the morning. The men of the town fast.

Fifth day.—Fines are collected from those who failed to attend and the proceeds, being usually in the form of eatables, are consumed along with other food.

THE KASIHTA BUSK (HAWKINS)

First day.—Square cleaned. Asi or black drink is brewed. The new fire made. The turkey dance performed by women of the Turkey clan. Pasa prepared and drunk. The tadpole dance performed. They dance the heniha dance all night.

Second day.—Women dance the itcha dance (not the "gun dance" as Hawkins says). Shortly after noon the men bathe in the river. They feast on new corn.

Third day.—The men sit in the square.

Fourth day.—The women get and carry home the new fire. The first four logs are entirely consumed on this day. The fasters eat salt. They dance the long dance.

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Fifth day.—Four new logs are procured for the fire. Asi is drunk.

Sixth day.—The men remain in the square.

Seventh day.—The men remain in the square.

Eighth day.—Old man's tobacco (hitci pákpągi) is thrown into the fire. The fasters anoint themselves with clay and ashes and go to the river with much ceremony to bathe.

THE EUFAULA BUSK (JACKSON LEWIS)

First day.—Day of assembling.

Second day.—Women's dance is held during the day. A general dance all night.

Third day.—The new fire is kindled. Medicines are dug, prepared, and taken four times. Between drinkings speeches are delivered and names given out. They dance the tcitahaia dance. A general dance follows lasting all night.

Fourth day.—Day when the busk breaks up.

THE OTCIAPOFA BUSK (SWAN)

First day.—New fire is made. Four ears of corn are placed upon it. Asi is prepared, some poured into the fire, and the rest drunk. The new fire is distributed.

Second day.—The men take the pasa.

Third day.—The younger men go hunting and fishing; the elders stay in the square and take asi.

Fourth day.—There is a feast and dance this evening.

THE COWETA BUSK (FIRST INFORMANT)

First day.—Day of assembling and eating.

Second day.—The new fire is lighted and corn and fish burned in it. Medicines are prepared and taken about noon. They dance the tcitahaia dance and the gun dance. There is a ball game. A general dance until midnight.

Third day.—Medicines are taken again four times; they dance the tcitahaia and gun dances.

Fourth day.—The same.

Fifth day.—The same. That night the chief delivers speeches and they dance until morning.

Sixth day.—All bathe in the creek. They eat food that has been salted and serve their visitors.

Seventh day.—The visitors leave. The town chief makes a speech to his own people, who then leave for home.

THE COWETA BUSK (SECOND INFORMANT) [77a]

First day.—All assemble at the square. They dance all night.

Second day.—The medicines are gathered. They dance all night.

[77a] This is the "third informant" cited on page 587.

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Third day.—The day of feasting; visitors are entertained. The Coweta Indians fast and take medicines four times. The Coweta Indians dance the gun dance. They bathe in the creek.

Fourth day.—The fast day proper. The old fireplace is cleaned up and the new fire lighted. Four ears of corn and four fishes are brought to the place and burned. They take medicines four times; after the first time they dance the tcitahaia dance. They eat salted food. The chief makes speeches to them in the evening and they dance all night.

Fifth day.—All go home.

THE TUKABAHCHEE BUSK

First day.—All assemble.

Second day.—The women dance. Materials for the new fire and medicines are procured. They dance at night. The men sleep in the square.

Third day.—The men fast. Ashes are cleared from the old fireplaces, sand spread there, the new fire lighted, four ears of corn put into the fire and the fire distributed. Medicines are prepared and taken; some youths get the stomp dance medicines and take their busk medicines after they come back. All go to dive into the creek. They break their fast. There is an all-night dance.

Fourth day.—All rest; later some play ball. There is a feast on green corn and other vegetable foods. A council is held in the evening and directions sent out for a hunt on the following day. An all-night dance follows.

Fifth day.—The men go hunting.

Sixth day.—A piece of beef is brought and put into the fire. A war dance is held. A feast follows, consisting largely of meat; salt is used.

Seventh day.—There is a second fast.

Eighth day.—The chief delivers an address to his people and dismisses them for the year.

THE TUKABAHCHEE BUSK (OLDER FORM)

The first two days are the same.

Third day.—Ashes are cleared from the old fireplaces, and sand spread there for fires and to rest the copper shields upon. The shields are washed in the creek and placed on the sand. The fire is lighted, four ears of corn are burned in it, and it is distributed. Asi is prepared and given to the shield bearers. The bearers dance with the shields. Pretended scouts go out and on coming back are given tobacco. There is a stomp dance that night to which no women are admitted.

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Fourth day.—A gun dance is held, including a mock fight. All bathe in the creek. They rest the remainder of the day. The dumpling dance is sometimes indulged in in the evening.

Fifth day.—The men go hunting.

Sixth day.—A piece of meat is put into the fire. They bathe in the creek and the "busk is destroyed." The women dance. The old dance is danced. Necessary work is done.

Seventh day.—They fast all day. At night there is a stomp dance.

Eighth day.—The chief delivers a lecture to the people and they go home.

THE BUSK DESCRIBED BY ADAIR

First day.—The square is thoroughly cleaned and painted; new coverings are made for the seats; the fireplace is cleaned out. A feast follows, the remains of which are afterwards carefully removed. The men are called into the square in the evening to fast.

Second day.—The men fast all day. The medicines are taken. Women, children, and men in feeble health fast until noon and then eat.

Third day.—Food is brought by the women to the edge of the square where it is taken by the men and eaten, the feast being completed before noon. All of the fires are extinguished, and a new fire is made in the tcokofa. New corn, bear's oil, the pasa, and the âsi are put into the fire. The medicine maker ("archi-magus") lectures the people. The women get the new fire and take it home. Six old women dance in the tcokofa. (The âsi has been prepared while the above was going on and is taken from time to time.)

Fourth day.—The women prepare a great feast. A mock battle is fought. A big dance takes place. All plunge into running water.

Adair is somewhat confusing, inasmuch as he speaks of the ceremony sometimes as lasting four days, sometimes eight.[78] In the enumeration of the eight, the three or four days in which the medicine maker had to fast in preparation may be included. Accounts of the other ceremonies are too fragmentary to be analyzed; the value of the material they contain is principally as illustrative of the rest.

With the preceding may be compared the Yuchi ceremonial as recorded by Doctor Speck. He has begun numbering the days of this ceremony with that which we have called the "day of feasting," making seven in all, but before this is a day of assembling which, if added to the rest, makes the conventional eight. In order to compare this ceremonial more satisfactorily with the others, I shall venture to change the numbering by reckoning the day of assembling as the first.

First day.—The people assemble.

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[78] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 109.

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Second day.—Materials for the new fire and the medicines are procured. A sumptuous evening meal is served. In the evening the big turtle dance takes place. The town chief delivers a speech.

Third day.—The medicine plants are brought to the square. The new fire is lighted. The medicines are prepared. The males of the town are scratched. The medicines are taken. The men go to the creek, wash off their paint, and cleanse their hands, the town chief remaining meanwhile in the square. Some ears of corn are rubbed over the bathers and some are thrown into the fire. The men in the square smoke tobacco. The town chief makes a short speech. Food is brought into the square and eaten, the fast being ended. The fasters retire to their camps to rest. The young boys have a ball game. The young men play ball. They dance all night in the square. (The feather dance is sometimes danced once before and once after taking the medicines; the gun dance was performed in the day by one town and in the evening by another.)

Fourth day.—The assembly temporarily disbands, most of the people going to their own homes.

Fifth day.—The people remain at home.

Sixth day.—The people reassemble at the square.

Seventh day.—A feast consisting of meat takes place at noon. At night there is a general dance.

Eighth day.—The ceremonial gathering breaks up.

The fourth or fifth day, perhaps both the fourth and the fifth, undoubtedly corresponded to the day spent in hunting mentioned in describing some of the Creek busks. In later times they merely went to the store instead of to the forest.

Some additional remarks may now be made regarding certain features of these busks. First we will take up the medicines. Anciently it is probable that four pots of medicine were used but now the number is reduced to two. The àsi was brewed by itself and seems to have been used at a different time during the ceremonies from that in which the pasa and the miko hoyanīdja were taken. One of the chief reasons for giving up àsi was the fact that the plant was not readily obtainable in the western homes of the Creeks. The pasa was usually in a pot by itself and it was warmed over a slow fire; in Chiaha the miko hoyanīdja was combined with several other medicines, among which were the ice weed (hitūtàbi) and cedar, and taken cold. At Tukabahchee hitci pàkpàgi is used as a "foundation" for the warm medicine or adiloga, and the pasa was put with these, while the miko hoyanīdja was taken cold. The 10 medicines composing the adilō'ga were spiceweed, cedar, strawberry, grapevine, blackberry, mistletoe, horsemint, maremint, everlasting, and a forked oak limb, one of the arms of which while still on the tree had pointed toward the west and the other toward the south. Sometimes they added more medicines, as for instance the dewberry, and for

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each one they made a mark on the ground. At Eufaula they formerly used the pasa and miko hoyanīdja, but now have given up the pasa. The wormseed, taken just before the busk broke off, was considered a vermifuge. At Kasihta, according to Hawkins, the pasa, which the early writers call "the war physic," was drunk on the afternoon of the first day, while the miko hoyanīdja, and thirteen other medicine plants were put into two pots and taken on the last day.[79] The two bearers of the medicine in that town in later times belonged to the Alligator clan. At Tuskegee two pots of hot medicine were taken, followed by two pots of cold medicine. At Coweta the pasa, miko hoyanīdja, and àsi were each mixed in a separate pot. At the Fish Pond town on the morning after the men had finished drinking two men carried medicine to the women for their households. What was left was poured out around the fire. It was thought that the fire would become too hot if the medicine was poured upon it, probably from the magic qualities communicated. On the other hand a Hilibi man said that a little medicine was put on the fire by his own people and the Eufaula Indians to subdue it and in this way reduce the likelihood of fevers during the ensuing year.[80] Anciently the medicine was not poured out in this way, though the custom has been in vogue for some time. At Nuyaka the old fire was put out by two men, one of the Bear and one of the Wind clan, who walked around it four times and then threw medicine on it, after which it was rebuilt and the busk went on. The Mikasuki used pasa, miko hoyanīdja (Mikasuki ayikstánage), adilōga, and àsi (Mikasuki àsoktce'), but when their square ground in Florida was destroyed by the whites and Coweta they gave up the last.

The following information was vouchsafed by an old Hilibi Indian during the busk at Eufaula:

When the medicine maker blows into the medicine all of the men in the beds are very quiet and attentive and are absorbed in what is going on. When he blows, the god that is in him goes into the medicine from the soul of the blower. He always blows facing the east so as to see the rising sun over the fire, for the fire was thought to be an important and useful thing which the Indians did not create but which was given them by God, and it was reverenced accordingly. The miko hoyanīdja is taken to ward off ills, to act as a kind of wall about the people against pestilence or any kind of disease. The mashed medicine should be taken home after the busk and used in cases of sickness. The pasa is "for the coldness of the corn." It is thought to be especially for the children and is put on the heads and hands of women, children, and men. Properly it is not a medicine but a thank offering for the corn of the preceding year.

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[79] See pp. 577–578.

[80] See also Adair's description, p. 386.

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The new fire at Eufaula is now lighted with a match, but earlier flint and steel were used and still earlier two sticks of wood. Jackson Lewis said that the lower stick was taken from a tree called afoslibakfa which looks something like a pawpaw and the bark of which may be stripped up from the root very readily (wahu tree—Loughridge). The twirling stick was a piece of cane. Six or seven men took turns at this and sometimes Jackson Lewis affirmed that a bow was used. The fire is now carried down to the camps but not to the homes. Pope, whose acquaintance was particularly with Broken Arrow, says that the base stick was a dry piece of poplar and the twirling stick a stick of sassafras, and that the fire making was done by the medicine maker.[51] This appears to have been the usual ancient custom. Bartram mentions the addition of resin as an aid in fire production.[52] Jackson Knight, who belonged to the western Abihka town, affirmed that the four foundation sticks were intended to point to the entries, as was also the case with the Tukabahchee sticks.

The busk dances may be summarized as follows:

Itcha obànga,[53] *called in Eufaula ni'ta obànga (the daylight dance).*—This is the women's dance which took place on the day just before the fast day proper. The atasa and attachments carried by the leading women seem to indicate that this was originally a scalp or war dance, and this view is strengthened by the fact that at Nuyaka the management of it was in the hands of the occupants of the south bed, all of whom belonged to Tciloki or war clans. On the other hand, at Eufaula it was conducted by the White clans.

Tcitahaia, popularly known as the "feather dance" because the dancers have canes in their hands with feathers fastened at the ends.—This is distinctly a peace dance. At Tukabahchee the feathers were attached to the canes by members of the Bird clan, and in some towns they were feathers of the little white heron (fus hàtka) or the white crane. In Tukabahchee only the White clans carried feathers of this kind, the Tciloki carrying eagle feathers. The song accompanying it is said to have been obtained by a certain man from the summer crane. He was traveling along in a certain place, heard this song, and wondered for a long time what caused it, but finally discovered that it was a crane. The entire dance was also under the supervision of the White clans, and nowadays it is said that the feathers and the dance both typify the peace with the American Government, while the clearing out of the white yard signifies that they are true to the obligations of that treaty. I was told that when the Tukabahchee danced the feather dance, which they no longer do, when they took up their feathered canes, they rubbed out the prints made by the butt ends of the wands with the soles of their feet.

[51] Pope, Tour, p. 55.
[52] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 27.
[53] This word is confounded by Hawkins with Ites'. "gun." See p. 573.

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Obânga tcâpko, "the long dance."—This was danced in the evening. At Tukabahchee it was danced on the evening of the third day, the dancers carrying feathered wands as in the feather dance, and it was also danced on the afternoon of that day, the dancers holding the shields. It is not now much used.

Tabotka obânga, "the gun dance."—This was usually danced early in the morning after the fast day and took place on the ball ground. In this dance firearms were discharged, and human effigies were made and shot at. Sometimes they painted these with pokeberry juice, made them look as if they had been wounded or killed, and carried them out in that condition. The presentation was frequently so realistic that the uninitiated were very much frightened.

Obânga atcūli, "the old dance."—This was danced on the evening of the fast day after the fast was over and marked the time when the fasters were perfectly free. It was, however, danced only by the men, who at that time wore tortoise-shell rattles on their legs.

Obânga hadjo, "the drunken dance."—This was danced on the night after the preceding and usually when the concourse was ready to break up.

Paihka obânga, "the war dance."—This was danced at the time of the first stomp dance of the season at Tukabahchee by a man named itci yâhola.[53a]

The dumpling dance was sometimes danced for amusement at Tukabahchee on the evening of the fourth day.

Anciently Hawkins tells us that the turkey dance was performed by women of the Turkey clan on the first day of the busk and later on the same day came the tadpole and henîha dances, the latter at night.[54]

Many other dances, especially the animal dances, were introduced on the last night. They began then with the common or stomp dance (sâtkita obânga) which lasted until about midnight, after which the animal dances were introduced and continued until morning.

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Speeches were usually made by the chief's yatika, but the war speaker (holibonaia) might be called upon on occasions of national emergency and if any good speaker was known to be present among the visitors he would be invited to address the assemblage. According to one man a tástânâgi was chosen to make a speech several times during the night of the general dance, and according to another speeches were made by men of the Tcilokis, but it was the general opinion that the yatika was chosen from any clan. Before he spoke a man would spit four times very deliberately to each side and repeat a formula. Formal speeches usually began with the word Ta-a-a intuká'stci, "Now everybody's attention."

[53a] See p. 557. [54] See pp. 577-578.

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These speeches were couched in a particular form, contained certain peculiar words, and were uttered in a rhythmic manner which may be likened to the intoning of a religious service. The late Chief G. W. Grayson, of Eufaula, Okla., supplied a short speech after the ancient type which is incorporated herewith. Such a speech was known as the "long talk" and it was delivered by the chief's yatika or "long talker" just before the women danced the Itcha obánga or "daylight dance."[see] Mr. Grayson says: "You will notice the speaker often ends his sentences with 'he says so,' because the chief never makes a public address. You will understand that this is not a stereotyped copy of a talk that would in every instance be delivered at such a gathering, but *about* such as I have often heard, only this is abbreviated, as it fails to touch upon many subjects usually included in such talks. . . As I have told you, if this style of public speaking was ever the only way the Creeks spoke, it is now long since obsolete, except at the 'busks' and just before entering the ball play." Mr Grayson has kindly furnished both a line for line and a free translation of this speech, the original being in the official Creek orthography.[see]

Text With Interlinear Translation

Ta intukvstai!

1. Hayomàte:
   Now:
2. Momet umvres en kuhmit!
   Thus it shall be I thought for them,
3. Tvsekvyv tate netta-kvcékv em vrucicit omvyenken
   and caused broken days to go about among the men.
4. Tvsekvyv, cuku-lice elkv-vhuske emvhunkvtkv hvyomvteket
   and the men, and those interned in the house, so great a number left of death
5. "Upunvkvn okvtetisos" vn kuhmit
   "He meant talk" they thought of me
6. Tak fettv tate vn cukulahken hecvyofv,
   My dooryard they two have come in when I see
7. "Muntos komit es vm ahlvpvtke estvmahet os," maket omes ce.
   So it is, I think, and am greatly satisfied, so he says:
8. Momen hvyomate?
   And ńow.
9. Pun cuku-pericvlke fullvranet omes.
   Our visitors will go about among us.
10. Momen ometo estomis.
    Even if that shall be.

[see] See p. 609.

[see] This system has the following peculiarities: v=ǎ (a obscure); r=l (nord l); e=i; i=ai; o=u.

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11. Mvnnetvlke afvketv eten haye omet,
The young sporting among themselves.
12. Etepelice omis mome ocet omes.
Laughing at each other they ofttimes do.
13. Mv tat momen umekares;
That must not be.
14. "Vnen ukhoyis omes" komvranat ocet ometokv,
"They probably mean me" because they may think.
15. Mvt momen umekares maket omesce.
That must not be, so he says.
16. Munkv este e vhericet.
Therefore the people must be careful of themselves.
17. Tak kaket umvres;
As they two sit down;
18. Momen enhesse take em vlaket unt on omatehkvn.
And if their friends shall come to them.
19. Humpetv hulwakusat en kvlepet.
Victuals no matter how humble, you must break with them.
20. Umvranet omes komis maket omesce.
Is the way I want it to be, so he says.
21. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
22. Este en hesse take.
Person's friends.
23. Hupvye estvmahen sehokvteto estomis.
Although they two may have stood very far away.
24. Hvyomat em veukuperet.
If they are now visiting them.
25. Em fullet unt on omatehkvn.
And going about among them.
26. Vhericet vseket.
Take care to shake hands with them.
27. Em vpelet.
Laugh with him.
28. Etem punahoyet omvres.
Talk with him they should.
29. Maket omesce.
So he says.
30. Momen hvyomate.
And now.
31. Vmveulke sehokof.
My old people when they two stood.
32. Heyvt em afvketvt omvtetis.
Although this was their amusement.
33. Vntatehkvn es evhuse ome hakvtet unt omis.
And although I have about forgotten it.

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34. Hvyomat vhuckapkuse tayate.
    Now that which will at least resemble it.
35. Afvcketv hayit.
    Amusement I shall make.
36. Hvyomate tak kakin.
    And I too shall sit.
37. Vm estomvranet omes komis maket osce.
    Until it shall happen as it may, is my purpose, so he says.
38. Momen cuku-lice tate afvcketv tat.
    And the interned-in-the-house, amusement.
39. En hayvrabvyet omes, maketos.
    For them I shall provide, so he says.
40. Munkv cuku-lice a.
    Therefore the interned in the house.
41. Awet estomet em vculvke tate em afvcketvt omvte.
    They must come up, how their old ones that were, their amusement was.
42. En kerket ometokv.
    As it is known to them.
43. A awet vsehoket umvres maket omesce.
    They must come up and stand by it, so he says!

Free Translation

I deemed it proper for our people, and a few days since caused notice (broken days) to be given out among them; and when I see so many men and women who have been spared from death and who have heeded my notice, and come into the public square, I am greatly pleased, he says. And now we will have visitors coming to be with us to enjoy with us these exercises. We are glad to have them and when they come, let there be no loud and boisterous laughing indulged in by our young people, lest the visitors construe such hilarity as having been excited by their appearance and thereby be made to feel embarrassed. This must not be. Our people therefore are enjoined to keep close watch over themselves, doing nothing that the visitor might become offended at while we are here. And if friends shall come to your camp, you are enjoined to set before them such scanty table fare as you are able to offer, be it ever so little.

You will doubtless be visited by friends living in distant parts of the country; when they shall come you are asked to give them the glad hand of friendship, laugh and talk with, and make them feel perfectly welcome; this is my desire. And now, when my old people practiced their old customs in their entirety, the purpose for which we meet here to-day was their joy and glory. And although I have well-nigh forgotten those beloved customs, I shall at least attempt a semblance of them as best I may, and continue in the performance

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596 539 to the end, so he says. I propose to provide some amusement for our women, so he says. So I enjoin upon our women that they promptly take their places; and as they understand the custom of our forebears, they are asked to carry them out on this occasion, so he says.

796 During the busk names and titles different from those ordinarily used were employed. The women were called Hõmpita haya ("food preparers"), or Tcukole'idji ("having a house"). This last term is said to have been extended also to the children—that is, it included all of those who remained in the houses instead of going to war or the chase. According to Cook it was applied in Tukabahchee only to the four women who acted as leaders in the women's dance. It was very bad form to refer to a woman or to women by the common terms. In important speeches the people of the Raccoon clan often said "I am of the Shawanogis," and this term also extended to related clans like the Potato and Fox. This applied particularly to Tukabahchee and was based on the close friendship between the Tukabahchee and the Shawnee. According to Alindja, one of the best Tukabahchee authorities, it was extended really to the whole of Tukabahchee town, the term Tciloki bringing about a separation. The Raccoon clan at Tukabahchee also called themselves Isti mikâgi doiyât ("chiefs that we are") or isti tcilokogi doiyât ("Tcilokis that we are"). The towns often had particular busk names. The Abihka would be known as Abihka nâgi, the Coweta as Kawita mahma'ya, the Kasihta as Kasihta łâko. The Okchai called themselves by that name and the almost as common term Łâlogâlga. The Okfuskee and Tulsa people called themselves Kos i'stâgi ("people of Coosa"). The Pâkân tallahassee used the word Pâkana.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

General Remarks

756 Just as among the beings and objects in nature there were certain which possessed or acquired exceptional supernatural powers, so there were certain men who were possessed of such power or were mediums for its expression. They were also versed in the powers possessed by other created things and hence were partly prophets or soothsayers and partly doctors, while some of them occupied official or semiofficial positions and became priests.

Both men and women could be doctors. Swan, in fact, states that women were employed more frequently than men.[86] If this means that the female doctors were more numerous than the male he is probably incorrect, since very little is said of female doctors by anyone else, and I have heard little about them personally. Perhaps Swan had reference in part to the common practitioners,

[86] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 258.

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757 had been used very successfully by a white physician in North Carolina "in curing the *yaws*." [51]

Still farther on he says: "Several species of *Smilax*, the woody vines of *Bignonia crucigera*, some of the *bays* (*laurus*), are of great account with the Indians as remedies . . .

"The caustic and detergent properties of the white nettle (roots) of Carolina and Florida (*Jatropha urens*), used for cleansing old ulcers and consuming proud-flesh, and likewise the dissolvent and diuretant powers of the root of the convolvulus panduratus [*Ipomoea pandurata*], so much esteemed as a remedy in nephritic complaints, were discovered by the Indians to the inhabitants of Carolina." [52]

One or two other items may be added from notes taken by the Agent Eakins from an Alabama Indian:

"The big prairie-weed is used as an emetic, taken as a tea. For cathartics they have a number of roots and weeds, prepared as a tea . . . They have two modes of treating eruptions of the skin: First, the external application of a decoction of herbs; and, Secondly, by steaming with the same decoction. The cause of their known and general failure to treat small-pox, or varioloid, is, First, their limited knowledge of the nature of the disease; and, Secondly, their belief that it is contagious prevents their administering for its cure. In no cases, whatever, do men assist in parturition. After parturition, [844] they use a simple root or weed. For paralysis, their treatment is not, in all cases, successful, which is generally by roots or herbs. They use the vapor bath efficaciously." [53]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

.796 Through the kindness of Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., I am able to add the following notes regarding a Creek busk witnessed by the artist J. M. Stanley and Mr. Sumner Dickerman in the summer of 1843, the year after the busk described by General Hitchcock. They were contained in a letter written at "Bayou Menard, Cherokee Nation, August 4, 1843," by Mr. Dickerman and printed in a newspaper, and give little more than an account—a very good one nevertheless—of the women's dance. The town was probably Tukabahchee, but this is uncertain. Mr. Dickerman, as well as his companion, seems to have had some artistic ability, since the services of both gentlemen were utilized by the Indians in painting a banner for the occasion. "On one side was painted the American Eagle, with the motto, 'E Pluribus Unum,' and the thirteen stars; on the other the crossed pipes, hatchet, and clasped hands, with the motto of 'Peace and Friendship.'" After Mr. Dickerman had run this up on a pole about 21 feet high, at one corner of the square, the Indians took it down and inverted it so that the eagle might be seen from the inside of the square as the wind was then blowing.

Mr. Dickerman describes the ceremonial ground as measuring "about 35 feet square," and says, "on each side is a small house with open front, facing the interior, and an entrance from each end of the house. Seats were arranged in

[51] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., p. 44.
[52] Ibid., pp. 44-47.
[53] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 276.

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each house made of matting of cane wove together with bark. In the centre of the square they have a fire, which is not suffered to go out during the year. At the time of the *Busk* every family in the town is obliged to put out their fire at home and go to the Busking ground and encamp." He was, as we know, misinformed regarding the fire, which was kept up only during the ceremonial period. He now proceeds to describe the doings of the first day as follows:

"The *Busk* is a religious ceremony, to return thanks to the Great Spirit for their abundant crops of Corn, and might be called their sacrament, as it is observed with the utmost strictness and self-denial. The first day of the ceremony was commenced by the women dancing. They gave us the highest seat in the synagogue, where we could see every thing that was going on. The little King, or Chief of the town, with three others, took their seats upon the cane mats at one corner of the square, and in a few moments after they were seated, four gourds were brought to them on a server made of cane, which was painted white with a kind of clay, and contained small round seeds. Each man took one and they then commenced singing and keeping time with the gourds, the women at the same time coming into the square in Indian file, marched up in front and faced the singers. After they had come in to the number of one hundred and fifty, the singing ceased, and the speaker gave them a 'talk,' the substance of which, I am sorry to say I am unable to give you, as we had no interpreter by us at that time. At the conclusion of the speech the singing again commenced, and the four old women who led the dance, each holding a stick about a foot long, painted red and ornamented with Eagle's feathers, commenced beating time. The King gave a signal by the shake of the gourd, and they all immediately faced about and commenced beating time with their feet. About fifty of them wore terrapin shells upon their legs, which are made in the following manner: They boil the terrapin, extract all the meat, and then fill it with small pebble stones. Ten or twelve of these are fastened in a semicircular form upon a piece of Buffalo skin, and tied upon the leg just above the knee. They generally wear one on each leg, and in dancing they all keep perfect time, and it is impossible to conceive what a rattling noise they make. Another double shake of the gourd, and they all commenced dancing around the fire in the centre of the square. In this way they continued dancing incessantly for two hours, the sun shining full upon them, and the thermometer ranging from 90 to 100 in the shade. Their dresses defy description. Out of the whole number I could not designate two of the same figure. They were principally of calico and cotton of their own manufacture. They were made in a style peculiar to the Creeks and Seminoles. The border is made to hang loose, and detached from the skirt. The skirt is tied around the waist, and is worked to the depth of 12 or 15 inches from the bottom with different colors, in various devices. On these occasions they always put on all and the best they have. I saw one woman near our camp put on five dresses. They wore a great many ornaments, such as beads, ear-rings, hair-combs, etc. I saw one woman with ten pair of silver ear-rings in her ears, four pounds of large blue and white beads around her neck, silver armbands upon her arms, and about ten yards of different colored ribbons flowing from the top of her head. While the women were dancing the men were all seated in the houses forming the square, feasting upon boiled meat, potatoes, honey and water-mellons. They asked us if we had eaten any green corn this season; we replied that we had. They then told us if we had not eaten corn we could have eaten with them, but if we had eaten of it we could not, for it would spoil their physic, and offend the Great Spirit. Thus passed the first day of the Bu[illegible] . . ."

Dickerman promised to continue his description of the ceremony in later letters but unfortunately they are not available to me.

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624 the entire Creek Nation. It was the position occupied by Hobohli Yâhola, famous leader of the Creeks during their removal west and all of their subsequent troubled history until the Civil War. He was not a miko even of one town, but his influence was actually greater than that of any miko, or any number of them. There were two ta'pala, whose chief function was to act as messengers before and during the women's dance, and there were two singers for the women (inyahaikâlgi, "singers for them"), who sat at the end of one of the cabins just in front of the spot where the women began dancing. They were usually selected for their knowledge of songs rather than on account of their clan affiliations. The hilis haya was the head priestly functionary. He supervised the preparation of the medicines and gave them their final potency and he ordered everything in any way touching upon the supernatural. He was assisted by one or more men called hilis tcâlaba or "medicine mixers," whose functions are defined by the name, and by two or more young men called hilis hoboia, "medicine gatherers," who collected the red root, pasa, and other plants that went into the sacred medicine. Some towns seem to have had a separate official called tutka dīdja, "fire builder," to start the fire, but in others the hilis haya did that, and there was instead a tutka oktidīdja, "gatherer of wood" for the fire. A number of boys known as oidjawâlgi brought water for the medicines. In one town we learn of ahaga haiyâlgi, "law makers," who are said to carry out the instructions of the tâstânâgis and may be identical with the imałas elsewhere mentioned. There were also officers called simiabaia, or "leaders." The hoktâgi immiko, "chief of the women," and his henīha, may have been identical with the ta'palas. Anciently the tâstânâgis and their assistants acted as town police, but nowadays three or four light horsemen are selected at random to police the square ground during ceremonies, and there are boys called "dog whippers" with long whips stationed at each opening into the square during the women's dance to drive away dogs. Many of these officers were chosen for four years only. If one died before the expiration of his term, a substitute was selected from the same clan, which seems to indicate that the position was something of a clan prerogative.

• 796 Of the ceremonies which took place on these grounds, only two have survived. One, called by the popular local name of "stomp dance," was confined to the people of the town and was simple in character, the miko hoyanīdja (red willow) being ordinarily the only medicine used during it. There were no dances other than the common and relatively secular ones, no ceremonial lighting of the fires, no

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ceremonial complications of any sort. It seems to have been usual to hold three of these dances in the spring and early summer, a month apart, the series paving the way for, and leading up to, the second ceremonial, the "busk," which was the great annual ritual. This last is usually considered as lasting four days, though in that four are included the days of assembling and departure. The principal event on the second day is the women's dance. On the third day the men fast, take medicine four times, and near its close march down to the creek and bathe. After they return, they are dismissed to their camps and break their fast. Later they are summoned to the square again where they dance four times, and then the dance becomes "common," visitors from friendly towns being admitted to it. A fire is kept up all night in the center of the square and dancing continues about it until it is nearly day. In former times many, perhaps all, of the towns extended their busks over eight days, but from what can be learned of these longer ceremonials they seem to have been in the main a simple doubling of the shorter ceremony, except for a few features like the kindling of the new fire which took place but once annually. 796

Let us now turn to the new material regarding the square grounds and the ceremonies conducted there. Under each heading I give the notes obtained from native informants belonging to the square or town in question.

ABIHKA

Figure 1 gives the general arrangement of the square of Abihka, or Talladega, and Plate 1, Figure 1, gives a view of the ground itself near Henryetta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912. The exposure was made from the southwest. 344 621 796

The medicines were taken first by those in the Bears' bed, then in succession by those in the beds of the Raccoon on the west side, the Raccoon on the east side, the Deer, and those in the south bed. The asimbonaia in the northern section of the east cabin acted more particularly as the chief's messenger; the one in the western compartment of the south cabin called first the women and then the children to come to take their medicine from the vessel at the north end of the east cabin. The ta'palas were changed every four years. The women gathered preparatory to their dance at a tree on the edge of the tâdjo (the ridge of sweepings that makes the edge of the ceremonial ground) and entered the section about the fire at its northwestern corner. Five pots of medicine were prepared at the north end of the west cabin (fig. 1, 11). Afterward one pot

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was placed a little farther north and west for the boys (12) and another was carried around to the north end of the east cabin for the women and children (13). The ingredients of this medicine

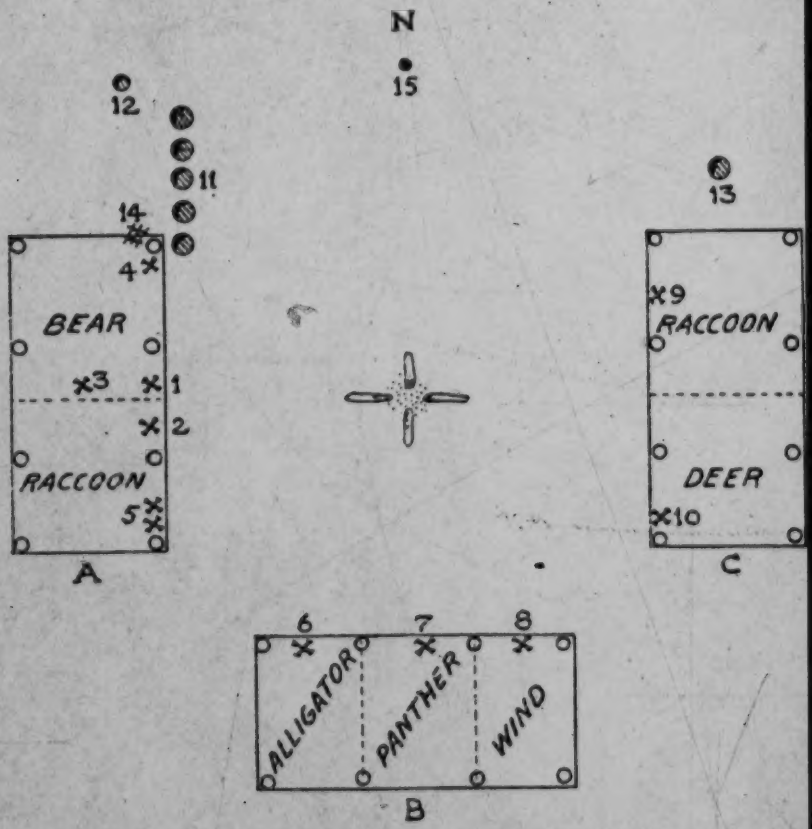

FIG. 1.—General arrangement of the square of Abihka.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikâlgi or mikâgi intupa): 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Raccoon); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon); 4, hilis tcâlaba; 5, yâhaikas (any clan).
B. Henihas' Bed (henihâlgi intupa): 6, asimbonaia (Alligator); 7, ta'pala (Panther); 8, ta'pala (Wind).
C. Warriors' Bed (tâstânâgâlgi intupa): 9, asimbonaia (Raccoon); 10, tutka dīdja (Deer).

11, medicine pots (1st position); 12, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 13, medicine pot for women (2d position); 14, place where medicines were piled immediately after they were brought in; 15, ball post (pokâbi).
It is to be noted that, in all of these diagrams, the ball post was actually much farther from the center of the square than is indicated.

were miko hoyanīdja ("red root"), pasa ("buttonsnake-root"), wīlana ("wormseed"), and hobâga ("maypop"); tcato hâtki ("white stones") were added. After the ceremony was about over and the fasters were ready to go down to bathe in the creek, what was left

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of the medicine was poured on the fire. It is said that one gallon of spring water was brought for all five pots. This must mean a gallon for each. Following are the busk names of the present officers:

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miko	Tcûktcât Henīha
henīha	Itchas Hadjo
hilis tcálaba	Konip Yâhola
ta'pala	Katca Tâstânâgi
"	Kona Yâhola
tutka dīdja	Tâstânâkutci
asimbonaia	Wotko Fiksiko
"	Kapitca Hadjo

The Hathagâlgi of this town are Wind and Bear; the Tcilokogâlgi are Panther, Raccoon, Deer, Beaver, Alligator, and Bird.

My information regarding this ground was obtained mainly from Jim Star who described the Talladega ground to me in 1912, the plan of which is in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 205. The different aspect of the east cabin is mainly due to the fact that the earlier account gives a more ancient arrangement, when the warriors were graded into tâstânâgis, and big and little imałas. The position assigned to the hilis haya in the earlier plan is probably erroneous. The other differences are due mainly to the more extensive information obtained on my last trip. My new information disagrees with the older, however, in assigning the Bird, Beaver, and Alligator clans to the Tciloki side as was said to be the case at Abihka-in-the-West instead of to the White side as was given me for Talladega and the old Abihka town near Eufaula. It is probable that the new information is correct since the last mentioned square was given up when the man from whom I obtained data regarding it was a boy. However, it must be remembered that these allocations are not invariable and probably changed at times even within the same town.

OTCIAPOFA, OR HICKORY GROUND

Figure 2 shows the square ground of Otciapofa, popularly known as Hickory Ground.

The hilis tcâlaba was changed every four years and was not taken invariably from the same clan.

At the southernmost front post of the east cabin were fastened two poles with black feathers tied to the ends and at every other front post were three similar poles but with white feathers. These were carried by the men in the "feather dance."

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In the women's dance there is but one leader who carries a notched stick called atâsa, the old name of the war club, from the middle of which depends an eagle feather.

Besides the invariable miko hoyanīdja or "red root," the busk medicine contained tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), wīlana ("wormseed"), tutka-tcok-hissi (a place on the ground where wood has been burned and moss has sprung up), and hobâga ("maypop").

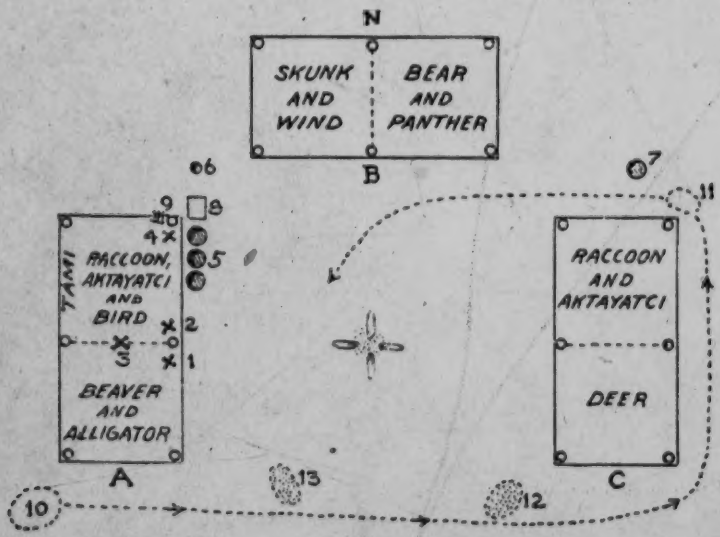

FIG. 2.—The square ground of Otciapofa, or Hickory Ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Beaver); 2, miko apokta (Beaver); 3, hilis haya (any clan; at present Wind); 4, hilis tcâlaba (changed every 4 years; now Beaver).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed.

5, medicine pots (1st position); 6, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 7, medicine pot for woman (2d position); 8, log on which medicines were laid and macerated with a small wooden pounder; 9, place where medicines were kept; 10, point where women gathered preparatory to their dance; 11, point where women made a final stop before entering to dance; 12, where the ashes from the central fire were deposited every year; 13, sweepings from the square ground (tâdjo); 14, ball post.

As usual, the doctor perfected this medicine by blowing into it through a hollow reed. Two men took medicine at the same time, using gourd dippers. After all were through a dipperful was poured on the fire.

For a drum they use a stout jar and there are two coconut-shell rattles.

There is a line of tâdjo (sweepings) around the four cabins but it does not include the ball post. In playing the single pole game a

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hit on the skull at the top counts five and a hit on the pole above a certain mark counts two when it is struck twice in succession.

The Hathagas consisted of the Beaver, Alligator, Bird, Bear, Skunk, Wind, and Rabbit; the Tcilokis of the Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and Aktayatci. The Rabbit, Wind, and Skunk formed one phratry.

The information regarding this ground which I obtained in 1912 was particularly incomplete. It is therefore gratifying to find that there are no serious discrepancies between the plan based on that (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 211) and the present information. Some clans are given in one and omitted from the other, but where the same ones appear in both they have practically the same positions except for the Bear, which, according to the earlier description, sat in the west cabin and according to the later at the east end of the north cabin; and the Tâmi, which the former places at the west end of the north cabin and the latter at the back of the northern section of the west cabin. The location of the miko, miko apokta or heniha, and hilis haya is probably more exact in the later plan which also adds many more details. The informants differed somewhat regarding the Hathagas and Tcilokis, the earlier authority placing the Beaver among the Tciloki and the Panther among the Whites, allocations exactly reversed by my later informant.

LITTLE TULSA

Next we come to one of the two divisions into which the Tulsa have recently split, this being known as Little Tulsa (fig. 3). Plate 1, Figure 2, shows the old Tulsa ground in 1911 from the southeast, before the fission had occurred.

It is said that all of the offices are filled from particular clans. The following is a list of the present officers; exclusive of the miko and his heniha:

tâstânâgi łako	Ispani Tâstânâgi
tâstânâgi	Kapitca Tâstânâgi
"	Lata Miko (controls the two above)
ahaga haiyâlgi ("law makers") (messengers for the tâstânâgis)	Kapitca Tâstânâgi (Aktayatci), and Tâmi Tâstânâgi (Tâmi)
simiabaia	Kântcati Miko (busk name) or Nokos Hadjo (common name)
hilis haya	Miko Tcâpko (Beaver)
hilis tcâlaba	Tâmi Yâhola (Tâmi)
tutka oktidjdja	Tâmâłâkutci (Tâmi)

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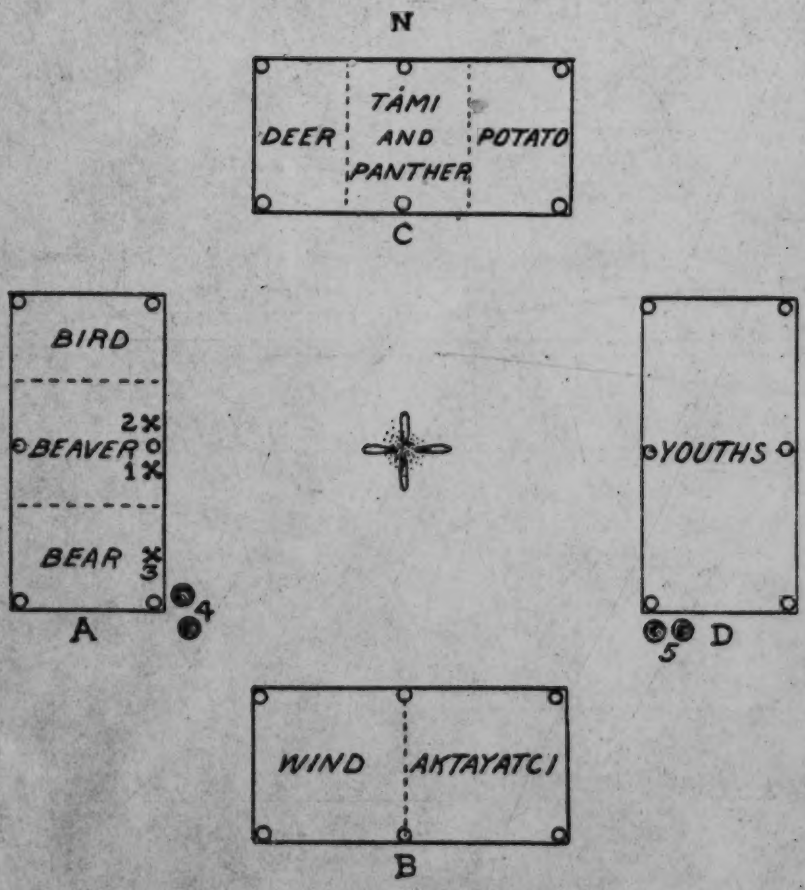

FIG. 3.—Little Tulsa square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko; 2, heniha; 3, simiabaia.
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

4, old location of medicine pots; 5, modern location of medicine pots.

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ta'pala	Nokos Fiksiko (Bear)
"	Tâmi Hâtkutci (Tâmi)
yâhaikas	Kapitca Fiksiko (Aktayatci), and Pin Hadjo (Tâmi)
Captain of the Light Horsemen	Yâhola Tcâpko (Tâmi)
Light Horsemen	Oktcân Hadjo (Bear) Fûs Yâholutc (Beaver) Kapitcutci (Aktayatci)

The ta'palas functioned at the women's dance, the yâhaikas sang at the women's dance and at the feather dance.

My original Tulsa data, published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (p. 213), was obtained from an old man and was intended to reflect the most ancient arrangement he could remember. Since that time the Tulsa Indians who used to meet at the Little River ground have divided and maintain two distinct squares. The general agreement between the older and the later plan is therefore surprisingly close. The principal difference seems to be in the position given the Aktayatci who appear in the north bed in the earlier plan and in the south bed in the later one. The earlier plan may also be in error in the position given the medicine pots but this was subject to change from town to town and during the ceremony itself. The Eagle clan, which appears on the older plan, died out so long ago that it can barely be remembered by any living Creeks.

NUYAKA

The plan of this ground is given in Figure 4 and a view of it as it appeared some years ago in Plate 2, Figure 1.

The positions of hilis haya, hilis tcâlaba, and tutka dîdja were held for four years when the man and clan were changed so as to teach others the duties of these offices. The tâstânâgis and imałas had become confined to one or two clans. The hoktâgi immiko and his henîha controlled the women's dance and were called istatcagas. The term hola'ta was applied to a certain class at the square ground in some towns, sometimes to the Tcilokis, but its application here is not explained. The first ta'pala acted under the women's chief. He was taken from the Bear clan, or, failing that, from the following in order of preference: Wind, Raccoon, Tâmi.

In taking the medicines they drank of the miko hoyanîdja first and pasa second.

A rock was placed under the miko's seat "to make the seat heavy." Anciently there was a tcokofa northeast of the square. Nowadays the ground is hoed off only once a year.

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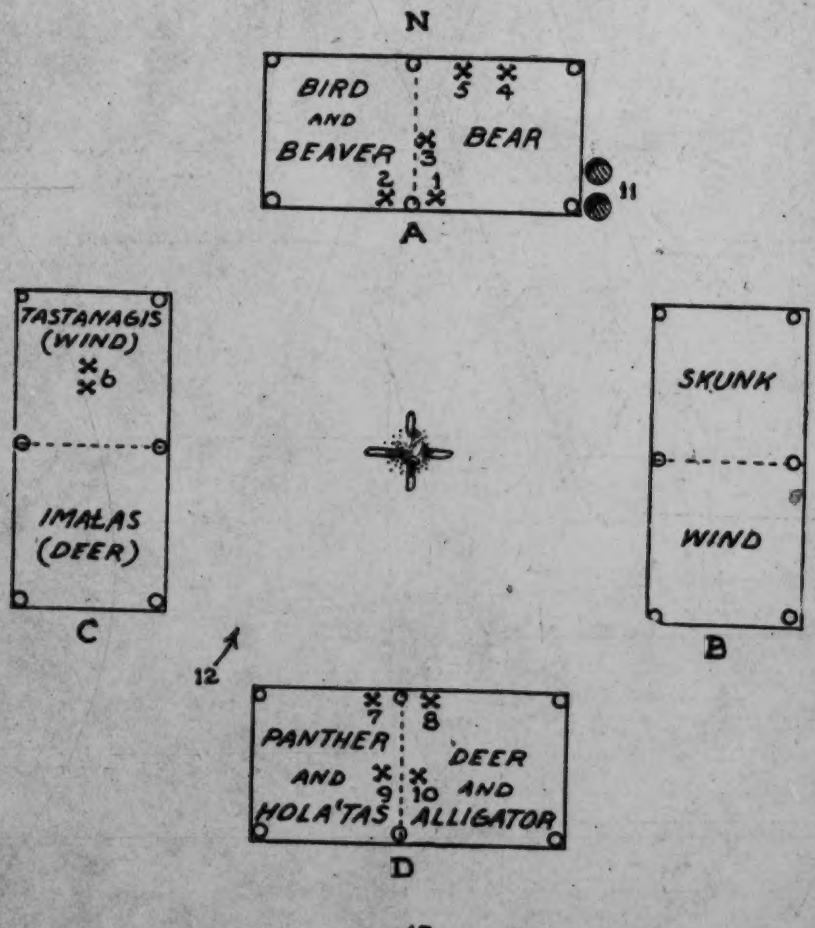

FIG. 4.—Nuyaka square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heníha (usually Wind; Deer in 1929); 3, hilis haya (changed every 4 years; Turkey in 1929); 4, hilis tcálaba (Alligator); 5, tutka didja (Raccoon).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed; 6, two tástánágis (or law makers).

D. Tcilokis' Bed (Tcilokogálgi intupa), or Tásikaias' Bed (Tásikaiálgi intupa): 7, hoktági immiko (Aktayatci); 8, heníha for hoktági immiko (Alligator); 9, 1st ta'pala (Bear preferentially); 10, 2d ta'pala (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, point at which women enter; 13, ball post.

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In this town the Turkey and Alligator clans belong in one phratry and so do the Wind and Skunk.

The present officers are as follows:

miko	Nokos Miko
henīha	Miko Tcápko
hilis haya	Tástánákwci
tutka oktidīdja	Hotálgi Hadjudji
hilis tcálaba	Lōdja Yáhola
hoktági immiko	Wotko Yáhola

When the present Nuyaka data are compared with that which I obtained in 1912 for Nuyaka and the related towns Okfuskee, Abihkutci, Talmutcási, and Tcatoksofa, the agreement is found to be close except in the cases of the two last where the square grounds had long been given up and were described by individuals from memories of their early years. The main correction is in locating the miko, henīha, and hilis haya and the difference here is not great.

PAKAN TALLAHASSEE

Figure 5 gives the plan and Plate 2, Figure 2, and Plate 3, Figure 1, views of the ground, one showing the three cabins, or arbors, and the other the chunk yard and ball post.

The tutka oktidīdja, hilis tcálaba, hilis haya, and oīdjawas, were appointed every four years from any clan. The ta'palas and hilis hoboia were appointed every four years from the same clan. The miko and asimbonaias held their positions for life.

Here we seem to meet some strange innovations. The Bears' section of the south cabin receives one name connected with war, tásikaiálgi intupa, and the section of the Birds, Beavers, and Alligators another, tástánágálgi intupa, while, at the same time, they are White or Hathaga clans and their cabin is called hathagálgi intupa. Yet one section of the west cabin is called tástánágálgi intupa also, and the whole cabin receives the unusual name of láksáfáskálgi intupa, "bed of the Blacks," the Blacks being evidently the clans elsewhere called tcilōkogálgi.

The tcokofa was to the northwest and this was the last town to put up such a structure.

The Birds' section was called istatcagági intupa. The Deer and Pahosálgi were formerly called the imałágálgi.

Three poles with white feathers attached were fastened to each of the front posts for use in the feather dance.

Back of the tástánágis' section of the west cabin was a little structure in which to inclose the medicine pots when they were not in use.

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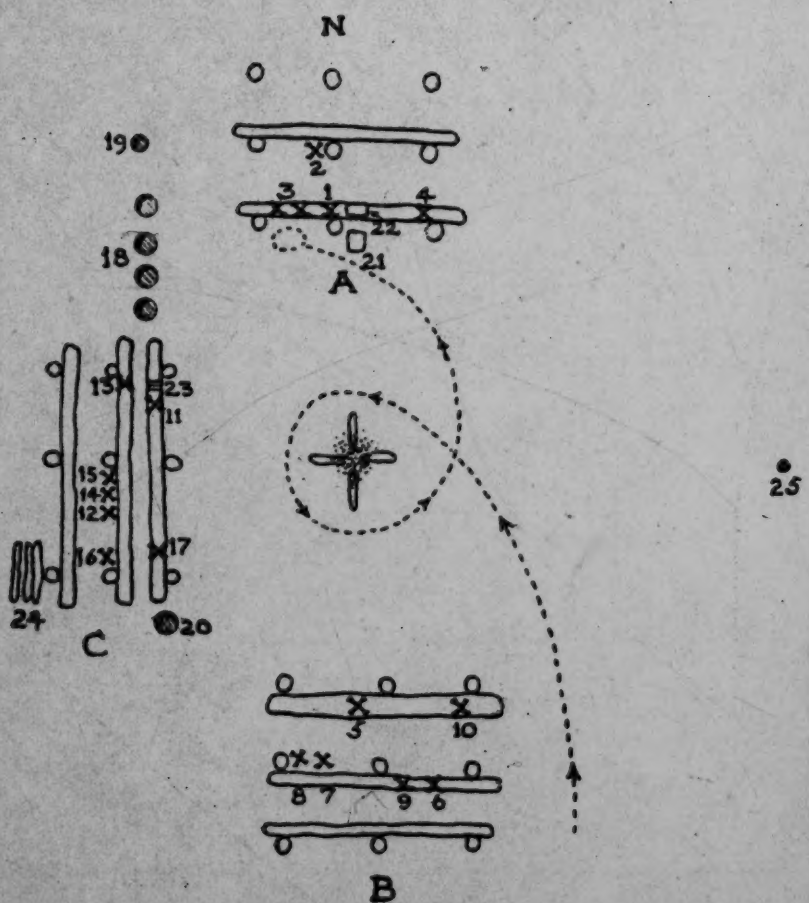

FIG. 5.—Square ground of Pakan Tallahassee.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi intupa): 1, miko (Bear); 2, hilis haya (Panther in 1929); 3, yáhaikas (singers for women); 4, dog whipper.

B. Whites' Bed (hathagálgi intupa): 5, asimbonaia (Bird); 6, ta'pala (Bear); 7, hilis hoboia (Bird); 8, oïdjawa (Bird); 9, oïdjawa (Bear); 10, dog whipper.

C. Blacks' Bed (laksáfàskálgi intupa): 11, asimbonaia (Deer); 12, ta'pala (Bird; father Raccoon); 13, hilis tcálaba (Deer in 1929); 14, tutka oktidïdja (Raccoon in 1929); 15, hilis hoboia (Raccoon in 1929); 16, oïdjawa (Panther in 1929); 17, dog whipper.

18, medicine pots (1st position); 19, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 20, medicine pot for women (2d position); 21, drum; 22, box for tobacco; 23, place where medicine was laid before being used; 24, woodpile; 25, ball post. The dotted line marks the course pursued by the women when they entered to dance.

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In this town[1] the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, Tàmi, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous. 344 621 796 526

The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai, Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

miko ..... Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird)
asimbonaia ..... Tàstànàk Imała (Deer)
" ..... Tàstànàk Hadjo (Bird)
hĭlis haya ..... Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther)
hĭlis tcàlaba ..... Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer)
oĭdjawàlgi ..... 1. Fus Yàholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)
2. Hotàlgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)
3. Halàk Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry)
hĭlis hoboia ..... 1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)
2. Tàlsi Yàhoła (Bird)
ta'pa'a ..... 1. Halàk Yàhoła ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon)
" ..... 2. Hotàlgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind)
tutka oktidĭdja ... Itco-ili Imała ("Deer Foot Imała") (Raccoon, father Deer)
yàhaikas ..... 1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated)
" ..... 2. Miko Yàhoła (Bear)

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atàsa held by the leading woman is red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is white and has a feather of the fus hàtki ("white bird"), a bird found down by the creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to 14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta'palas stand about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each carries a wand called sĭ'dik-kika having a white feather fastened to the end. 344 621 796

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

[1] [i.e., Pakan Tallahassee. -- Analyst]

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About 54 men were present at the last preceding busk and 25 women and girls participated in the dance.

At the top of the pokábi in this town was a horse skull. In scoring for this game they draw a line from the ball post to the nearest corner of the south cabin. When the skull is struck, 4 are scored; when the pole under the skull is struck, it counts 2 on the way out and 1 on the way back. They may count it as a game, however, by agreement when they reach the corner post. The women's tallies are marked on one side of the line, the men's on the other.

There is little difference except in detail between the above plan of Pakan Tallahassee and the several I recorded in 1912.

WIOGUFKI

The plan of Wiogufki is given in Figure 6 and a view of the ground from the southwest in Plate 3, Figure 2.

There is a little log house on the grounds in which the pots are stored when not in use to keep them from being broken. There never was a north cabin so far as my informant knew. On the upper end of the ball post is a cow skull.

The women walk four times around the fire; then their leaders stop opposite the singers and they begin to dance.

The hilis tcálaba holds office for four years. In this town the place of the miko's henīha is taken by a tástánągi. Indeed all of the tástánągis are considered the same as the henīhas. They are called "the people who are named" and are of the nature of lawmakers and assistants to the miko. The miko's tástánągi is also the same thing as the yatika. There are no istatcągagis (retired leaders who acted as councillors), and no Creek town now has a holibonaia. There are five water boys picked at random. At the front posts of each cabin are four poles with feathers tied to the ends for use in the "feather dance."

The two leading women in the women's dance carry atása. The principal function of the ta'palas is to call the women up for their dance which they do four times. Each has a wand with a little white feather at the end. Their official positions do not end with the women's dance but continue to the end of the busk.

No medicine is now put on the firesticks but it was formerly done. The only medicine they use at the busk is the miko hoyanīdja, to which nothing is added.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as in Hilibi. They were exogamous, and if the exogamic law was violated the ears of the culprits were cut off.

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The towns of Wakokai, Tukpafka, and Talahasutci were all one with this. In regular ball games they always played against Alabama. 344 621 716

Comparison between the plan given above and the two obtained in 1912 shows considerable differences, but since one of the former

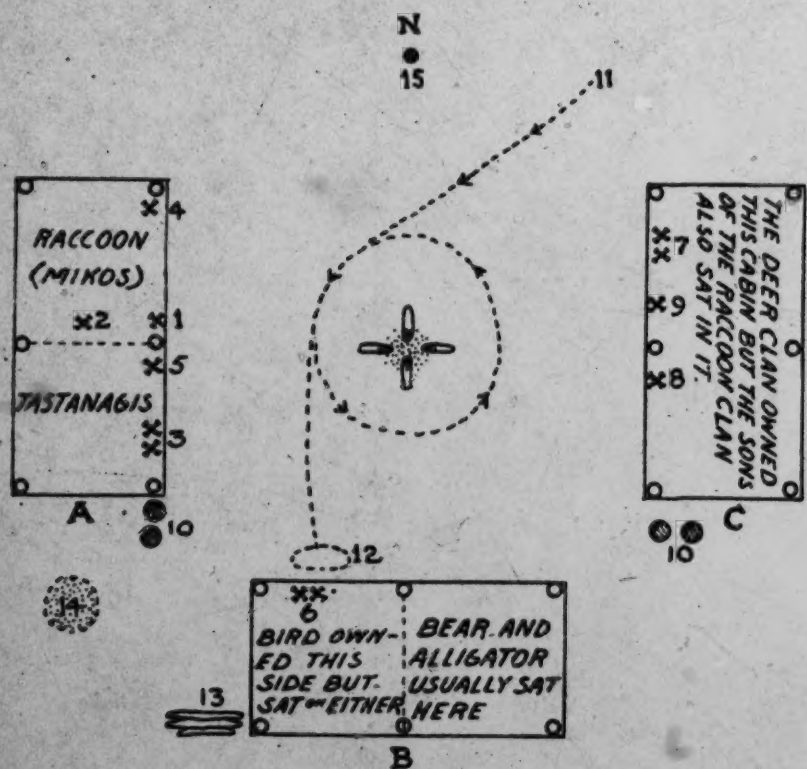

FIG. 6.—Square ground of Wiogufki.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Alligator); 2, hilis haya; 3, hilis tcálaba (Bear and Deer); 4, hilis hoboia (Panther); 5, a tástánagi (instead of heníha) (Raccoon).

B. Whites' Bed: 6, yáhaikas (Deer).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, ta'pala (Raccoon); 8, hilis hoboia (Deer); 9, tutka oktidldja (Deer).

10, medicine pots (near bed A for men; near bed C for women and boys); 11, point where women enter to dance; 12, point where women begin dancing; 13, woodpile; 14, ashes of old fires; 15, ball post.

was obtained from the same man, I think the explanation lies in the smallness of the town and the weakness of many of the clans which has resulted in many changes within a comparatively short time. Nevertheless there is a general correspondence and the allocation of clans to the moieties also agrees except in the case of

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the Panther clan. This is explained by the fact that the Panther was anciently considered a White clan and later came to be regarded as Tciloki.

OKCHAI

Figure 7 shows the arrangement of this square and Plate 4, Figure 1, shows a view of it taken in winter.

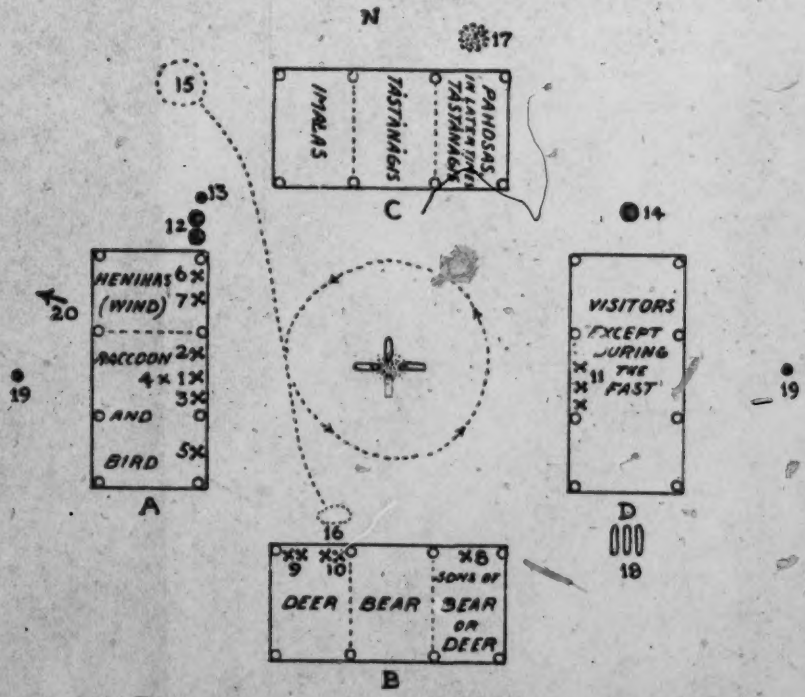

FIG. 7.—Arrangement of square ground of Okchai.

A. Chiefs' Bed 1, miko (Raccoon formerly; Bear in 1929); 2, heniha (Deer); 3, yatika (Deer formerly; Wind in 1929); 4, hilis haya; 5, ta'pala (any clan); 6, hilis tcálaba (Bird); 7, tutka oktidīdja (Wind).

B. Henihas' Bed: 8, ta'pala (any clan); 9, hilis hoboia; 10, yáhaikas (any clan).

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. Youths' Bed: 11, oidjawa (any clan).

12, medicine pots; 13, medicine pot for boys; 14, medicine pot for women; 15, point where women assemble preparatory to their dance; 16, point where women start dancing; 17, ashes of previous fires; 18, woodpile; 19, ball posts; 20, a spring lies in this direction.

The hilis tcálaba, ta'pala, and tutka oktidīdja changed every four years. The hilis haya was reappointed every four years.

Wiley Buckner, an old informant of mine, was the former yatika. The tutka oktidīdja in 1929 was Hotálgi Miko.

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The medicine was pounded up just in front of the pots at the north end of the chiefs' bed.

The fire was brought from Alabama in the great migration and new fire was lighted from it. They dug up the earth as deep as the arm would reach, put the fire in there, and made the new fire on top. This is the very spot at which they first placed their square in Oklahoma and it has not been moved. The squares of the kindred towns, Łáłogálga and Asilanabi, are not so old.

There were two poles with feathers on the ends at each of the front posts of the cabins all the way round.

Atása were borne by the two women who led in the women's dance.

The tástánágis were law makers. They had charge of the rules governing the taking of medicine and if anyone broke one of these regulations they made him stay in the square ground all night without eating instead of breaking his fast that evening as was usual.

In the various beds of this square ground the "sons of the clan" can sit with their fathers.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as at Hilibi.

Their principal opponents in the ball games years ago were the Hilibi.

This arrangement agrees substantially with that obtained by me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 234), the principal difference being in the location of the Bear and Bird clans. My earlier informants placed the Bird and Aktayatci in the middle of the south cabin and the Bear at the east end of the same, while the later ones said nothing of the Aktayatci but placed the Bird clan in the southern section of the west cabin and the Bear clan in the center of the south cabin, the sons of the Bear being located next to them on the east. The arrangement of this square must be taken in connection with the plans of Łáłogálga and Asilanabi.

ŁAŁOGÁLGA, OR FISH POND

For a plan of this ground, see Figure 8.

The tutka oktidīdja is appointed every four years but always from the Aktayatci clan. The hilis hoboia are chosen every four years and ordinarily from the Aktayatci and Bear clans but this is not necessarily the case. However, if one dies before his four years have expired he is replaced by someone of his clan. The hilis hoboia also act as the hilis tcálaba.

Ta'palas are appointed only when needed. There are no special water carriers, the hilis hoboia calling upon any boys for this purpose whenever water is required.

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The two leaders among the women carry atàsa, that held by the first being colored red, that by the second white.

One of the two medicine pots contains pasa; the other the miko hoyanīdja along with wīlana, tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), which

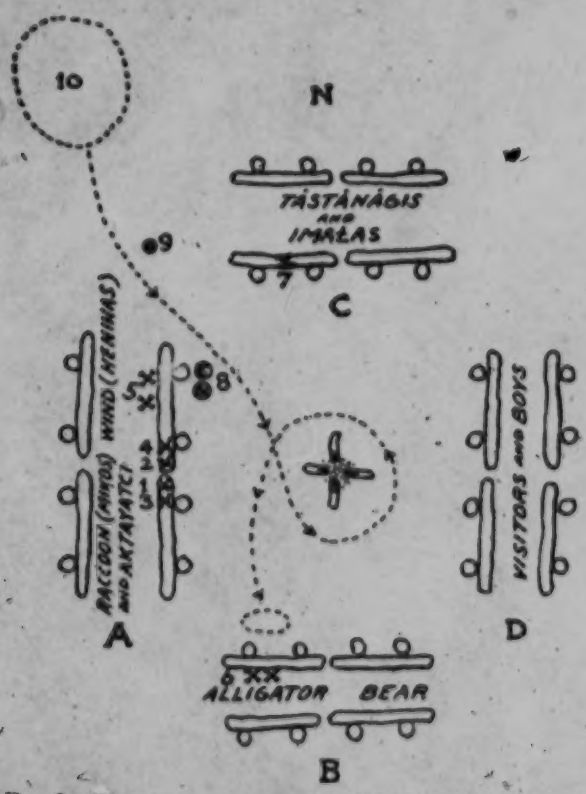

FIG. 8.—The square ground of Łalogàlga, or Fish Pond.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, henīha (or 2d chief) (Wind); 3, asimbonaia or yatika (head speaker, drawn from any clan); 4, hilis haya (any clan); 5, hilis hoboiz.

B. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa); 6, yàhaikas (no fixed clan).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, tutka oktidīdja (Aktayatci).

8, medicine pots; 9, boys' medicine; 10, point where women assembled preparatory to the dance.

grows in wet places in swamps and has red flowers, tcàto hàtkutci (four "little white rocks"), and tutka-tcok-hissi (green moss from an old fireplace).

If one has eaten new roasting ears he is given a little pasa root to chew and then a little pasa in cold water of which he must take four drinks. Then he can take all of the medicines like the others.

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Some of the medicine is swallowed, the rest spit out. The doctor sees that the medicines are taken and fines those who neglect to do so.

There is a town policeman called istikonā'ha who carries out the orders of the miko against those who have refused to obey him, and collects fines from them. The incumbent in 1929 was Maxcy Alakotci. When I interviewed them they were using the tástánągi as the town miko.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Wind, Bird, and Alligator; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Potato.

The Aktayatci are said to have formed one phratry with the Raccoon.

In match games, they played against Tukabahchee, Atasi, Łapłáko, Eufaula, Hilibi, and Kealedji. Alabama was formerly of the same fire but later drew away.

This year (1929) they did not use the pasa. The Ásilanabi square ground is arranged just like this one, but the Okchai differ from these two a little in the use of their medicines. It is thought that Ásilanabi is older than Łáłogálga and that the latter branched off in order to get the extra money that was paid to its six representatives in the national assembly.

Except that there is more det[illegible] the arrangement given here differs only slightly from that which [illegible] recorded in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 236). The only noteworthy divergence is in the position assigned to the Deer clan by my earlier informants, but this may be attributed to the fact that the miko apokta was then a Deer and his clan was probably brought over to the west cabin for that reason. As we should expect, the agreement is also close with the arrangement of the Ásilanabi ground though there are minor divergencies in the allocation of clans to the south cabin. All of my authorities agreed well in assigning clans to the two moieties, but the oldest of all of them thought that the Beaver and Alligator were probably Tcilokí. This may have been the ancient arrangement.

TUKABAHCHEE

The plan of Tukabahchee square appears in Figure 9 and a view of it as it looked in 1912 is given in Plate 5, Figure 1.

The number of tástánągis is indeterminate. The toba mawīdine were officers not otherwise named who always remained in the cabins. There is one in each of the 12 beds except a part of the southeast cabin as indicated. They were selected from any clan, given names taken from the father's clan, and seated with the latter. Thus, if

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a man were a Deer and his father a Raccoon, they would give him a name from the Raccoon clan's names and seat him with them. After being so seated these officers were not obliged to do any further work connected with the busk.

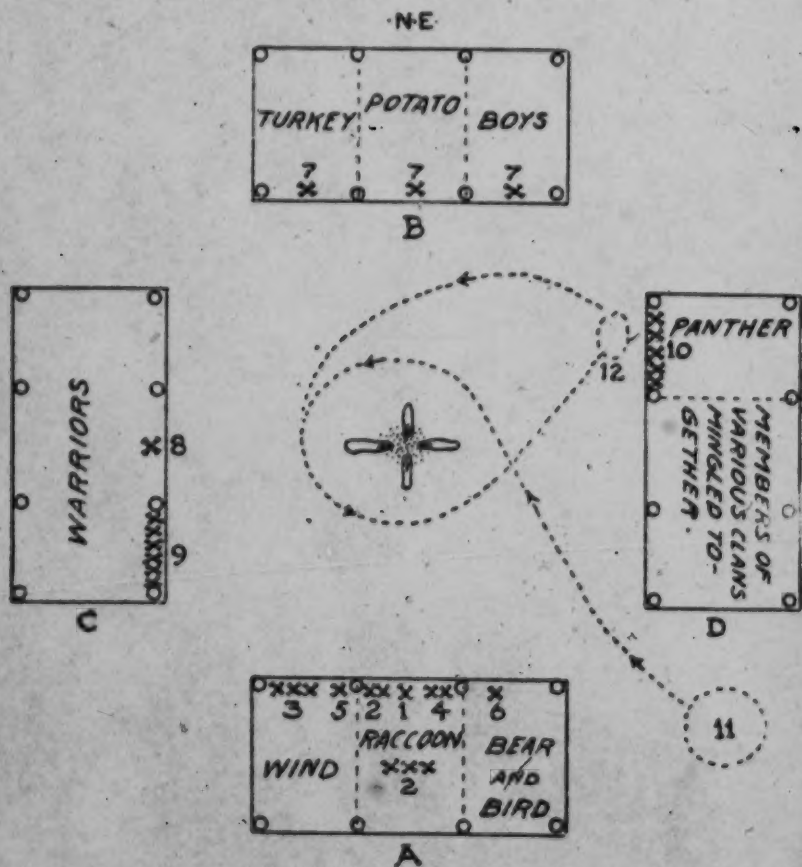

FIG. 9.—Tukabahchee square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, mikos (substitutes) (Raccoon); 3, henihas (Wind); 4, henihas and yatikas; 5, hilis haya; 6, ta'pala.
B. Potato Bed; sometimes also called Youths' Bed: 7, 7, 7, toba mawidine.
C. Warriors' Bed: 8, ta'pala; 9, tástánági łákálgi.
D. Youths' Bed (Tcibánágálgi intupa): 10, yáhaikas; 11, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 12 point where the women start dancing.

The istatcagagis, most of whom sat in the southeast bed, were like a jury, or like a committee, to settle matters of routine. They comprised both men and women. The admittance of women to this select group is something which I heard from no other informant.

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A man was picked out of the bed of the henīhas to speak for others, *i. e.*, the yatikas were selected from the henīhas. None was used in the stomp dance. As payment for his services the yatika was given a deer hide and a ribbon. When he was wanted by the miko he was summoned four times, but he did not start until he had received the fourth call. He set a basket on the ground into which all of the tàsikaias threw bits of tobacco to be taken to the singers for the women as payment for their services.

The holibonaia was a special speaker used in the ball game and in war. The term asimbonaia was about equivalent to that of yatika. He was a head man chosen from among the tàstànàgis for almost any purpose. He listened to any message which the miko wished to give out and then repeated it aloud.

There were two hilis tcàlaba who sat with their clans and were summoned whenever needed. One was a Raccoon and one a Bear.

There were two oktidīdja who sat with their clans or wherever they belonged until summoned to attend to the fire.

Four hilis hoboia, selected from any clans, were sent to gather the medicine.

All of the tàsikaias shared in getting water.

The famous Tukabahchee plates were taken out and cleaned four years in succession and then left covered for four years.

The feather dance was discontinued at Tukabahchee when my informant was a small boy.

The three leading women in the women's dance carry atàsa. The leading woman has an eagle feather on her atàsa, the second a white crane feather, and the other the feather of a third bird, perhaps a goose. They start one at a time and when the third moves all the rest follow. After they have walked round the fire four times they begin to dance and circle the fire again six times.

The Hathagas were Bird, Wind, Bear, and Beaver; the Tcilokis were Turkey, Alligator, Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and any others.

In olden times the moieties were exogamous. The Raccoon and Potato were then brothers, or rather half brothers, but intermarriage between them is now common. Even today, however, the Beaver and Bird will seldom intermarry. The Bird was the "uncle" of the Beaver and the Beaver the former's "nephew."

A man's children called his father's clan "fathers." One can say anything he wishes to, however disrespectful, about his own clan, but he must not speak against his father's clan or permit anyone else to.

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The general arrangement is the same as that obtained from the father of my informant in 1911-12 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 244), but the stations here assigned to some of the individual officers are probably more nearly correct, particularly the locations of the mikos.

KEALEDJI

Figure 10 shows the Kealedji square.

The hoktâgi immiko, "women's chief," supervised the women's dance. There are now no regular water carriers. The imałas formerly sat in the north cabin, but now there are no officers so called. The beds are called by the names of the clans which occupy them. If the asimbonaia is wanted to deliver a speech, he is called over to the miko's seat for that purpose. For tâstânâgis the best men are chosen. The ta'palas are changed every four years. In former times they had a regular four days' busk, but now it lasts for but one day and there is no feather dance.

In the match games they played against Okchai, Wiogufki, and Tulsa.

The Hathagas are Wind, Bear, Panther, and Turkey; the Tcilokis are Raccoon, Deer, and Aktayatci. In ancient times these moieties were exogamous.

The names of the present officers are as follows:

miko	Kasihta Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Henīha Imałutci (Wind)
miko apokta	Kayomulgi (Raccoon)
hoktâgi immiko	Wiwohka Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Oīkas Hadjo (Wind)
asimbonaia	Kōsa Fiksiko (Bear)
ta'pala	Tâlmutcâs Hadjo (Bear)
"	Alak Hadjutci (Turkey)
hilis tcâlaba	Kân Tcati (Wind)
" "	Itcō Imała Fiksiko (Deer)
tutka oktidīdja	Ahali Imała
hilis hoboia	Tâłkōna Hadjo (Wind)
" "	Hotâlgi Fiksiko (Wind)
tâstânâgi	Tâstânâk Tcâpko
"	Tâstânâkutci
"	Inheniha (= henīha)
"	Tâłkōna Hadjo

The plan of the revived square ground of the Kealedji agrees in all essentials with the one given me in 1912 from memory by a very old man, except that in recent times the Deer clan seems to have lost its importance or died out. It is interesting to find that old

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and recent informants agree in assigning the Panther clan to the White moiety. They differ, however, regarding the position of the

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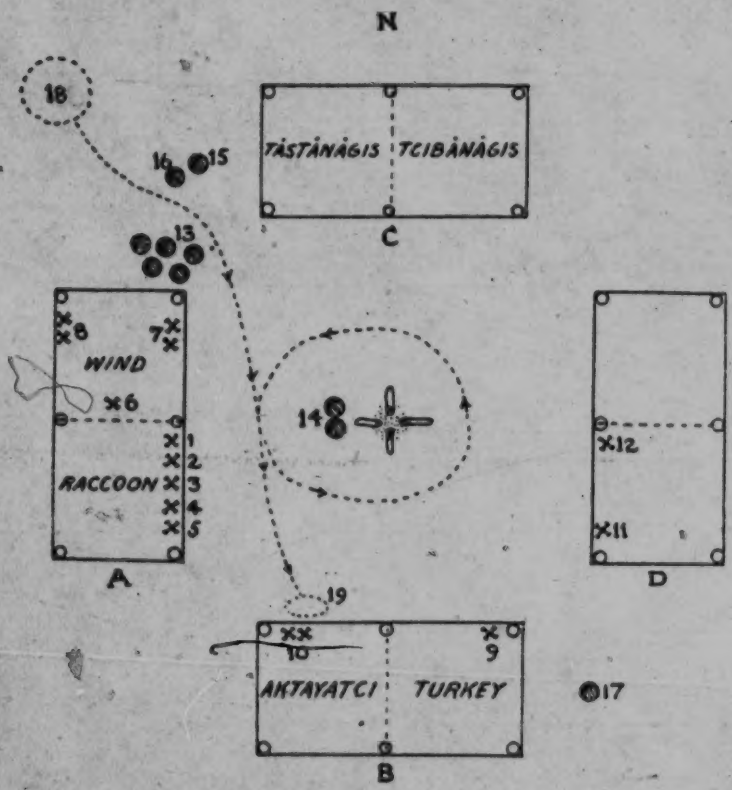

FIG. 10.—The Kealedji square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, henīha (Wind); 3, miko apokta (Raccoon); 4, hoktàgi immiko (Raccoon); 5, henīha (Wind); 6, hilis haya (usually Raccoon; Wind in 1929); 7, hilis tcàlaba (Deer and Wind); 8, hilis hoboia (Wind).

B. Youths' Bed: 9, ta'pala (Turkey); 10, yàhaikas.

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. White Bed: 11, asimbonaia (Bear); 12, ta'pala (Bear).

13, medicine pots (1st position); 14, medicine pots for those fasting (2d position); 15, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 16, medicine pot for girls (2d position); 17, medicine pot for women (2d position); 18, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 19, point where women start dancing; 20, ball post.

Turkey, which the earlier informant considered Tciloki and the later White. But this clan, together with the Alligator and Tàmi, is known to have been on one side in some towns and on the opposite in others.

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ŁAPLÀKO

Figure 11 shows the plan of this ground.

The two pots of medicine were prepared where they are shown (nos. 4 and 5) and remained there all of the time. The Bird clan sat

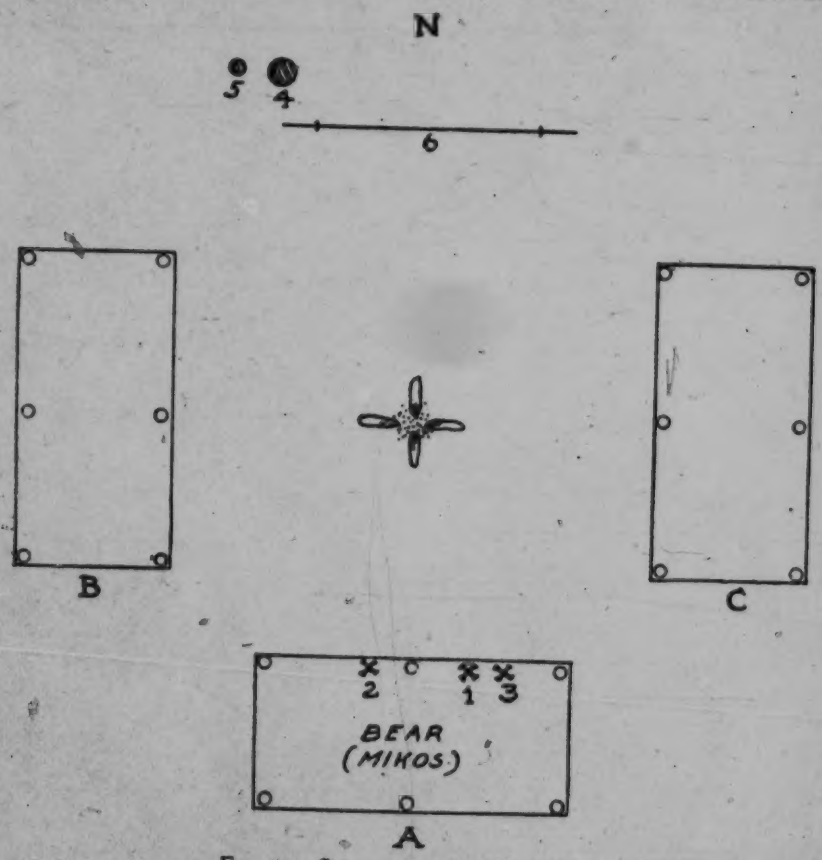

FIG. 11.—Square ground of Łaplàko.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heníha or miko apokta (Bird); 3, yatika (sometimes seated here).

B. Warriors' Bed. This was usually occupied by middle aged men of various clans.

C. Citizens' Bed (Tásikaiálgi intupa). Occupied by various classes, including persons not properly citizens of the town but taking medicine there, men married in the town or adopted into it, and men whose fathers belonged to it.

4, a large pot of medicine for the fasters; 5, a small pot of medicine for the women and children; 6, rack for ball sticks.

anywhere. The yatika belonged to no regular clan, and at the present time there is no such officer. There are two hilis tcàlaba who occupy no special seats, and one hilis haya who is taken from any clan of a friendly town. Towns belonging to the other town moiety do not

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take medicine with them and in fact are not invited except in the case of individuals married into the town.

The Hathagas are the Bear (the most important of them), Bird, Beaver, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Deer, Potato, Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator, etc. Here the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver can intermarry; in Eufaula they could not. But probably this means that the Beaver could intermarry with the other two, as the Alligator and Turkey were seldom allowed to marry under any circumstances. The Bird and Beaver were classed together in Łapłáko, but this group does not include the Bear or Wind. The Hathaga clans had the reputation of being progressive while the Tcilokis were full-bloods and reactionaries. This characterization probably followed the coming of the white people.

The towns of the opposite group were called Tálipoła, which means "foreign but not unfriendly."

The word Łapłáko indicates a place where there are many marshes filled with canes. This town square, which had been discontinued, was revived in the year 1903 in this way. They had to prepare a ground in order to take medicine before a game with the Nuyaka Indians next year. Later this was improved with regular cabins, but it must have been inconspicuous or have been considered unimportant, as I heard nothing about it in 1912.

Łapłáko and Atasi are now nearly fused on account of the number of marriages between individuals belonging to them. Before the Civil War the Łapłáko had an Atasi Indian named Hotálgi Hadjo married among them as their hilis haya. One of the great men of Łapłáko in former times was Jim Boy (Tástánągi Imała) whom my informant remembers to have seen. He thinks he died just before the Civil War broke out. McKenney and Hall (History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. 2, pp. 71-74) give a portrait of this chief and a considerable account of his life. He was born in what is now Alabama in 1793 and accompanied the warriors of his town during the Creek War of 1813-14, but was too young for active participation. In the war with the Seminole he was one of the leaders of the Creek contingent which aided the Americans. The exact date of his death seems to be unknown.

The arrangement of the modern ground differs more from those described to me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 254 and 255) than any of the others. The first of the latter was obtained from a very old man who should have known the ancient arrangement well, but of course my interpreter and I may have misunderstood him. The cabins are at different points of the compass

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and more confusion is shown in the later organization, but they agree in stating that the miko belonged to the Bear clan and in placing that clan in the south cabin. My older informant allocated this clan with the Tciloki. This was probably an error on his part but he seemed to insist upon it.

They have had no busk since the Civil War and no women's dance, and the pasa is no longer used, only the miko hoyanīdja. The dances in the square are three stomp dances. Seven days before one of these the "broken days" are sent out and on the day when the sixth stick is thrown away they are all to be at the ground, while on the seventh they are supposed to be taking medicine. Seven days before the dance they also meet and pick out four clean young men, called hilis hoboia, men whose wives are not pregnant, who are not given to intoxicants, and who have not attended to the digging of a grave during the preceding month. These men gather four bundles of medicine (miko hoyanīdja) which they lay down with their tip ends toward the west. First they spread out a bed of leaves called lodja issi, "turtle leaves," which should be taken from hickory trees. The medicine is laid on top of these and more leaves are spread over it. On the morning of the fast day all of those who are to take medicine are supposed to present themselves at the square ground. The fire is built up so that it will not go out all day. Early in the morning the two hilis tcâlaba prepare the medicine, first the medicine for the women and children and then that for the adult men. This is taken four times during the day, the fourth time between one and two o'clock. Before they take the medicine the yatika announces, on behalf of the chief, that each of those intending to take it is to get a stick and throw it into a blanket. These sticks are counted and the yatika announces the number. Four times (or sometimes twice) during the day the men who are to take medicine with the exception of the officials (the mikâlgi, yatika, hilis haya, and the two-ta'pala) go out to get firewood so as to be ready for the dance that night. Four men are selected to keep watch of the fasters during the night, to see that no one sleeps or breaks his fast, or drinks or goes with a woman. That is why the numbers are taken. These four men are called istikonā'ha, "men taking away," because they take away the hat of anyone found sleeping (and treat similarly anyone who breaks the taboos in other ways). The hat they carry to the miko and, when the owner comes to get it, he is fined.

After they have taken medicine for the fourth time, they go to the creek for a bath and then return to the square. The yatika

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talks to them telling them to take care of themselves all of that night, and then they scatter to the camps to eat. Before sundown, however, they are supposed to be back on the ground. The yatika calls to them four times and by the fourth time they are to be in their seats. When all are in their places, the two ta'pala are selected. The yatika makes a speech on behalf of the miko, calling upon his hearers not to act in an unfriendly way toward the outside friends who are about to be admitted to the dance, not to take liquor, to behave themselves all through the night, not to fight, and so on. This speech is addressed to the town people and outsiders alike. After it the fasters dance four times and then the visitors are admitted. That "kills the fast." All through the day the square is to be kept clean with the idea that the fasters will in consequence be clean. They go up to take the medicine two by two, and those who are ceremonially unclean take the medicine last. They dance until about daybreak. Then all belonging to the town go down to the branch and bathe, after which they return and sit in their respective beds. Then a collection may be taken to defray their expenses and they settle other matters. The night before, the chief of a friendly town may have announced a dance, and, if so, the announcement is now made and advice given as to how they are to help their friends. This advice is uttered by the yatika, speaking for the miko, and he then gives a general talk, advising his people not to use liquor, not to break the laws, and to be good citizens in every sense of the word. Then they disband for the year.

HILIBI

A plan of Hilibi square is shown in Figure 12 and a general view of the ground as it appeared in the winter of 1911-12 in Plate 5 Figure 2.

Two poles with white feathers attached were at each front post. These were used in the "feather dance" and were called "the path," because the path was to be white.

When there are visitors the owners of the east cabin move elsewhere in order to make room for them. When the south cabin is overcrowded, some of its occupants move into the east cabin. In this town the clans were always considerably mixed up in the beds. The ta'palas can sit anywhere. The tutka oktidīdja does not have a particular seat on account of his official position. He is appointed every four years. The tutka dīdja, who starts the fire, is identical with the hilis haya.

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If a man whose father is of the Aktayatci, the miko's clan, is given a busk name, he is brought to the mikos' bed and given a seat there.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Turkey, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Panther, Potato, Deer, Aktayatci, and evidently the Raccoon. The Alligator and Bird are considered as practically one clan.

The two leaders in the women's dance carry atâsa.

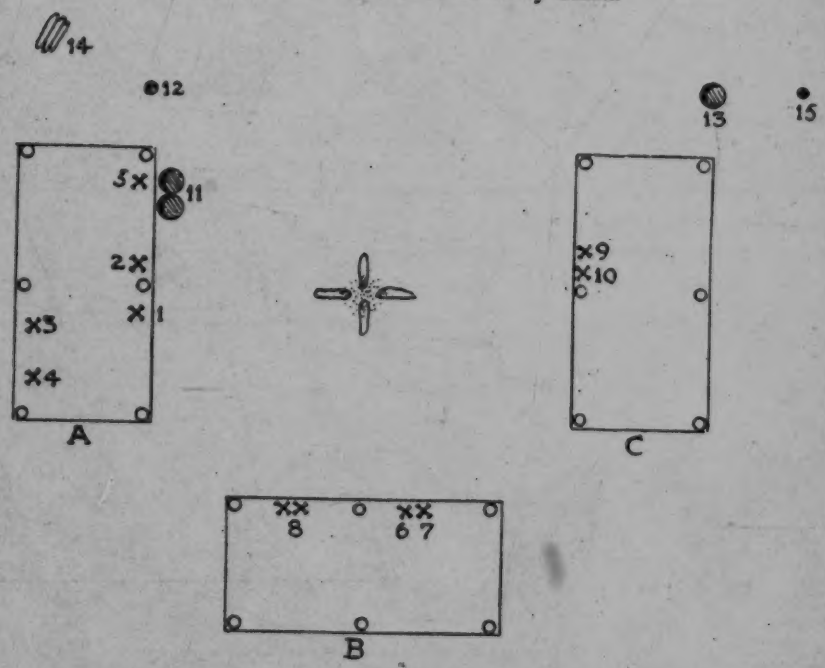

FIG. 12.—Square ground of Hilibi.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1 miko (Aktayatci); 2, henīha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon in 1929); 4, ta'pala (Bear); 5, hilis tcâlaba (Bear in 1929).

B. Raccoons' Bed: 6, hilis hoboia; 7, tutka oktidīdja (Raccoon in 1929); 8, yâhaikas (any clan).

C. Cabin used by visitors:- 9, ta'pala (Alligator); 10, hilis hoboia (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, medicine pot for boys; 13, medicine pot for women; 14, woodpile; 15, ball post.

The history of this town is as follows. It was founded by a man of the Aktayatci clan who went off to live by himself and then put up a ball post. Many women belonged to his family and he had numerous visitors, some of whom married these women so that it soon grew into a large band of which he was probably the first miko. Anyhow that is the way the Aktayatci came to have the town. After stomp dances had been held there for some time, more visitors came

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to join them and it grew still larger. Because it was built up very rapidly, its founder called it Hilibi, which means "hurry" (hila'pkis, "I make haste"). Since it was an "illegal" band, a tâlwa fâtcasīgo ("town deviating from correctness"), all the clans do not have regular places, having been drawn from so many other bands.

The following notes on some personal names contained in the town roster give an interesting insight into the manner in which totemic names were bestowed:

Fos Hâtki Imała ("White Bird Imała"), so named because he belonged to a White clan, the Wind.

Halak Hopaie. He belonged to the Bear clan, but his father belonged to the Raccoon, hence the name Halak or Ahalak ("Potato"), since both these clans are Tciloki.

Pahos Fiksiko. He belonged to the Wind clan, but his father was a Deer and the Pahosa is of the same phratry as the Deer.

As shown by the native story above given this town was not supposed to be ancient or to have a firmly fixed town organization, and, while it was older than the Hilibi people themselves believed, it seems to have preserved the irregularities which might naturally be associated with a new town. Not improbably the tradition of irregularity preserved the fact. At the same time there is a general agreement between the plan here given and that which I obtained in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 258). The mikos' cabin is to the west, and the mikâlki and henihâlgi were of the same clans, Aktayatci and Alligator respectively. The Alligator and Turkey were classed as Whites from association with the Bird by my later informants, but the earlier ones gave them as Tciloki.

ALABAMA

This was a very simple square of exceptional arrangement as shown in Figure 13.

The Alabama were one of the incorporated tribes with a language distinct from Creek. The clan names in Alabama are: Mahaleha (Wind), Sawaha (Raccoon), Aktayatciha (Aktayatci), Hâtcuntcobaha (Alligator), Konoha (Skunk), Nitaha (Bear), Koīha (Panther), Fociha (Bird), Fitōha (Turkey), Ofâtaha (Beaver).

All of the officers were brought over to the chiefs' bed. Men of the Alligator, Bear, and Aktayatci have been mikos and a man of the Skunk clan was once the henīha. There is no regular rule for either position.

The Hathagas were the Wind, Bear, Panther, Skunk, and Raccoon; the Tcilokis were the Bird, Beaver, Turkey, Alligator, and Aktayatci. The Wildcat was the same as the Panther.

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One of the greatest Alabama Indians now remembered was Kántcati Yáhola (Alabama name Tcīsōki), who was the hilis haya. He was born in Alabama and came west with his tribe. He lived until about 1866.

The above plan and the three others I obtained in 1912 and the years immediately following (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 263-264) show considerable minor variations but all agree in locating the chiefs' bed in the east and the warriors' bed in the west. Most of them also place the Bear and Panther clans in the latter and the Wind, Aktayatci, and Deer in the former, where they are noted at all. In allocating the clans the above informant agrees with

FIG. 13.—Alabama square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Wind); 2, heniha (Raccoon).
B. Warriors' Bed.

the older ones except regarding the Panther which the men first consulted asserted was Tciloki while it is here given as a White clan, but this is a clan which has been placed on both sides.

KASIHTA

For the plan of Kashita square ground, see Figure 14.

There should be two hilis tcálaba, drawn from the Alligator clan, but they are not employed now. Four hilis hoboia for the pasa, four for the miko hoyanīdja, and one tutka oktidīdja are chosen by the miko without reference to clan. There is no definite body of water carriers. Two ta'palas are selected from any clan to serve just for the night. They carry sticks called reels, and their function is to invite the dance leaders to lead dances and see that all take part. There is only one singer for the women's dance. He sits behind the miko.

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In 1901 the old square ground was given up and the new one was established in June, 1920. Because the new generation was weak one cabin was cut out. The Coweta square is said to have been the same as that of Kasihta.

Every time anything is brought in or anything repaired they dance all night because thus the two things are joined together, just as

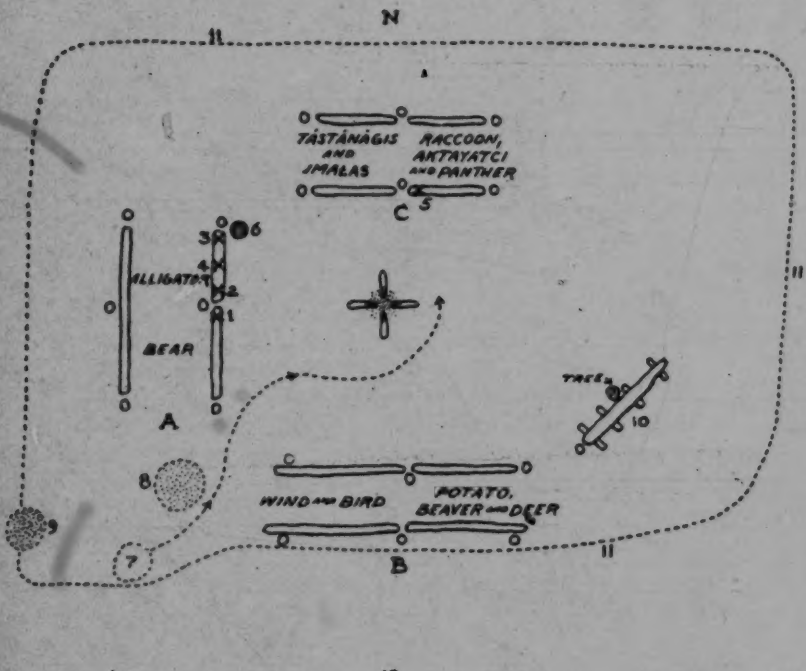

FIG. 14.—Kasihta square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (seat when on duty); 4, asimbonaia.
B. Whites' Bed (Henihálgi intupa), or "Cabin of the Greater Kings."
C. Warriors' Bed: 5, asimbonaia (Aktayatci).

6, medicine pot; 7, point where women assemble before dancing; 8, trash heap; 9, where ashes of old fires were placed; 10, split log where are seated those young men who have broken the rules and are in consequence placed here as a punishment before being allowed to mix with the rest of the people; 11, line of sweepings (tádjo) marking limit of square ground; 12, ball post.

two days are united by the night on which they dance. Formerly dances were held every Saturday night, but hard times have put an end to them. The dance which was being held when I paid my visit was because they were then putting up a ball post.

The Hathagas are the Wind, Beaver, Bird, and Deer; the Tcilokis are the remaining clans, yet it is said that the Bear, Alligator, and

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344 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all
621 marry outside of third cousins.

The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game,
•796 the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 The following information will be interesting to those who wish
173 to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,

> The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

He added:

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> We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.

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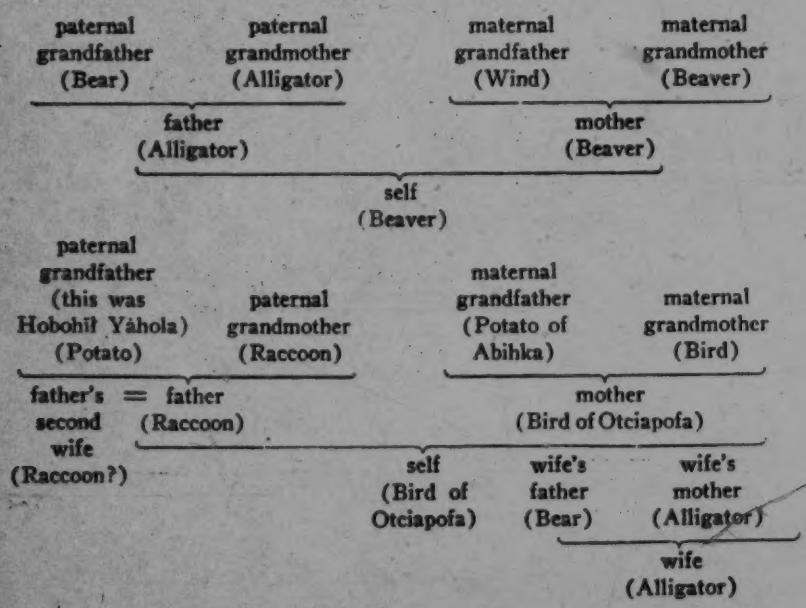
GENEALOGIES

The two brief genealogies which follow will illustrate in some measure the influence of the clan system on marriage. The first is the genealogy of Jeff Canard of Łapłáko; the second that of Earnest Gouge of Hanna, the latter of especial interest because it includes the famous orator Hobohīł Yáhola.



CONCLUSION

The busk undoubtedly represents a long period of development, and as the stages through which it passed and the elements entering into it have been lost, we can never understand it fully. Its main purpose, however, was evident. It was to restore the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rupture. Hence the new fire, extracted from its abiding place in the wood and not as yet sullied by contact with humanity. Hence the rigorous fast accompanied by administration of medicines divinely revealed to the ancestors, the general pardon of offenders, the sabbath calm prescribed for that period of regeneration, the use of white paint, and the employment of the term white—"the white day," "the white smoke," "the white drink"—in various parts of the ritual. The one discordant note seems to have been provided by the women's dance, since the leaders

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182 of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is
771 every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some
796 of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe. Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

77 The universe with which the Creeks sought reconciliation was not,
76 however, a material one. What they had in mind was rather the mind or minds believed to be operant there. While we know of some supernatural beings connected primarily with the busk and numerous spirits associated with natural objects were anciently believed in, it seems fairly certain that the peculiar patron of the ceremony was a solar, or rather celestial, being generally called Hisagita-immisi, "the breath controller," and also Ibofánga, "the one above," and that the busk fire was in some way an earthly representation of the great solar fire overhead. While it is probable that Hisagita-immisi was
[177] not in ancient times the monotheistic deity he has now become, there is every reason to think he was already, before White contact, the supreme being of the Creeks.

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[For seating arrangements at ceremonials in square grounds, see category 621]

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sippi tribes by those on the eastern side. When Bartram was on the Suwanee River, Fla., he learned that the Indians of that region went trading and hunting in their cypress canoes all along the coast as far as the southern end of Florida and even to Havana. He himself encountered a party which had just returned from the latter place. He states that they carried thither in trade "deer skins, furs, dry fish, bees-wax, honey, bear's oil, and some other articles."[1] Elsewhere he notes that the same articles, minus the dry fish, were traded to the American settlers and several Indians had become very well to do in consequence of this industry.[2] The following from Swan shows how and where they obtained their firearms at the end of the eighteenth century.

"The Creek Indians are very badly armed. The chief has made it a point to furnish them with muskets in preference to rifles, which, from the necessity of being wiped out after every shot, have been found less convenient than the former. Their muskets are of the slender, French manufacture, procured through the Spanish government at Pensacola, but are so slightly made, that they soon become unfit for any service.

"If the Indians were able to purchase for themselves, they would, however, prefer rifles in all cases, because they find them more sure and lasting: a good one will, at any time, command the price of 100 chalks, or $50, to be paid in skins or horses in the country."[3]

That some of the Indians of this tribe readily took to trading is reiterated by Romans, who says: "There are few towns in this nation where there is not some savage residing, who either trades of his own flock, or is employed as a factor."[4]

Counting

The Muskhogean systems of numeration are all decimal. In Adair's time the Chickasaw figured out mercantile transactions on the ground, a system which they called yakâ-ne Tlápha,[5] or "scoring on the ground."[6] They made single marks for each unit and a cross for 10. Adair believed that this latter mark was borrowed from the whites, but I have seen computations by the northwest coast peoples in which straight marks are used for units and a cross inserted to mark off every 20 units, the system of notation being vigesimal with them. The cross in the south may have been used for the same purpose in marking off tens. It is to be added that Adair's statements are confirmed by Eakins.[7] Eakins also says that they used

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 225.
[2] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 30.
[3] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 83-84.
[5] Yakni lapa, "ground spread out."
[6] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 77.
[7] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 273.

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802 their fingers in counting from one decimal to another.[8] One of my Creek informants in using his fingers to aid his memory began with the little finger of his left hand, which he doubled over, and followed with his other fingers in order. Then he passed to his right hand where he again began with the little finger and proceeded as before.

804 Measures of length were based on various parts of the body, as was originally the case with us, the fingers, hands, arms, etc., being used.

Distances between places far apart were measured by the time consumed in getting from one to the other—i. e., by the number of camps or "sleeps" or by the number of moons. Regarding their

805 sense of the passage of time generally Swan has the following very pertinent remarks:

"They count the number of days or years, either past or to come, by tens. Having no exact method of keeping or reckoning their time they seldom tell nearer than within one month of the time any remarkable occurrence took place in the preceding year; but circumstances, or any speeches that might have attended such occurrence, they remember accurately. There is not one in the whole nation knows how old he is."[9]

The natural measures of time marked off by the altered positions of the sun and moon—i. e., days, months, and years, and their subdivisions—have already been discussed. When they wished to keep in mind a certain number of these or to remember certain ones among them they employed several devices.

805 211 The commonest method of determining a fixed date in the future upon which some event was to take place was by wrapping up a number of short sticks into a little bundle and throwing one away each day. When but one remained the person who had the bundle knew that the appointed day had arrived. This was the method employed every year to enable all of the families of each town to assemble on the busk ground at the proper date. As many bundles were distributed as there were families and the head of each family threw away the sticks. It is to be noted that a stick was thrown away immediately on receipt of the bundle—i. e., the count began with the day on which the bundle was received; in fact the messenger who brought the bundle usually threw away the first stick himself. This is said by French writers to have been the method by which the date of the Natchez massacre was fixed, and the tribes confederate to the conspiracy were able to tell when to rise. Such sticks were called "the broken days," and according to Adair the same name was applied to certain square notched sticks which were used for a similar purpose. In the latter case the sticks were sent about with a definite

[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 271. [9] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277.

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526 this way, and the same fate befell one started between the Eufaula
578 and Abihka towns. In the latter case the very first time the ball was
177 thrown up a free fight began which lasted three hours, and, according to report, the county sheriff and his deputies were utterly unable to stop it.

526 Sometimes the parties to a ball game had to march some distance to reach the place agreed upon for the encounter. When that was the case they would go by easy stages, hold a rally in the evening, the night before, and dance all night. I have one account which states that they held such a dance the first evening, reached the place appointed the next day, held another dance there, and then began the game. A great amount of property was wagered on the outcome of one of these games by both men and women, who whould even strip clothing off of their bodies for that purpose.

It is to be observed that the Indian attitude with reference to the goals is just opposite to that taken by white men in their games, for with us the idea is to drive the ball through the enemy's goal, but the Indian considered that he was bringing the ball home to his own goal.

526 Among the Texas Alabama the method of counting points was
802 different from that used by the Creeks, but it was probably a later innovation. There a straight line was drawn and transverse marks made on one side of this for one party and on the other side for the other party, twelve constituting the game. Figure 105 will illustrate.

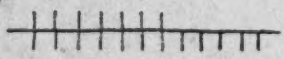

FIG. 105.—Alabama method of recording scores in the ball game

526 I will now give an account of a practice game between Łaplako
788 Indians witnessed by myself in 1913. We drove from Wetumka Sunday afternoon, July 27, and found the Indians seated on logs around the dance ground while the medicine maker at the other end was blowing into the medicine (pl. 7, *b*). There were two tubs, each said to contain miko hoyanīdja, but each treated differently by the doctor, so that the men drank from both. He did his work very deliberately, sitting motionless for a long time and afterwards taking some time in blowing into the medicine. He probably did this four times, though we did not watch him long enough to be certain. He sat facing the east. After that the yatika made an announcement and all went to the medicine, formed two rows, facing east, and took the medicine in the usual manner, afterwards vomiting it out, though some did not choose to take it (pl. 7, *c*). Before and during this ceremony the chief held in his hand a short stick on the end of which was fastened two balls and a bunch of small sticks. The last were the scoring sticks; the former comprised a large ball with which they were going to play next day and a smaller ball, the "chief ball" above mentioned, used when one side has scored three goals. It is said that each side

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802 their fingers in counting from one decimal to another.[8] One of my Creek informants in using his fingers to aid his memory began with the little finger of his left hand, which he doubled over, and followed with his other fingers in order. Then he passed to his right hand where he again began with the little finger and proceeded as before.

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805 sense of the passage of time generally Swan has the following very pertinent remarks:

"They count the number of days or years, either past or to come, by tens. Having no exact method of keeping or reckoning their time they seldom tell nearer than within one month of the time any remarkable occurrence took place in the preceding year; but circumstances, or any speeches that might have attended such occurrence, they remember accurately. There is not one in the whole nation knows how old he is."[9]

The natural measures of time marked off by the altered positions of the sun and moon—i. e., days, months, and years, and their subdivisions—have already been discussed. When they wished to keep in mind a certain number of these or to remember certain ones among them they employed several devices.

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[8] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 273. [9] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 277.

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764 involves one real aboriginal explanation of the custom. His account of the treatment accorded the body of a suicide I have seen nowhere else.

The Alabama now living in Texas give the following account of their old burial customs:

Nowadays several persons dig a grave, but in former times a single old man performed the office. While he was at work upon it he ate by himself, for it was thought that anyone who ate with him would fall sick. He did not smoke, and, no matter how hot the sun was, he drank no water. Anciently the body was bundled tightly together, wrapped about, and placed upon a board which was then sunk into the earth, head to the east, so that when his spirit got up it would be in the right position to start on the spirit trail westward.[66] A framework of poles was afterwards put all about the grave. Afterwards the gravedigger washed his clothes, took some of the button-snake root, and vomited. Then he could eat, and the relatives of the deceased gave him a horse in payment. Those who attended to burials in later times must duck all over in the creek four times no matter how cold the weather. My informant had done this when ice was on the water and the snow flying, and he almost fainted from the cold. Blankets were put under the head of the corpse as a pillow and a butcher knife in his hand with which to fight off an eagle supposed to infest the trail of the dead. For four days the wife or husband and the children and near relatives visited the grave every morning before breakfast and every evening before supper, and at their evening visits they lighted a fire at the head. After each of these visits they went to a stream, bathed all over, and washed their clothing before they ate. For four days they must eat no food that contained salt, and during the same period they remained quiet and made no noise. Not only the family but all of the people abstained from playing ball then, though they might do some hunting.

Although the later accounts do not mention the custom of discharging a gun the moment a death took place, it appears from Gregg that it was maintained until after the Creeks had removed west.[67]

[845] Among all of the Creek tribes a miscarriage, a stillborn child, or a very young child was laid away in a hollow tree where it was nicely ceiled in. Otherwise it was thought that there would be a drought, that a pestilence would break out, or that deaths from other causes would occur.

The Diurnal Cycle

512 .805 Adair has the following regarding divisions of the day recognized among the Chickasaw, with which those of the Creeks were practically identical:

[66] This means that the body was laid flat on its back. The orientation must have been different from that common among the Creeks generally.

[67] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. XX, p. 216.

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"They count the day also by the three sensible differences of the sun, like the Hebrews—sunrise, they term, *Hassé kootcha meente* [hàshi kucha minti], 'the sun's coming out';—noon, or mid-day, *Tabookòre* [tabokoli]; and sun-set, *Hassé Oobea* [hàshi àbia], literally, 'the sun is dead'; likewise, *Hasse Ookka'tòra* [hàshi okatula], that is, 'the sun is fallen into the water'; the last word is compounded of *Ookka* [oka], water, and *Etòra* [itola], to fall; it signifies also 'to swim,' as instinct would direct those to do, who fell into the water. And they call dark, Ookklille [oklili]—derived from *Ookka* [oka], water and *Illeh* [illi], dead;[68] which shews their opinions of the sun's disappearance, according to the ancients, who said the sun slept every night in the western ocean. They subdivide the day, by any of the aforesaid three standards—as half way between the sun's coming out of the water; and in like manner, by midnight, or cock-crowing, etc."[69] 512 821 805

The Creeks rose early, and, as we have already described, ran to the creek or the nearest water to plunge in four times before they returned to the fire. Perhaps they owed to this regulation in a measure their skill as swimmers. 512 515

Adair says:

"Except the Choktah, all our Indians, both male and female, above the state of infancy, are in the watery element nearly equal to amphibious animals, by practice: and from the experiments necessity has forced them to, it seems as if few were endued with such strong natural abilities,—very few can equal them in their wild situation of life."[70]

He attributes the deficiencies of the Choctaw in this particular to an absence of deep rivers or creeks in their country and he was so much impressed by the failing that he mentions it four times and gives it as the principal cause of the greater part of the losses they had suffered in their wars with the Muskogee.[71] How much truth there may have been in this we do not know. Whatever there was could probably have been traced to something in their environment or their customs.

While in later times, at least, the ancient Creeks did not have meals at regular hours as with us, they had two meals at irregular hours, one between 7 and 10 in the morning, the other around 2 in the afternoon. There was always a pot of sofki ready into which anyone could dip whenever the spirit moved him, and Swan says they resorted to it about once an hour.[72] This was their only supper. Labor was performed early by both men and women, and ordinarily it was laid aside about 2 o'clock, after which a ball game might be indulged in, and in the evening a dance until late at night. 512 264

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[69] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 76.
[70] Ibid., p. 406.
[71] Ibid., pp. 263, 291-292, 304, 404.
[72] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 274.

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"As I continued coasting the Indian shore [i. e., the west shore of the St. Johns River] . . . on doubling a promontory, I suddenly saw before me an Indian settlement, or village. It was a fine situation, the bank rising gradually from the water. There were eight or ten habitations, in a row or street, fronting the water, and about fifty yards distant from it. Some of the youth were naked, up to their hips in the water, fishing with rods and lines; whilst others, younger, were diverting themselves in shooting frogs with bows and arrows. On my near approach, the little children took to their heels, and ran to some women who were hoeing corn; but the stouter youth stood their ground, and, smiling, called to me. As I passed along, I observed some elderly people reclined on skins spread on the ground, under the cool shade of spreading Oaks and Palms, that were ranged in front of their houses: they arose, and eyed me as I passed, but perceiving that I kept on without stopping, they resumed their former position." [73]

The Annual Cycle

805 821 Adair says that the Indians divided the year into four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, and numbered the years by any one of them. He gives the names of these periods in the Cherokee and Chickasaw languages. The last are Otoolpha, Tóme palle, Ashtòramóona, and Ashtòra.[74] He derives Otoolpha from "oolpha, the name of a bud or to shoot out," but I am unable to identify the word in Choctaw unless it is *àlba*, "vegetation, herbs, plants, weeds," and it may be a Chickasaw term. Tóme palle signifies "bright and warm" or "warm brightness." Palle, or pàlli, is a Chickasaw word and it would seem from Byington's dictionary [75] that it was later used by itself to signify "summer." The next name would be in Choctaw *hàshtula himona* or *hàshtulàmmona*, "the beginning of winter," and the last *hàshtula*. *Hàshtula* means "winter" in Choctaw as well as Chickasaw, but autumn is *hàshtulahpi*, "beginning of winter," the significance being about the same. The Choctaw, however, use *tofa* for summer and *tofahpi* for spring.

In Creek, while the distinction of four seasons was probably made, at least at times, out of regard for the sacred number four, summer and winter were, as Swan tells us, principally used in counting the years, and the months were divided into two series which were supposed to correspond to those two seasons but in fact cut both summer and winter about in half.[76] The existence of the two series

[73] Bartram, Travels, pp. 90-91.
[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 74.
[75] Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[76] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 276-277.

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accounts for a discrepancy between the statements of Adair and Swan, the former asserting that the year began with "the first appearance of the first new moon of the vernal equinox,"[77] while the latter placed it at the time of the busk,[78] though even then the correspondence is not perfect. Nevertheless Adair says in another place that from the period of the busk "they count their beloved, or holy things."[79] Adair's first statement was no doubt influenced by a desire to square Indian and Hebrew customs, and it is perfectly evident that from the Creek point of view the busk was the real new year. The Creek months were named as follows:

WINTER SERIES

August, Hayo łàko, "much heat" (or "big ripening" month).
September, Otowoakutci, "little chestnut" (month).
October, Otowoski łàko, "big chestnut" (month).
November, Iholi or Yihuli, indicating a change in the weather.
December, Łáfo łàko, "big winter" (month).
January, Łáfo tcusi, "little winter" (month).

SUMMER SERIES

February, Hotàli hàsi, "wind month."
March, Tasahtcutci, "little spring" (month).
April, Tasahtci łàko, "big spring" (month).
May, Ki hàsi, "mulberry month."
June, Kàtco hàsi, "blackberry month."
July, Hayutci, "little warmth" (or "little ripening") (month).

The list recorded by Swan, which is divided as above, is the oldest known. Other lists were made by Buckner and Herrod, Loughridge and Hodge, Gatschet, and the writer. My own was obtained from Jackson Lewis and agrees substantially with that given above except in the interpretation of the names for September and October. Lewis called these "little-change-of-weather month" and "big-change-of-weather month," respectively, deriving them evidently from *otuhi*, "damp," "moist," and a term *waski*, "to scatter," appearing in *ùski waski*, "drizzling rain." In the face of all of the other authorities this can hardly be accepted. Buckner and Herrod[80] invert the names given December and January, calling the former Łáfo tcusi and the latter Łáfo łàko. They stand alone in this. All authorities except Jackson Lewis interpret *Iholi*, "frost month," but, while this may be correct, the usual word for "frost" is *hituti*.

A note by Doctor Gatschet states that they attempted to restore the months to their proper positions in the annual cycle by inserting a supernumerary month every second year. No doubt some such device was resorted to, but it was probably only in later times that the correction was made with such regularity.

[77] Adair, Hist. Am. Indz., p. 76. A writer in Schoolcraft says "they compute the year from the budding of the trees." And he adds that it consisted of an indefinite number of moons. (Ind. Tribes, vol i, p. 271.)
[78] Swan, op. cit., p. 276.
[79] Adair, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
[80] Grammar of the Muskoke, or Creek Language, p. 29.

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The native names for the months in Alabama and Koasati have almost passed out of memory. The following is a nearly complete list, but there is still some doubt as to whether the terms are all accurately applied. A in parenthesis indicates the Alabama term, K the Koasati term.

August, Tà'koia waya' hase', "Wild peaches ripe moon," (A).
September, ?.
October (?), Tokobe' hàse', "Frog moon" (A).
November, Oki lûtca', "Black water" (water black with leaves, etc.) (A). Bohole'x tcoba', or Boholo's kona', "Whippoorwill moon" (the former a big, the latter a small variety) (K).
December, Łà'fi tcoba', "Big winter" (K).
January, Łà'fotcose', or Łà'fi otcose' "Little winter" (K).
February, ?.
March, Mahàle' hase', "Wind moon" (A and K).
April (?), Nasà'ltci hase', "Planting moon" (A and K).
May, Bà'ktco tàbàtle' hàse', "May haws ripe" (A and K).
June, Hase' bàka'pka, "Half way month" (because the sun then turns south again) (A). Hase' tàtoolàfka' (K).
July, Behe' lebàtka' hase', "Mulberries ripe" (A). Behe' waya' hase', "Mulberries ripe" (K).

The Alabama term for June is given on the authority of John Scott, the chief of the tribe; the others are from George Henry, a Koasati, Celissy Henry and Charlie Thompson, Alabama Indians. The last thought that there was also a "yellow leaf" month.

On comparing the Creek and Alabama lists it is seen that four of the names agree in both and two of these, the terms for December and January, agree in application also, while the application of the term Windy moon differs so slightly that it is evidently intended for the same period. The Mulberry months in these lists are, however, two months apart, and there is evidently some mistake. This may be due to a failure in the memories of my Alabama and Koasati informants, or it may have begun in aboriginal times on account of the lack of agreement between the number of lunations in successive solar years. Evidently some rough correspondence must have been brought about in ancient days by shifting the names slightly in order to make them fit the seasonal change to which they referred. Such a shift was by no means confined to the Alabama, for it appears in the lists of Choctaw months recorded by Cyrus Byington, in which the Wind month is given as June–July, Mulberry month as September–October, and Blackberry month October–November.[88] The appearance of these names in Choctaw also shows that certain of the month names were once identical throughout the South, although at the same time it is probable that there was considerable local variation.

[88] Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn., art. hàsi.

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In the Yuchi calendar recorded by Doctor Speck five months agree with those in Swan's list, with but slight variation, both in name and in the period of the year to which they were applied. It seems rather curious that these all belonged to the summer series.[54] 805 821

Adair says of the Indians of his acquaintance: "They pay great regard to the first appearance of every new moon, and, on the occasion, always repeat some joyful sounds, and stretch out their hands toward her—but at such times they offer no public sacrifice."[55] And in another place he remarks that they "annually observed their festivals . . . at a prefixed time of a certain moon."[56]

House building was a social affair and was distributed between the spring and fall. Adair gives a very lively account of the operation. 221 342

"While the memory of the bleak pinching winds lasts, and they are covered with their winter-blackened skins, they turn out early in the spring, to strip clap-boards and cypress-bark, for the covering of their houses: but in proportion as the sun advances, they usually desist from their undertaking during that favourable season; saying, 'that in the time of warm weather, they generally plant in the fields, or go to war; and that building houses in the troublesome hot summer, is a needless and foolish affair, as it occasions much sweating,'—which is the most offensive thing in life to every red warrior of manly principles. On this account, if we except the women chopping firewood for daily use, it is as rare to hear the sound of an ax in their countries, as if they lived under the inhospitable torrid zone; or were nearly related to the South-American animal Pigritia, that makes two or three days journey in going up a tree, and is as long in returning. When the cold weather approaches, they return to their work, and necessity forces them then to perform what a timely precaution might have executed with much more ease. When they build, the whole town, and frequently the nearest of their tribe in neighboring towns, assist one another, well knowing that many hands make speedy work of that, which would have discouraged any of them from ever attempting by himself. In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finish, a good commodious house.[57]

"They first trace the dimensions of the intended fabric and every one has his task prescribed him after the exactest manner."[58]

There was, of course, nothing like a week among them in olden times, though Bartram assures us that the Creeks at one of the towns through which he passed remained quietly in their houses on Sunday out of respect to the white people.[59] The Alabama have the following 512 805

[54] Speck, in Anthr. Publ. Univ. Mus., Univ. Pa., vol. 1, p. 67.
[55] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 78.
[56] Ibid., pp. 99-100.
[57] But see p. 372.
[58] Adair, op. cit., p. 417.
[59] Bartram, Travels, p. 468.

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512 terms for the days of the week: ni"ta holo', "holy day," Sunday;
805 ni"ta ho'lin ni"ta, "day after holy day," Monday; ni"ta ato'kla, "second day," Tuesday; ni"ta tutcī'na, "third day," Wednesday; ni"ta ostā'ga, "fourth day," Thursday; ātā'lapi, "fifth day," Friday; ni"ta holosī, "little holy day," Saturday. Christmas is ni"ta holo' tcoba', "big holy day," in Koasati, and Kilisme', "Christmas," in Alabama.

221 After the busk men and women alike devoted the rest of the summer largely to the cultivation and harvesting of their crops. In the fall took place the Skunk Dance. After that the hunting began, and the men were away from town much of the time, but, when there was plenty of food or the game was near town, ball contests in which hunting played a part took place, accompanied with feasting and dancing, and these lasted until very cold weather.

574 The following account of these feasts and sports was given me by one of the Texas Alabama and is typical:

Sometimes a woman would make a ball and give it to one of the men who in turn must kill a deer for her. This the women cut up and prepared for all of the people in the village and they assembled at the ball ground to eat it. Then they feasted, played ball, and frequently danced in the evening. Sometimes several balls would be made at the same time and given out by as many women. After the ball or balls were used up another woman made one for another man and the games and feasts were thus continued at the pleasure of the tribe. Sometimes, when a woman gave a ball to a man in this way, she would say she wanted bear meat. Then they would play ball for a while, after which the man would go out with three or four others and kill a bear. They gave this to the woman, who distributed the meat as before. While the men were away the women were out after kanta roots[90] and they prepared a quantity of kanta bread. Kanta was always eaten with bear meat and corn bread (and potatoes) with deer meat. When the kanta was used up the men went for bear once more and the women went to the store and bought wheat flour. These celebrations lasted for some time.

Sometimes, when a woman gave out a ball in this way, she would say she wanted squirrels and the men would kill enough of them for the village, bring them to her and let her distribute them, when the same festivities were repeated. Again she might say she wanted coffee, and the man whom she addressed would go and buy enough for the village. It was brought to the ball ground and prepared there. This giving was often repeated many times.[91]

221 Often, however, the families were separated all winter, those who were related camping together. In the old country, at least, all but

[90] The word kanta was applied to several species of smilax.

[91] See also pp. 525-527, 555-556. Charlie Thompson, my informant, and another Indian now long dead first began to have dinners after the white men's style, and now they are all of that character.

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802 their fingers in counting from one decimal to another.[8] One of my Creek informants in using his fingers to aid his memory began with the little finger of his left hand, which he doubled over, and followed with his other fingers in order. Then he passed to his right hand where he again began with the little finger and proceeded as before.

804 Measures of length were based on various parts of the body, as was originally the case with us, the fingers, hands, arms, etc., being used.

Distances between places far apart were measured by the time consumed in getting from one to the other—i. e., by the number of camps or "sleeps" or by the number of moons. Regarding their

805 sense of the passage of time generally Swan has the following very pertinent remarks:

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number of notches in them and each day the man in charge cut one notch out. At other times notches were made instead of being cut out, especially when the future date was indefinite.[10] I have seen this method employed on the north Pacific coast. Eakins saw still another method in use among the Creeks in recording the days of the week. This consisted of a series of holes made in a board into which a peg was inserted.[11] 805 211

A third and particularly important method is mentioned by Adair. It was the use of cords on which were a definite number of knots. The time was determined by untying one of these knots each day, or perhaps by tying it, similarly to the usage in the case of notches. They employed all these devices not merely to keep run of the days but of the months and years as well, and Adair says of the last: "They count certain very remarkable things, by knots of various colours and make, after the manner of the South-American Aborigines."[12] Of course Adair is referring to the famous quipu of Peru, and it is very interesting to find that our southern tribes had a similar mnemonic system, especially as he implies that this was used to some extent to mark important events in past history. Adair's statement also serves to confirm an analogous assertion by Milfort, except that, according to the latter, beads strung on threads took the place of knots. Still there is no good reason why both devices should not have been employed. The idea once established would have seized upon any convenient means of expression. Milfort's statement runs thus:

"Since my arrival among the Creeks the old chiefs had often spoken to me of their ancestors, and they had shown me the belts (banderoles), or species of chaplets, which contained their histories. These chaplets were their archives; they are of little seeds like those which are called Cayenne pearls; they are of different colors and strung in rows; and it is on their arrangement and their pattern that their meaning depends. As only the principal events are preserved on these belts and without any details, it sometimes happens that a single chaplet contains the history of twenty to twenty-five years. These pearls are placed in such a manner as to preserve the various periods exactly; and each year is easily distinguished by those who know the arrangement."[13] 211

It furthermore appears from the speech of Chekilli to Governor Oglethorpe painted on a bison skin[14] that pictorial mnemonics or "picture writing" was known. 212

[10] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 73.
[11] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 273.
[12] Adair, op. cit., p. 75.
[13] Milfort, Mémoire, pp. 47-48. Such devices were in use also among the tribes of the Carolinas and Virginia.
[14] See p. 33.

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"As I continued coasting the Indian shore [i. e., the west shore of the St. Johns River] . . . on doubling a promontory, I suddenly saw before me an Indian settlement, or village. It was a fine situation, the bank rising gradually from the water. There were eight or ten habitations, in a row or street, fronting the water, and about fifty yards distant from it. Some of the youth were naked, up to their hips in the water, fishing with rods and lines; whilst others, younger, were diverting themselves in shooting frogs with bows and arrows. On my near approach, the little children took to their heels, and ran to some women who were hoeing corn; but the stouter youth stood their ground, and, smiling, called to me. As I passed along, I observed some elderly people reclined on skins spread on the ground, under the cool shade of spreading Oaks and Palms, that were ranged in front of their houses: they arose, and eyed me as I passed, but perceiving that I kept on without stopping, they resumed their former position." [73]

The Annual Cycle

805 821 Adair says that the Indians divided the year into four seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, and numbered the years by any one of them. He gives the names of these periods in the Cherokee and Chickasaw languages. The last are Otoolpha, Tóme palle, Ashtòramóona, and Ashtòra.[74] He derives Otoolpha from "oolpha, the name of a bud or to shoot out," but I am unable to identify the word in Choctaw unless it is *álba*, "vegetation, herbs, plants, weeds," and it may be a Chickasaw term. Tóme palle signifies "bright and warm" or "warm brightness." Palle, or pálli, is a Chickasaw word and it would seem from Byington's dictionary [75] that it was later used by itself to signify "summer." The next name would be in Choctaw *hàshtula himona* or *hàshtulàmmona*, "the beginning of winter," and the last *hàshtula*. *Hàshtula* means "winter" in Choctaw as well as Chickasaw, but autumn is *hàshtulahpi*, "beginning of winter," the significance being about the same. The Choctaw, however, use *tofa* for summer and *tofahpi* for spring.

In Creek, while the distinction of four seasons was probably made, at least at times, out of regard for the sacred number four, summer and winter were, as Swan tells us, principally used in counting the years, and the months were divided into two series which were supposed to correspond to those two seasons but in fact cut both summer and winter about in half.[76] The existence of the two series

[73] Bartram, Travels, pp. 80-81.
[74] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 74.
[75] Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[76] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 276-277.

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accounts for a discrepancy between the statements of Adair and Swan, the former asserting that the year began with "the first appearance of the first new moon of the vernal equinox,"[77] while the latter placed it at the time of the busk,[78] though even then the correspondence is not perfect. Nevertheless Adair says in another place that from the period of the busk "they count their beloved, or holy things."[79] Adair's first statement was no doubt influenced by a desire to square Indian and Hebrew customs, and it is perfectly evident that from the Creek point of view the busk was the real new year. The Creek months were named as follows:

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August, Hayo łàko, "much heat" (or "big ripening" month).
September, Otowoskutci, "little chestnut" (month).
October, Otowoski łàko, "big chestnut" (month).
November, Iholi or Yihuli, indicating a change in the weather.
December, Łáfo łàko, "big winter" (month).
January, Łáfo tcusi, "little winter" (month).

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February, Hotàli hàsi, "wind month."
March, Tasahtcutci, "little spring" (month).
April, Tasahtci łàko, "big spring" (month).
May, Ki hàsi, "mulberry month."
June, Kàtco hàsi, "blackberry month."
July, Hayutci, "little warmth" (or "little ripening") (month).

The list recorded by Swan, which is divided as above, is the oldest known. Other lists were made by Buckner and Herrod, Loughridge and Hodge, Gatschet, and the writer. My own was obtained from Jackson Lewis and agrees substantially with that given above except in the interpretation of the names for September and October. Lewis called these "little-change-of-weather month" and "big-change-of-weather month," respectively, deriving them evidently from *otuhi*, "damp," "moist," and a term *waski*, "to scatter," appearing in *ùski waski*, "drizzling rain." In the face of all of the other authorities this can hardly be accepted. Buckner and Herrod[80] invert the names given December and January, calling the former Łáfo tcusi and the latter Łáfo łàko. They stand alone in this. All authorities except Jackson Lewis interpret *Iholi*, "frost month," but, while this may be correct, the usual word for "frost" is *hituti*.

A note by Doctor Gatschet states that they attempted to restore the months to their proper positions in the annual cycle by inserting a supernumerary month every second year. No doubt some such device was resorted to, but it was probably only in later times that the correction was made with such regularity.

[77] *Adair*, Hist. Am. Indn., p. 76. A writer in Schoolcraft says "they compute the year from the budding of the trees." And he adds that it consisted of an indefinite number of moons. (Ind. Tribes, vol i, p. 371.)
[78] Swan, op. cit., p. 278.
[79] *Adair*, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
[80] Grammar of the Muskokee, or Creek Language, p. 32.

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The native names for the months in Alabama and Koasati have almost passed out of memory. The following is a nearly complete list, but there is still some doubt as to whether the terms are all accurately applied. A in parenthesis indicates the Alabama term, K the Koasati term.

August, Tá'kona waya' hase', "Wild peaches ripe moon," (A).
September, ?.
October (?), Tokobe' hase', "Frog moon" (A).
November, Oki lûtca', "Black water" (water black with leaves, etc.) (A). Bohole'x tcoba', or Boholo's kona', "Whippoorwill moon" (the former a big, the latter a small variety) (K).
December, Łá'fi tcoba', "Big winter" (K).
January, Łá'fotcose', or Łá'fi otcose' "Little winter" (K).
February, ?.
March, Mahále' hase', "Wind moon" (A and K).
April (?), Nasá'ltci hase', "Planting moon" (A and K).
May, Bá'ktco tábátle' hase', "May haws ripe" (A and K).
June, Hase' báka'pka, "Half way month" (because the sun then turns south again) (A). Hase' tátcoláfka' (K).
July, Behe' lebátka' hase', "Mulberries ripe" (A). Behe' waya' hase', "Mulberries ripe" (K).

The Alabama term for June is given on the authority of John Scott, the chief of the tribe; the others are from George Henry, a Koasati, Celissy Henry and Charlie Thompson, Alabama Indians. The last thought that there was also a "yellow leaf" month.

On comparing the Creek and Alabama lists it is seen that four of the names agree in both and two of these, the terms for December and January, agree in application also, while the application of the term Windy moon differs so slightly that it is evidently intended for the same period. The Mulberry months in these lists are, however, two months apart, and there is evidently some mistake. This may be due to a failure in the memories of my Alabama and Koasati informants, or it may have begun in aboriginal times on account of the lack of agreement between the number of lunations in successive solar years. Evidently some rough correspondence must have been brought about in ancient days by shifting the names slightly in order to make them fit the seasonal change to which they referred. Such a shift was by no means confined to the Alabama, for it appears in the lists of Choctaw months recorded by Cyrus Byington, in which the Wind month is given as June–July, Mulberry month as September–October, and Blackberry month October–November.[28] The appearance of these names in Choctaw also shows that certain of the month names were once identical throughout the South, although at the same time it is probable that there was considerable local variation.

[28] Bull. 46, Bur. Amer. Ethn., art. Máhi.

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In the Yuchi calendar recorded by Doctor Speck five months agree with those in Swan's list, with but slight variation, both in name and in the period of the year to which they were applied. It seems rather curious that these all belonged to the summer series.[54] 805 821

Adair says of the Indians of his acquaintance: "They pay great regard to the first appearance of every new moon, and, on the occasion, always repeat some joyful sounds, and stretch out their hands toward her—but at such times they offer no public sacrifice."[55] And in another place he remarks that they "annually observed their festivals . . . at a prefixed time of a certain moon."[56]

House building was a social affair and was distributed between the spring and fall. Adair gives a very lively account of the operation. 221 342

"While the memory of the bleak pinching winds lasts, and they are covered with their winter-blackened skins, they turn out early in the spring, to strip clap-boards and cypress-bark, for the covering of their houses: but in proportion as the sun advances, they usually desist from their undertaking during that favourable season; saying, 'that in the time of warm weather, they generally plant in the fields, or go to war; and that building houses in the troublesome hot summer, is a needless and foolish affair, as it occasions much sweating,'—which is the most offensive thing in life to every red warrior of manly principles. On this account, if we except the women chopping firewood for daily use, it is as rare to hear the sound of an ax in their countries, as if they lived under the inhospitable torrid zone; or were nearly related to the South-American animal Pigritia, that makes two or three days journey in going up a tree, and is as long in returning. When the cold weather approaches, they return to their work, and necessity forces them then to perform what a timely precaution might have executed with much more ease. When they build, the whole town, and frequently the nearest of their tribe in neighboring towns, assist one another, well knowing that many hands make speedy work of that, which would have discouraged any of them from ever attempting by himself. In one day, they build, daub with their tough mortar mixed with dry grass, and thoroughly finish, a good commodious house."[57]

"They first trace the dimensions of the intended fabric and every one has his task prescribed him after the exactest manner."[58]

There was, of course, nothing like a week among them in olden times, though Bartram assures us that the Creeks at one of the towns through which he passed remained quietly in their houses on Sunday out of respect to the white people.[59] The Alabama have the following 512 805

[54] Speck, in Anthr. Publs. Univ. Mus., Univ. Pa., vol. i, p. 67.
[55] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 78.
[56] Ibid., pp. 99-102.
[57] But see p. 372.
[58] Adair, op. cit., p. 417.
[59] Bartram, Travels, p. 428.

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776 suggests that originally the Creeks may have intended by the expression and the ceremonies directed toward the sky all of the spirits in the world above collectively. But, while there is probably some truth in this view, it seems pretty clear from the statements of early writers and mention of the "One Above" by the Chitimacha, Atakapa, and most of the other southeastern peoples, that they recognized a chief among these. Such a being was undoubtedly believed in by the Natchez, for their entire social system revolved about him, and there is every reason to think it was a prevailing southern belief. Bossu says that the Alabama called their supreme deity "Soulbiéche,"[20] a word probably derived from solopi, "ghost," or "spirit," and ēsa, or Isa, "to live," to "dwell."

776 Adair gives the Chickasaw name of the supreme deity as "Loak-Ishtō-
821 hoollo-Aba" [Luak Ishto Holo Àba], which appears to signify "the great holy fire above," and indicates his connection with the sun. Adair adds that he "resides as they think above the clouds, and on earth also with unpolluted people. He is with them the sole author of warmth, light, and of all animal and vegetable life."[21] His name at once suggests the Uwa' shil ("Big fire") of the Natchez, which was their name for the sun, the highest object of their worship, or rather the abode of that highest object, and a connection between the Chickasaw and Natchez conceptions is thereby indicated. As to the regard in which the sun was held among the Creeks, Bartram says: "At the treaties they first puff or blow the smoke from the great pipe or calumet towards that luminary; they look up towards it with great reverence and earnestness when they confirm their talks or speeches in council, as a witness of their contracts; and also when they make their martial harangues and speeches at the head of their armies, when setting out, or making the onset, etc."[22] The idea involved, however, was probably much broader than that of the mere visible sun, because the latter was not considered a particularly imposing object. Adair says: "The American Indians do not believe the Sun to be any bigger than it appears to the naked eye. . . . Conversing with the Chikkàsah archi-magus, or high-priest, about the luminary, he told me, 'It might possibly be as broad and round as his winter-house; but he thought it could not well exceed it.'"[23] Compare, also, the statement of their beliefs which some Chickasaw are reported to have given to John Wesley: "We believe there are four Beloved Things above; the Clouds, the Sun, the clear Sky, and He that lives in the clear sky."[24]

Little else remains regarding the attributes of this deity which has not been entirely obscured by European beliefs. To show how far such beliefs had worked into the native conception, I will cite the

[20] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 48.
[21] Adair, op. cit., p. 19.
[22] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 26.
[23] Adair, op. cit., p. 19.
[24] Jones, Hist. of Savannah, p. 85.

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following stories regarding the "Breath Holder" which were related to one of my oldest informants, a man born in Alabama before the migration to Oklahoma, by a very old Hitchiti Indian. This man said that a child was born in a certain country and a time came in the history of those people when children were to be killed. Rather than lose their child its parents put it into a basket, pitched it with gum, and set it afloat upon the water. Afterwards it was seen by the king, who told an attendant to bring it in, and he did so. Fascinated by its beauty he adopted it and reared it. One day after he grew up this child was walking along and saw a man planting seed. He asked him what it was and the man answered "I am planting stones." Later he went to this place again, dug into the earth, and found a great many stones there. Another time when he met this man the latter had some white corn flour. He threw a handful of this into the air and it turned into white water herons found along streams, the feathers of which were used in the Creek peace dance. The old man said that the man who did this was Christ and added that "a darn Frenchman came along and killed him." The myth of seed turning into stones is recorded in various versions by Dähnhardt, in his Natursagen, vol. II, p. 95, under the heading Die Verwandlung des Saatfeld. The other is a well-known episode in apocryphal church history. The first part of the narrative is of course taken from the story of Moses. 776 821.

One further point regarding this spirit deserves notice, as it is certainly not European in origin, and that is his connection, in the minds of the Indians, with the sacred fire as several times mentioned by Adair. In one place he says, "they worship God, in a smoke and cloud, believing him to reside above the clouds, and in the element of the, supposed, holy annual fire."[25] Further on he goes into this more at length, as follows: 776 372

"Though they believe the upper heavens to be inhabited by Ishtohoollo Aba, and a great multitude of inferior good spirits; yet they are firmly persuaded that the divine omnipresent Spirit of fire and light resides on the earth, in their annual sacred fire while it is unpolluted; and that he kindly accepts their lawful offerings, if their own conduct is agreeable to the old divine law, which was delivered to their forefathers."[26]

Again, he quotes a Chickasaw seer to the effect that "he very well knew, the giver of virtue to nature resided on earth in the unpolluted holy fire, and likewise above the clouds and the sun, in the shape of a fine fiery substance, attended by a great many beloved people."[27] Adair backs these statements up with the following incident, which is of more importance than his bare assertion, and especially in this connection, as it is from the Creeks instead of the Chickasaw:

[25] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 35. [26] Ibid., p. 116. [27] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

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"In the year 1748, when I was at the Koosah on my way to the Chikkasah country, I had a conversation on this subject, with several of the more intelligent of the Muskohge traders. One of them told me, that just before, while he and several others were drinking spirituous liquors with the Indians, one of the warriors having drank to excess, reeled into the fire, and burned himself very much. He roared, foamed, and spoke the worst things against God, that their language could express. He upbraided him with ingratitude, for having treated him so barbarously in return for his religious offerings, affirming he had always sacrificed to him the first young buck he killed in the new year; as in a constant manner he offered him when at home, some of the fattest of the meat, even when he was at short allowance, on purpose that he might shine upon him as a kind God. And he added, 'now you have proved as an evil spirit, by biting me so severely who was your constant devotee, and are a kind God to those accursed nothings [i. e., the white people], who are laughing at you as a rogue, and at me as a fool, I assure you, I shall renounce you from this time forward, and instead of making you look merry with fat meat, you shall appear sad with water, for spoiling the old beloved speech. I am a beloved warrior, and consequently I scorn to lie; you shall therefore immediately fly up above the clouds, . . .'" [28]

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In still another place he says: "The Muskogee call the fire their grandfather—and the supreme Father of mankind Esakata-Emishe 'the breath master,' as it is commonly explained." [29] Fire is called "grandfather" to the present day.[30]

After describing the method of deadening trees and clearing fields among the southern Indians, Adair goes on thus:

"With these trees they always kept up their annual holy fire; and they reckon it unlawful, and productive of many temporal evils, to extinguish even the culinary fire with water. In the time of a storm, when I have done it, the kindly women were in pain for me, through fear of the ill consequences attending so criminal an act. I never saw them to damp the fire, only when they hung up a brand in the appointed place, with a twisted grape-vine, as a threatening symbol of torture and death to the enemy; or when their kinsman dies. In the last case, a father or brother of the deceased, takes a firebrand, and brandishing it two or three times round his head, with lamenting words, he with his right hand dips it into the water, and lets it sink down." [31]

All of the facts brought out must mean that an actual connection was supposed to exist between the sun and the busk fire and thus between the celestial deity behind the sun and this fire, and, as Adair himself points out elsewhere, that the renewal of the fire was an actual renewed presence of the deity among them, the old fire having

[28] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 116.
[29] Ibid., p. 105.
[30] Cf. Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. iii, p. 26.
[31] Adair, op. cit., p. 405.

1/4 [i.e., Adair. -- Analyst]

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become polluted by long separation from its source.[32] It is unfortunate that we have no further information on this important point.

Swan, the only writer who has much to say of a great evil spirit, remarks that "they have an opinion that droughts, floods, and famines, and their miscarriages in war, are produced by the agency of the bad spirit. But of these things, they appear to have confused and irregular ideas, and some sceptical opinions."[33] I have already expressed doubts about the primitive character of the bad spirit but it is possible that a kind of dualism based on the opposing activities of the good and bad spirits collectively may have grown up.

Yahola and Hayū'ya were two important male deities supposed to reside together in the air without any other companionship. When novices were being instructed regarding the sacred medical formulæ and other mysteries in a way to be described presently the teacher sang songs in which the names of these two beings were mentioned very often. From the general drift of these songs it would appear that the two beings were perfect, clean, undefiled, and were in this manner implored to act as guardians and good geniuses of the pupils. To Jackson Lewis, to whom I am indebted for all of this important information, these beings seemed to endow one with strength, physical activity, and clearness of vision and thought. Yahola was also sometimes appealed to in sickness. If a person was shot and appeared to be dying some ginseng would be cut up and placed in a cup of water and a song sung over it containing the name of Yahola and appealing to his aid in this great emergency. Then the drink would be administered to the sufferer and by doing so it was thought that his life could be prolonged until a more thorough treatment could be undertaken. Also in cases of difficult childbirth the doctor would make medicine and over it utter an appeal to Yahola. "And," concluded Lewis, "this is the real Yahola, though you will find persons so named who do not know what the word means." This word was, in fact, employed in numerous war titles, and a cry called "the Yahola cry" and supposed to resemble the call of the deity himself, was uttered when black drink was taken, and on some other occasions during the annual busk. The name Hayū'ya gives us a clew to the four "Hi-you-yul-gee" from the four corners of the world who brought fire to the ancestors of the Creeks.

The being who produced thunder and lightning is identified by Adair with the supreme deity, for in one place he calls the latter "Ishtohoollo Aba Eloa" (the big holy one above who thunders).[34] He tries to represent what he conceives to be the native idea when he says that the divine power of distributing rain at his pleasure

[32] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 105, 107.
[33] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 270.
[34] Adair, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

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"belonged only to the great beloved thundering chieftain, who dwells far above the clouds, in the new year's unpolluted holy fire." [35] We are here reminded of a doctor encountered by Pope, who spoke of "the great God of Thunder and Lightning and of Rain." [36] The real native idea seems to be set forth, however, in the following quotation:

"The Indians call the lightning and thunder, *Eloha* [Hiloha, is thunder] and its rumbling noise, *Rowah*, . . . and the Indians believe . . . that *Minggo Ishto Eloha Alkaiasto*, 'the great chieftain of the thunder, is very cross, or angry when it thunders' and I have heard them say, when it rained, thundered, and blew sharp, for a considerable time, that the beloved, or holy people, were at war above the clouds. And they believe that the war at such times, is moderate, or hot, in proportion to the noise and violence of the storm.

"I have seen them in these storms, fire off their guns, pointed toward the sky; some in contempt of heaven, and others through religion—the former, to shew that they were warriors, and not afraid to die in any shape; much less afraid of that threatening troublesome noise and the latter, because their hearts directed them to assist *Ishtohoollo Eloha*." [37]

Here it is said that the cause of the thunder and lightning was warfare between many celestial beings, not the prerogative of a single one.

Jackson Lewis stated that it used to be said that the thunder was a person who possessed missiles (lĭ, the word employed here, may mean an arrow, a bullet, a sting, or a thunderbolt) and would dart them out toward the earth with great noise. There is also, they said, a long snake that rises out of the water and can produce the same kinds of noises as the thunder man, but the noises of the former are accompanied by blue lightning and are without a bolt. These two sometimes amuse each other, the thunder man making noises and throwing his bolts down while the thunder snake thunders back and shows the blue lightning. The snake is sometimes in the ground or under a rock out of sight when this happens, and the thunder man throws his bolts into the trees or rocks near by. It has been thought by some that the thunder man kills the snake with his bolts. Lewis claimed to have seen thunderbolts (tinitki inli) which looked like crystals, or at least had similar facets. Sometimes they are found where a tree has been shivered by lightning and sometimes in the water, but if one puts his hand into the water to get them the hand will become paralyzed. They are of the colors red, yellow, white, and blue,[38] and thus seem to resemble the sabĭa to be described presently, but they were not identified with these.

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[35] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 92.
[36] Pope, Tour, p. 60.
[37] Adair, op. cit., p. 65.
[38] In one place I have noted the colors as "blue, black, red, and white."

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It is interesting to compare with this the notes on the subject by Tuggle, written at a much earlier period: 776 821

"The Muskogee say of lightning that a little man rides a yellow horse, and when he shoots his arrows, it thunders. Sometimes he shoots at a tree.

"When lightning—'Ah-tee-ya-hal-tee' (Atoyahâti)—strikes a tree and slightly injures it, some say this is caused by the terrapin. When the tree is torn to pieces, this is caused by the big noise (thunder)."

Tuggle recorded the following regarding the wind:

"The Wind was very destructive. The people wanted him to go away.

"The Wind said: 'I am going away to the other end of the world. I will sometimes send some of my servants back to visit you. Some will be soft and gentle, some will be rough and loud. When the end comes, the last day, I will come with great power and will sweep all to one place from the four corners of the earth.'

"So the Wind went away."

Reference to the earth as an island has already been quoted. Further light on the native conception of it may be gained from the several creation stories, which are in fact stories of how the present order of things was instituted out of a previous order of things of an analogous nature. I have been told that there was once a long myth of this kind, most of which has been lost. The following fragments will, however, present the native idea in general outlines very well. The creation story and the flood story are so mingled that it will be well to include both. 773 [538]

The agent Eakins, who obtained most of his information from an Alabama Indian, says on this point:

"They believe that before the Creation there existed a great body of water. Two pigeons were sent forth in search of land, and found excrements of the earth-worm; but on going forth the second time, they procured a blade of grass, after which, the waters subsided, and the land appeared."[39]

Speck secured the following myth from a Tuskegee medicine maker:

"The time was, in the beginning, when the earth was overflowed with water. There was no earth, no beast of the earth, no human being. They held a council to know which would be best, to have some land or to have all water. When the council had met, some said, 'Let us have land, so that we can get food,' because they would starve to death. But others said, 'Let us have all water,' because they wanted it that way.

"So they appointed Eagle as chief. He was told to decide one way or another. Then he decided. He decided for land. So they

[39] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. i, p. 288.

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their reward here, positions of esteem in the tribe, plenty to eat and wear, and plenty of enemies to kill, for the Creek social system rewarded so well in this world virtue of the kind these Indians recognized that it was not necessary to postpone all enjoyment of it to an uncertain hereafter.[90] 775

Bartram adds that according to native belief not merely man but every living creature had a spirit or soul that could exist apart from the body and that some had reported that "a pattern or spiritual likeness of everything living, as well as inanimate, exists in another world."[91] This, of course, is true of practically all primitive peoples, the only question being whether the term "other world" may be properly applied here.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Dreams and visions seen in trances were one means of learning about the spirit world, and they were very generally credited. Bartram says: "They relate abundance of stories of men that have been dead or thought dead for many hours and days, who have revived again, giving an account of their transit to and from the world of souls, and describing the condition and situation of the place and spirits residing there."[91] A curious expression was used by the Creeks when they were about to go to bed. They would say Posálkán hoboyālānās, "I am going to hunt a dream." If a man made a noise like an animal in his sleep those who heard him would say "that is his sleep (or dream) [inutcká, his sleep; imboitcka or imposálga, his dream]. If any person in a family dreamed of fire it foreboded sickness, especially bilious fever, and all of them took miko hoyanīdja and afterwards dipped in the creek four times. If they happened to have no medicine they at least bathed. 787

When a person sneezed it was supposed that someone was saying something good about him, and he would remark "Oh yes, that is what they always say about me." There is a jesting relation regarding a man who began sneezing and kept repeating the above words, while he was really coming down with pneumonia. Next day, when his friends were asked about him, they said: "Yes, some one was saying something good about him yesterday, and now we are afraid we are going to lose him." 827

According to a Natchez informant, sneezing when eating meant that one would hear of a death; also that someone was talking about him. If one sneezed when he had pneumonia it was a sign he would get well.

When it began to rain after a dry spell the old Creeks would not take things in under cover too hurriedly lest the rain should stop. 821

[90] For some further light on this subject see the section on burial customs, pp. 366-368 in the preceding paper.

[91] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 27.

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•821 If the bodies of young children were not put into trees in the way elsewhere described it was thought there would be a drought.[93] If, after they had been so disposed of, it began to get dry, the people would go to the tree where the body had been placed and sprinkle water all about it.

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"The Muskohge Indians sacrifice a piece of every deer they kill at their hunting camps, or near home; if the latter, they dip their middle finger in the broth, and sprinkle it over the domestic tombs of their dead, to keep them out of the power of evil spirits, according to their mythology. . .

"The common sort of Indians, in these corrupt times, only sacrifice a small piece of unsalted fat meat, when they are rejoicing in their divine presence, singing Yo Yo, etc. for their success and safety [in case they have lost none of their companions]: but . . . both the war-leader and his religious assistant go into the woods as soon as they are purified, and there sacrifice the first deer they kill. . .

"They who sacrifice in the woods, do it only on the particular occasions now mentioned; unless incited by a dream, which they esteem a monitory lesson of the Deity."[95]

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[93] See p. 256. [94] Bartram, Travels, pp 455-456. [95] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 117-119.

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Muskogee

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event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[186] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed em-

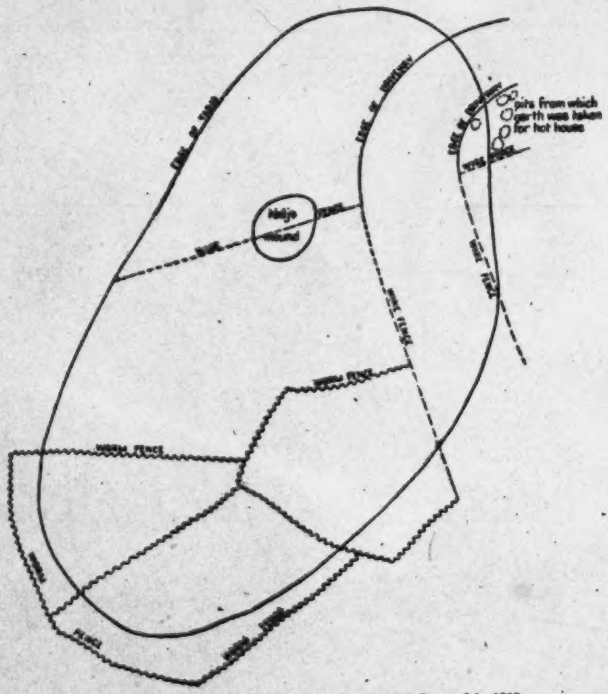

FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

blem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly." [187]

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[186] Bartram, Travels, pp. 367-368.

[187] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

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at these feasts; the doctors say that it raises the spirits of the sick, and weakens the evil spirit.[25] 755

Today they call these dances by a shortened form of the name, Pishofa dances; they will be discussed at length in a subsequent paper.

The later Creek performance was much tamer than the ancient ritual. If a person were sick and his family knew what medicine to send for they did so; if not they got the physician's advice and procured the herbs, and other things he ordered. The pot was laid out for him with the medicine plants near it and beside all a cane for him to blow through, also a chair for him to sit in and a small gift to encourage him. Four root stalks or branches of the medicine were generally used, and in gathering these the doctor sometimes faced east and sometimes one of the other cardinal points in accordance with the nature of the remedy. Bark and branches were generally taken from the east sides of the trees. The medicine was piled into the pot at the direction of the physician, along with water, after which he blew into it through the cane four separate times after as many repetitions of a sacred fromula suited to the kind of disease which he supposed the patient had contracted. He came four successive mornings, allowing the gift to remain where it had been placed until the fourth, when he took it with him. This gift might be some cloth—perhaps 10 yards of calico—money, a handkerchief, or, if the doctor were a woman, a shawl. Money has been given only in late times.

The points of the compass are frequently named in these formulæ. 755
The circuit is always sinistral or contraclockwise, and according to 823
the best information I could get it usually begins with the north
and ends with the east because the east is associated with life or 822.
the renewal of it. According to one informant, however, it ended with the south, and there may have been variations in the formulæ because the colors attached to these points are admitted to vary. One of my best informants stated that they were either: North (honeta), green; west (akálatká), red; south (wahála), black; and east (hásosa), white; or else north, red; west, green; south, black; and east, white. The black is said to stand for the shade or something of that sort, but it does not seem natural that it should be to the south. The table following contains seven lists of colors applied to the cardinal points by several different bodies of Creeks, and a list from the Cherokee band of Natchez, obtained from several different authorities.

[25] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 310.

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	North	West	South	East
Chekilli, speech to Oglethorpe (Kasihta).	Red and yellow.	Black	Blue	White.[1]
Tuggle, Ms	Red	Yellow	Black	Do.[2]
Lasley Cloud, through F. Speck (Tuskegee).	Black	do	Red	Do.[3]
Big Jack (Hilibi)	Green	Red	Black	Do.
	Red	Green	do	Do.
Z. Cook (Tukabahchee)	Black	do	White	Red.
Silas Jefferson (Tuskegee)	Green	Black	Brown	Yellow.
Texas Alabama	Yellow	do	Red	White.
Watt Sam (Natchez)	do	do	do	Do.

[1] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 245.
[2] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.
[3] Mem. Am. Anth. Assn., vol. II, p. 23.

Here red and yellow is each applied to the north in three lists, and black and green in two; black is applied to the west in four lists, yellow and green in two each, and red in one; black is applied to the south in three cases, brown in one, red in three, and blue and white in one each; white is applied to the east in seven cases and yellow and red in one each. In conjuring for the dog disease the cardinal points were faced in the same order as that first given, ending with the east, but no colors were mentioned. In others neither the points nor the colors occurred. When he blew into the medicine, however, the doctor almost always faced east. An Alabama doctor would sing one verse of the medicine formula and call upon the north, sing another and call upon the west, sing a third and call upon the south, and sing a fourth and call upon the east. Then he would blow into the medicine and do the same thing again, passing around the circuit four times and blowing into the medicine after each circuit. Afterwards the patient was given some medicine to drink, and, wetting the ends of his fingers in it, the doctor rubbed some on the patient's ears, arms, legs, breast, and in fact his whole body. The north was referred to as the "yellow water," the west as "the black water," the south as "the red water," and the east as "the white water," and they were enumerated in that order, as in the table above.

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From these descriptions it appears that the buildings of the square were anciently constructed somewhat after the fashion of a native house with a long porch. In Oklahoma they degenerated rapidly, especially after the Civil War. While I have seen one square in which the cabins were provided with a shingle roof, they are almost universally simple brush arbors. In those which retain the original idea most fully there are eight posts marking out the three ancient subdivisions, but in many grounds these have become reduced to six and in still others to four. Often, however, the tripartite division is theoretically maintained. The posts are forked at the top and bear a brush roof that is renewed every year at the time of the busk. The seats are usually of logs split in halves, laid with the flat surface uppermost. Two or three rows from front to back are made of these, but as a matter of fact many Indians, especially the principal

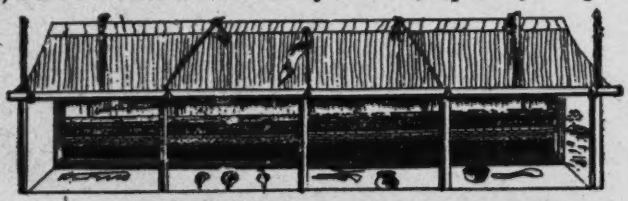

FIG. 5.—One of the beds in the Alabama Square Ground as it appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century. From a contemporary sketch. Medicine pots and spoons to right, on ground; gourd rattles to left; flag over the center pole; notched pole or atásá at either end and another pair some distance in from either end; a pole carrying a scalp at the top of each intermediate post; two full-length cane seats below. Near the left end, under the front of roof, are written the words "Caban de Conseille." (From an article entitled "Documents concernant l'Histoire des Indiens," by the Baron Marc de Villiers, in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s. vol. xiv, 1922, p. 136.)

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men, now use wooden chairs brought from their camps. The well-nigh universal statement, on the part of earlier white writers and the modern Indians, is to the effect that the cabins, arbors, or "beds," as the Creeks themselves call them, should be laid out toward the four cardinal points, and this holds for almost all of the modern squares. Jackson Lewis said that they used the north star as a guide in placing them. On the other hand the great square of Tukabahchee is somewhat askew, and one of my interpreters, who had formerly been the miko of that town, asserted that it was intended that the entrances should lie toward the cardinal points. This is confirmed by Hitchcock.[96a] Whether this was an established custom of some or all of the Creek towns it would now be impossible to say, but I am of the opinion that it was never universal. A change has also come about in the number of arbors. Anciently there appear to have been four without exception. At least there is no early mention of a smaller number among the Creeks proper.[96]

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[96a] See p. 185.

[96] For the Seminole, however, see Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 56.

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602 614 Clanship had an important influence on the relations between men, extending into the smallest matters of everyday life, and much of Creek etiquette was based upon it. Thus a Creek could tell by the attitude of any two members of his tribe toward each other—whether they joked with one another and so on—in what manner they were related. Persons having parents of the same clan used to joke with each other. This "joking relationship" thus included the entire clan of the mother; it also included all of those whose fathers belonged to one's own father's clan and according to Jackson Lewis it included one's own father's father and those women who had married into the father's clan. It was etiquette to talk disparagingly of one's own clan, even in the presence of other members of it, what was said being understood in a contrary sense. On the other hand one must always back up his father's clan and those belonging to it and must speak well of it and of them.

614 825 688 A similar etiquette extended to objects connected with the clan, particularly the animal from which it was named. I was told that if a person killed a totem animal the people belonging to the clan from which it derived its name would compel him to make them a payment. A man of the Bird clan would say to one who had been shooting birds, "You have killed my parents; you will have to pay me for it," and the other would give him something. The duty of a member of the Wind clan to protect the skunk and rabbit from injury and ridicule has already been mentioned.[56a]

Speaking of the Indians of Tuskegee town, Speck says:

"As descent is traced back to the totem animal itself, it is considered wrong for a man to kill or eat an animal having the form of his totem, as it would be the same as eating his own human relations. Such offenders are nowadays punished by fines which have to be paid to those of his clan who catch him in the act. Furthermore, should one person ridicule or belittle another's totem, he is likely to be taken and fined for wrongdoing by the offended clan. The fine is believed to appease the totem."[57]

[522] Although the infliction of fines is here spoken of as modern, my own information is to the effect that these observances have, in recent years, been viewed as subjects for jest rather than matters worthy of serious consideration, and it appears that animal names were matters of jest as far back as Adair's time.[58] The custom must certainly have been little more than formal in some cases; otherwise the Deer and Bear clans would have been obliged to abstain from meat almost entirely and the rest of the nation would have been under constant tribute to them. The late Chief Grayson informed me that upon one occasion he killed a fawn and made a cap out of

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[56a] See p. 112. [57] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. ii, p. 115.
[58] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 18.

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its skin for one of his sons. Afterwards he met a man of the Deer clan who took him to task for this but was finally mollified by the assurance that it was so used, not out of disrespect, but because it was held in honor. A man was also supposed to see that proper respect was paid to the totem animal of his father's clan. An instance was related to me in which a man was called to account for having killed a wolf, by another man whose father belonged to the Wolf clan. It is from this clan association that the Creeks applied terms of relationship to animals. According to one informant the Bird people called the buzzards, and all other kinds of birds in fact, "my father," and he added that this form of address was usual with other clans. It is, however, more likely that the term given by way of illustration was applied by persons whose fathers were from the Bird clan. If they themselves had been Birds they would probably have said "my uncle."[58a]

There appears not to have been the slightest objection to killing totem animals from veneration for them as such, and this was just as true in Adair's time. He says:

"The Indians, however, bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves. The *wolf* indeed, several of them do not care to meddle with, believing it unlucky to kill them; which is the sole reason that few of the Indians shoot at that creature, through a notion of spoiling their guns . . . though, at the same time, they are so far from esteeming it a deity, they reckon it the most abominable quadruped of the whole creation."[59]

We should perhaps add to this a taboo against killing the rattlesnake, but there appears not to have been the least connection between their unwillingness to kill this reptile and its eponymous character, and indeed the name of Snake clan is not certainly known to have applied specifically to the rattlesnake.[60]

When a formal council was opened in the tcokofa Bartram says that the tobacco used was brought in in a skin usually taken from that animal from which the chief's clan derived its name.[61]

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The Wind clan formed in some respects a privileged class. I have already mentioned the fact that women of this clan were called "grandmothers" by the other people, and we shall see later that, with the possible exception of the Bear, this was the only clan allowed to take up again the clubs with which adulterers were punished, after they

[58a] See also pp. 148-149.
[59] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 16.
[60] Consult, however, Bartram, Travels, p. 431; see p. 437 in following paper.
[61] Bartram, op. cit.

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This last story and the one obtained by Doctor Speck are interesting because they combine the peculiar Southeastern tale in which a bird brings the first land with the well-known quest for earth beneath the waters, a story found over the whole of the eastern part of North America. 773

According to the idea of the southern Indians, something of the supernatural attached to every created thing, every animal, plant, stone, stick, body of water, geographical feature, and even to objects which man himself had made. While these things did, indeed, have certain characteristic appearances and activities which were "natural"—that is, the things normally expected from them—they owed these to a certain impression made upon them in the beginning of things, or at least at some time in the distant past, and it was not to be assumed that they were all the powers which such beings and objects—or, assuming the Indian point of view, we might say simply beings—possessed. The expected might give way at any moment to the unexpected. In such cases the thing itself might exert power in its own right or it might be a medium of power from another being. It might manifest this power at one particular time to one particular person, it might have the faculty of exerting its power constantly, or its power might be brought out from it by the observance of certain regulations. In such cases the response might be an infallible result of performing the regulations, or the charm might be capable of exercising a modicum of volition. 778

An ability to talk on occasion was attributed to animals. Once a prophet heard an owl and a dog talking to each other. The owl said, "People must be afraid of me." The dog answered, "No, but if there is a big stick lying across the road they will be afraid of that." "Would they be afraid of a bush?" inquired the owl. "They would not be afraid of that; they would go around it." "But would they not be afraid if I should get on top of the bush?" "If you do it, they will kill you." They disputed about this for some time and at last the owl perched on a bush in the middle of the road to try and scare passers-by, but in vain. 825

The beings most important in the lives of the Indians or those which, for any reason, were most conspicuous were of course the ones which attracted the most regard from them, were oftenest referred to in their stories, and were made the occasion of something approaching a cult. Still this statement needs modification, since some of their conceptions were the result of evolution, and can not be said to have been due to any apparently greater significance of the objects or creatures in the lives of the present-day Indians. It is even uncertain that they ever were of cardinal significance; some chance association, or the influence of foreign peoples, may have given them 776

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776 their superior position. It should be added that some of the beings by which they believed themselves to be surrounded were purely imaginary. Their attitude toward these was theoretically the same as that toward the common creatures, but as they were not of everyday experience, the supposed encounters with them were of course always believed to have supernatural significance.

•825 According to both the early writers and the present day Indians, in ancient times the Indians would not willingly kill a wolf or a rattlesnake. I was told that not many stories were related about the former because it was considered the friend of the red men and they were afraid it would injure them.

Not many stories were told about snakes for fear of receiving injury, and Bartram says that the Indians whom he met would not willingly kill any sort of snake, believing that if they did so the spirit of the snake would excite or influence his living kindred or relatives to revenge the injury done to him when alive.[44] Upon one occasion he killed a rattlesnake that had driven some Seminole from their camp, whereupon several of them came to him and performed a kind of ceremonial dry scratching upon him. This was evidently in order to make the relatives of the snake believe that the injury had been atoned for.[45] Adair records that misfortune was predicted by a Chickasaw doctor because he (Adair) had killed one of these reptiles.[46]

A great deal was made of "masters of waters," water creatures such as the beaver, otter, and water snake. They are often associated together in the linking of clans. When I was in Oklahoma during a very dry season, which had been preceded by two or three very dry seasons, some of the Indians said that this was due to the fact that since the coming of the whites the masters of waters, who anciently protected the earth from dryness, had lost control.

776 Just as we find on the north Pacific coast and elsewhere that the
825 supernatural beings live when at home like men on earth, we hear in Creek stories of animal towns scattered about like those of the
539 Indians, each with its square ground, though of course there are always supernatural accompaniments, and curious features reminding one of the animals which live there. The following story gives an experience with the under water people.

A man who was at some distance from his town fasting in order to obtain medicine was once out after wood, and saw a man up the creek from him, whom he presently met and conversed with. When he got back, he picked up his kettle and started after water, but, on reaching the branch, he threw his kettle into it. Then he stripped off

[44] Bartram, Travels, p. 261, note.
[45] Ibid., pp. 258-261.
[46] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 272-273.

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his shirt and dived under water after it. Two little snakes then took hold of him and guided him along, making a way for him so that he could breathe exactly as if he were on land. By and by they came to a place like a Creek square ground, but the beds were all made of snakes plaited together, and there was a big turtle in front for a footstool. Then the old snakes said "Why did you bring that person here?" But as long as they had done so, the old people told him to sit down. When he tried to step on the turtle, however, it raised up, and it did this three times. The fourth time it stopped and he stepped on its back. When he was about to sit down the snakes began crawling, but at the fourth attempt they also stopped and he seated himself. Then they asked him if he wanted a feather which was fixed in the roof above his head, and he said "Yes," but, when he tried to seize it, it flew up out of reach. At the fourth attempt he got it. Again they said to him, "Do you want that hatchet?" "Maybe I do," he answered. This also rose out of his reach three times and the fourth time he got it. "If you are a man," they said, "let us see you strike off the head of that turtle." So he got off of the turtle's back, aimed a blow at its neck, and, zip! off flew its head while its blood spattered round about. "This will do for you," they said, and they gave him all sorts of instructions as to how he could visit them. From that time on he went back to see them frequently, but presently he began violating their instructions, and they in turn began to dash water on him, so that at last he could not reach them. The man's name was "Horned" (Yábi odjá). He used to dive under water and return about noon with a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark. There was a whirlpool under some rocks in the South Canadian below the standing rock near the mouth of the North Canadian, and there he said he saw some creatures that looked like dogs and he thought that they might be dangerous, but he said that they did him no harm. One day, however, he got drunk and was found dead on the bluff just above that place.

Another boy, a grandson of the preceding, was able to stay under water so long that his companions thought he was drowned. But one time he saw something that scared him, and afterward he remained on shore. He said that the place to which he went was like an open space. It was thought that his grandfather must have taught him how to stay under water, as he would come out in the same way carrying a string of turtles tied together with hickory bark.

My informant affirms that these are true stories, and that an old Indian named Judge Nokosi with whom he was acquainted knew "Horned" personally. "Horned" was a Tukabahchee; the grandson, a Łaplàko.

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A similar experience is related thus. It shows how a supernatural object was obtained for the inside of the "chief ball" used in the ball game.

An old Alabama doctor living in Oklahoma told a certain man to go into a creek to get part of the nest of a corduroy snake (tie snake) from a cave there, and he gave him a magic cane with which to quiet the serpents. The man went to the water, but, when he saw the snakes, he was afraid and went back. Then the doctor gave the cane to another man. This person went to the creek and began walking into the water, when it was just as if he were walking on dry ground. He saw the cavern with the snakes lying all about. Then he touched them with his cane and they did not hurt him. So he got a little of the nest of the snakes and brought it back, and that was what they put into the center of the ball with which they played.

According to one of my informants the "tie snake" referred to in this story was a long slender snake which made progress by a succession of jumps or flips and was so powerful that it could carry a full-grown horse along with it. Upon one occasion such a snake seized a horse near Wetumka, Okla., and was carrying it along to its den in this manner when the horse in its struggles kicked the snake on the head and killed it. Jackson Lewis, however, gave a somewhat different account of this snake, which I quote along with a story regarding it said by him to belong to very recent times.

The "tie snake" is an inch and a half in diameter and short, but it is very strong. It is white under the throat, but black over the rest of the body, and its head is crooked over like the beak of a hawk. It lives in deep water, usually in small deep water holes from which it makes excursions into the woods, drawing its prey down into the water to its den. There are many tales told of this tie snake, of which the following is a specimen.

A Creek Indian named Ogue hiłi īmāła, now dead, who used to live about 3 miles from Eufaula, told this to Lewis as a personal experience. He once owned a mare which had a colt. Having missed his mare from the range, he hunted for some time, and finally found her by means of the colt, which he saw running about but always returning to a certain spot. Finally he went to this place and saw that a large tree had been uprooted there, leaving quite a hole where its roots had been—a hole partially filled with water. There he found his mare with her hind quarters under water and her head and shoulders out. As he could not get her out alone he gathered his neighbors together and they went to the place with ropes which they tied about the mare's body and pulled on all together in order to draw her out. But their efforts were at first fruitless. Making a supreme effort, however, they were successful, whereupon the water seemed to flow in from all quarters and fill up the hole. The

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mare was not much hurt, and they took her away and cared for her until she recovered. Her hind quarters were at first numbed, however, and upon them was a spot about an inch and a half across from which the hair had been rubbed. The skin there became black and finally scaled off. When the hair came out again it was black and the animal was quite a curiosity on account of the black ring. Everybody, including Lewis, felt perfectly satisfied that a tie snake had caught this mare and dragged her into the water hole.

This snake is said to have originated from a transformed human being. Two hunters were out together and in a certain place they found two eggs. One of them was suspicious of these but the other was a rash, heedless youth, and he ate them. That night he began to feel strange and his companion observed that he was changing his shape. This change went on until he became a great serpent which continued to live in a water hole near by. Afterwards his mother came to see him and he recognized her but returned again into the water.[47]

In the Tuggle collection there is a note of another snake, known as "the sharp breasted snake,"[48] but I obtained a very much better account of this creature from Jackson Lewis. The two accounts disagree in no particular. Lewis's account is as follows:

The sharp-breasted snake is a serpent which goes along with its head up and its breast advanced. It is rarely seen but you can tell where it has passed along. These snakes are not thought to be very long, but they appear to vary in size. The largest would probably measure a foot and a half in diameter. With its sharp breast this snake tears up the earth, making a deep furrow. It is supposed to be covered with a crust of scales, and where it has touched against stones, and even rocks, it can be seen that they give way to its great power. It can cut through the roots of trees, making the trees keel over, and throw mud high up on the trunks of trees near by. These snakes, when they move in this way, appear to be changing their places of residence and this is always done during a rainstorm. You can see where lightning has struck all along where this snake has been. Such things prove to the Indians that such a snake exists. A Choctaw Indian named John Wesley, in the old Choctaw country south of the Canadian, told Lewis that one of these snakes had in some way been mortally wounded and lay up in the mountains. A number of people saw it and told Wesley about it, and he thought of going to see it but did not. The snake lay there until it was dead, however, and the skeleton was seen by people and spoken of frequently. Wesley knew where this could be found and told Lewis that if he came over they would go over there together and see the bones, but Lewis did not go. This happened in 1905.

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[47] For another version see pp. 71-72.

[48] Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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825 778 The origin of the conception of this snake is without doubt to be found in the tracks made by lightning, and the bones supposed to have been left by one of them might well have been those of some animal exposed at the time of a thundershower.

The horned snake was probably held in highest esteem by the Indians on account of the value placed upon its horns as hunting charms. The following account of it is mainly from Jackson Lewis.

This snake lives in water and has horns like the stag. It is not a bad snake. It crawls out and suns itself near its hole, and on one occasion Lewis claimed to have seen such a snake. It does not harm human beings but seems to have a magnetic power over game. If any game animal, such as a deer, comes near the place where this snake is lying it is drawn irresistibly into the water and destroyed. It eats only the ends of the noses of the animals which it has killed. The old Creeks sometimes got hold of the horns of this snake, and they were broken up into very minute fragments and distributed among the hunters of the Creek Nation. These fragments are red and look like red sealing wax. A Creek hunter is always exceedingly anxious to obtain even the most minute fragment of such a horn, because it is said to give luck and success in hunting and killing deer. "I myself," said Lewis, "have at two times in my life owned a small fragment of one of these horns, and as you yourself know [speaking to Mr. G. W. Grayson] I have always been looked upon as a great deer killer." These snakes are very rarely seen.

The Alabama living in Texas also know of this snake, which they call tcinto sàktco, "crawfish (i. e. long-horned) snake." They say they are of four kinds according as their horns are yellow, white, red, or blue.

825 Tuggle makes mention of another snake described as living under ground. "It is never seen, but it emerges sometimes from the ground, with a great noise, and leaves a large hole in the earth where it came out. It is called the Celestial One, or Good Snake."[49] This snake is probably identical with that described by Jackson Lewis, a most remarkable snake, since it consists principally of head and lacks a body. It lives on the dew from the grass and leaves. It swirls round and round in the air and goes upward until it disappears, from which fact it would seem to typify the whirlwind.

776 825 Jackson Lewis told me of a certain set of supernatural beings residing in the waters and therefore called "the inhabitants of the waters." One of these was the horned snake already mentioned. A second was "the long snake," which coils itself up round and round to a height of perhaps 3 feet. This is perhaps identical with the snake which produces thunder. Another was "the great yellow snake," which is under the ground ordinarily but also burrows its way into

[49] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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the waters. Still another was a snake as large around as a stovepipe. Several of these sometimes get together and raise themselves straight up until they can not go higher, when they fall over with a splash. Occasionally they sport in the water by extending themselves across running water in the form of a bow and bending back and forth while the water roars over them. According to Lewis these snakes seem to be chiefs among all the inhabitants of the waters. Other "inhabitants of the waters" are the water bear, water calf, water bison, water tiger, and water person. The water tiger is spotted like a leopard, and is now often identified with that animal.[50] The water person is about 4 feet tall and has long hair.

776 825

My Natchez informant had heard a tradition that his people once worshiped a snake to which the women gave their children as food from time to time, but this seems to be a modern myth about the doings of the remote ancestors which has secured a foothold among several tribes.

There are many stories about a monster lizard supposed to live like a bear in hollow trees. It is called by the same name, atcukliba, as a small, inoffensive striped lizard found on trees. It is related that at one time some hunters were encamped near the tree in which such a giant lizard lived. One of the men "had a word," that is a formula of supernatural power, and he said that he could get the best of this animal. He went to the place where it lived and shouted "Come out. We will race." Immediately the atcukliba came out and started in pursuit of the man who ran on across country uttering a peculiar yell. The lizard was close behind him, but the man kept ahead until they were out of sight. By and by the people saw them coming back, the man still in the lead, and, when they got near, the lizard was so much exhausted that it had to lie down. Later a man without power thought he could do the same thing. He kept ahead of the lizard until they were out of sight, but when it was time for them to reappear they saw the atcukliba coming with the man in its mouth. Upon this the onlookers set the woods on fire so that the creature could not pursue them and fled. This lizard appears also in the tales of the Texas Alabama.

The eagle and a small sparrow hawk that eats chickens each receives the name of "the king of birds." The feathers of the former were highly prized, and were used in dances and games, particularly by members of the Tciloki clans; from this and other circumstances it is evident that it was a war emblem. Adair says that the whole town would contribute, "to the value of 200 deer-skins," to the killing of a large eagle, and the man who did so received an honorable title for the exploit, just as if he had brought in the scalp of an enemy. The bald-headed eagle was not esteemed. According

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[50] A famous story in which this snake figures has been given on pp. 70, 71 of the preceding paper.

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825 to Adair all of the Indian nations with which he was familiar considered the raven impure, yet had a kind of superstitious regard for it.[51] Crow feathers were among the war feathers of the Creeks.

Among the Texas Alabama the hoot owl (o'pa) informed prophets when a death or some other misfortune was about to take place. A man who was fond of joking and a prophet were once out hunting when one of these birds flew near and hooted. The former then asked the prophet in a jesting way if he knew what the owl said, and the prophet answered, "He said another man is going with your wife." Upon this the jester cut 12 long sticks, went home, found that the prophet had spoken truly, and beat the guilty pair in accordance with native custom. My informant seemed to think that in cases of death the owl was the man's soul, but this is doubtful. Another prophetic bird was a small red-headed woodpecker having speckled wings which makes a noise resembling bicici, and is hence called in Alabama bicici'hka. When the nephew of one of my informants died, the wife of the former was away in a river bottom. While she was there and before the news had reached her she saw one of these birds flying about. Adair tells us that on one occasion he observed the Indians "to be intimidated at the voice of a small uncommon bird, when it perched, and chirped on a tree over their war camp." [52] This may have been one of the birds above mentioned or a third of similar character.

Dogs are sometimes fabled to have helped men and there are stories which represent them as living in towns with square grounds like those of human beings. It is said that upon one occasion a boy found a deserted house in which was a bitch with a litter of puppies. He took care of them, and when the pups grew up they went out and drove bear up to him so that he could shoot them with arrows. The skunk is once referred to as "chief of all the animals." [52a]

778 As stated in the beginning, supernatural power of some sort was believed to attach to all animals and plants, and to natural objects generally, even to artificial objects, and when we come to discuss Creek medicine a great deal more will be said about their various powers, because each is supposed to have been able to produce certain diseases.

776 Some mythic supernatural beings have already been mentioned, but there were a number of others, many of which caused sickness. Among these were a race of little people, called by Tuggle "fairies." [53] They lived in hollow trees, on tree tops, in the holes in the rocks, and in other similar places. They were strong and handsome, with fine figures, and sometimes they allowed themselves to be seen by a human being, who then talked about them continually

[51] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 131, 173, 194.
[52] Ibid., p. 26.
[52a] See p. 529.
[53] Tuggle, Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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II

A hunter passing a bear's den heard an old she bear singing to her cubs the following song: 539

A'tàn	Down [the stream]
Ayatco'ksè	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Hà'tci yo'kaàn	Up the stream
Lí'tkatcokat'[26]	Running unseen
Lí'tkatcokat	Running unseen
A'libá	Up the stream
Ayatco'ksè	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Łàn iyo'ksa	To the top of the bald peak
Lí'tkatcokat	Running unseen
Lí'tkatcokat	Running unseen

FREE TRANSLATION

If you hear the noise of the chase
Going down the stream
Then run up the stream.
If you hear the noise of the chase
Going up the stream
Then run to the top of the bald peak
Then run to the top of the bald peak

EDUCATION

Among early writers Swan and Adair have the most to say about the education of children. Swan declares: 855

"The father has no care of his own child. The invariable custom is, for the women to keep and rear all the children, having the entire control over them until they are able to provide for themselves. They appear to have a sufficient natural affection for them; they never strike or whip a child for its faults. Their mode of correction is singular: if a child requires punishment, the mother scratches its leg and thighs with the point of a pin or needle, until it bleeds; some keep a jaw-bone of a gar-fish, having two teeth, entirely for the purpose. 861

"They say that this punishment has several good effects; that it not only deters the child from mischief, but it loosens the skin, and gives a pliancy to the limbs; and the profusion of blood that follows the operation, serves to convince the child that the loss of it is not attended with danger, or loss of life: that when he becomes a man and a warrior, he need not shrink from an enemy, or apprehend that the wounds he may receive, and the loss of blood, will endanger his life." [27] [826

[26] This seems to be the nearest word to Tuggle's "Lit kahts ohsa."
[27] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 273-274.

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their reward here, positions of esteem in the tribe, plenty to eat and wear, and plenty of enemies to kill, for the Creek social system rewarded so well in this world virtue of the kind these Indians recognized that it was not necessary to postpone all enjoyment of it to an uncertain hereafter.[90] 775

Bartram adds that according to native belief not merely man but every living creature had a spirit or soul that could exist apart from the body and that some had reported that "a pattern or spiritual likeness of everything living, as well as inanimate, exists in another world."[91] This, of course, is true of practically all primitive peoples, the only question being whether the term "other world" may be properly applied here.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Dreams and visions seen in trances were one means of learning about the spirit world, and they were very generally credited. Bartram says: "They relate abundance of stories of men that have been dead or thought dead for many hours and days, who have revived again, giving an account of their transit to and from the world of souls, and describing the condition and situation of the place and spirits residing there."[91] A curious expression was used by the Creeks when they were about to go to bed. They would say Posálkàn hoboyālānās, "I am going to hunt a dream." If a man made a noise like an animal in his sleep those who heard him would say "that is his sleep (or dream) [inutcká, his sleep; imboitcka or imposálga, his dream]. If any person in a family dreamed of fire it foreboded sickness, especially bilious fever, and all of them took miko hoyanīdja and afterwards dipped in the creek four times. If they happened to have no medicine they at least bathed. 787

When a person sneezed it was supposed that someone was saying something good about him, and he would remark "Oh yes, that is what they always say about me." There is a jesting relation regarding a man who began sneezing and kept repeating the above words, while he was really coming down with pneumonia. Next day, when his friends were asked about him, they said: "Yes, some one was saying something good about him yesterday, and now we are afraid we are going to lose him." 827

According to a Natchez informant, sneezing when eating meant that one would hear of a death; also that someone was talking about him. If one sneezed when he had pneumonia it was a sign he would get well.

When it began to rain after a dry spell the old Creeks would not take things in under cover too hurriedly lest the rain should stop. 821

[90] For some further light on this subject see the section on burial customs, pp. 389-396 in the preceding paper.

[91] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 27.

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from the bowels of the earth, and they were defeated with great slaughter. From this circumstance the Coweta town became the great war town of the Creek Nation. Then the Kasihta sent back for the Coweta but, without waiting for them to catch up, continued in the same direction as before. Presently they reached a country populated by naked people who would attack them and then run off. The naked people did this repeatedly until they at length ran into a dense fog. The Kasihta followed them and, emerging on the other side, found themselves on the shore of the ocean from which the fog had arisen. Unable to go farther they camped where they were, and in the morning saw the sun rise out of the sea. They concluded that that was why it was so bright and pure. By and by the Coweta came up, and the two peoples agreed that the country from which they had started was so far off that they would not return to it. So they remained where they were, fought with the inhabitants of the land, and brought them under their own system of laws. 173 539

"In course of time no people were left willing to resist them, and they longed for someone with whom to fight. Hereupon Coweta challenged Kasihta to a game of ball in order to obtain revenge for having been beaten with switches by the latter. The custom of having ball contests originated at this time and in this manner and has continued to the present day. Now arose the division between the war towns and the peace towns. The war towns have separated from the Coweta and the peace towns from the Kasihta, except in the cases of towns which have been brought in from outside. These have usually been brought in by the peace towns, and hence are generally white." [526 631 829]

A very much longer account, involving, in fact, a rough history of the Kasihta tribe from earliest times to the date when they made peace with the Cherokee, was, however, taken down by the late Albert S. Gatschet from the same native authority. It is preserved in one of Doctor Gatschet's manuscript notebooks in the original Creek with interlinear translation, and, as nearly as I can determine, runs as follows:

"It was in the beginning when people were first created. This is the history of the three tribes known as Kasihta, Chickasaw, and Coweta. Far off toward the west many people came out of the ground. And the Coweta were delayed by the root of a tree which stretched across their road. Then the Kasihta and Chickasaw towns came out of the earth together. At that time the people were without clothing or fire. And they sewed together leaves of trees with which to cover themselves. And while they were there the Breathholder (Hisa'kita immi'si) spoke to them and said: 'The earth which lies here is the foundation of all things.' And he said: 'The

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as it appeared in 1912. This was largely because it was thought that to sleep much with women enervated a man and incapacitated him as a warrior.[30] Adair says that in their town houses the women were separated from the warriors, and were merely allowed to sit at each side of the entrance "as if they were only casual spectators,"[31] and anciently they had no seats on the square ground. Among the Chickasaw six old beloved women were the only participants in the annual ceremony.[32]

Regarding the labors of women the last mentioned writer declares: "The women are the chief, if not the only, manufacturers; the men judge that if they performed that office, it would exceedingly depreciate them."[33] In fact women anciently, in addition to the indoors work of the house, made all of the pottery and basketry, and did all of the spinning and weaving of bison hair, mulberry bark, etc. The initial preparation of skins was sometimes performed by men, but most of the subsequent work upon it fell to the women. They made drying frames and dried peaches and other fruits upon them, and they of course pounded the corn and did the cooking.

The principal occupations of the men were hunting, ball playing, war, and rites connected with the use of medicine and ceremonial affairs. They built the houses, the corncribs, and the structures belonging to the square ground, felled trees, made canoes and mortars, drums, pipes, calumets, ball sticks, and of course in olden times the axes and the arrows, bows, war clubs, and most of the other articles used in hunting and war. When hunting at a distance from home they cut up the meat, loaded it on horses, and brought it back. It is evident that their labors amounted to considerable in the aggregate, although they were not so evenly sustained throughout the year as those of women. The smaller garden plots were cared for almost exclusively by women, but the town fields were tended by individuals of both sexes, and Bartram says that "there are not one-third as many females as males seen at work in their plantations; for, at this season of the year, by a law of the people, they do not hunt, the game not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in, so the males have little else with which to employ themselves."[34] Later on in the season the same writer tells us that the labor falling upon women was harder.

"In the hunting season, that is in autumn and winter, the men are generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls on the women, who are than obliged to undergo a good deal of labor, such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they toat on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the ancient large towns, where the commons and old fields extend some

[30] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[31] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 132.
[32] Ibid., pp. 96-97.
[33] Ibid., p. 422.
[34] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 31.

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726 order to be purified—that they have also as strong a faith of the power
778 and holiness of their ark, as ever the Israelites retained of their's, ascribing the superior success of the party, to their stricter adherence to the law than the other; and after they return home, hang it on the leader's red-painted war pole. . . .

"The Indian ark is deemed so sacred and dangerous to be touched, either by their own sanctified warriors, or the spoiling enemy, that they durst not touch it upon any account. It is not to be meddled with by any, except the war chieftain and his waiter, under the penalty of incurring great evil. Nor would the most inveterate enemey touch it in the woods for the very same reason. . . .

727 "The leader virtually acts the part of a priest in war, *pro tempore*, . . . If they obtain the victory, and get some of the enemeies scalps, they sanctify themselves when they make their triumphal entrance, in the manner they observed before they set off to war; but, if their expedition proves unfortunate, they only mourn over their loss, ascribing it to the vicious conduct of some of the followers of the beloved ark. . . .

726 "The Indians will not cohabit with women while they are out at war; they religiously abstain from every kind of intercourse even
● 834 with their own wives, for the space of three days and nights before they go to war, and so after they return home, because they are to sanctify themselves. . . . The warriors consider themselves as devoted to God apart from the rest of the people, while they are at war accompanying the sacred ark with the supposed holy things it contains." [5]

This law of sexual abstinence accounts for the comparative respect with which female captives were treated by most of the eastern Indians.[6]

726 Adair cites the case of an Indian iconoclast who went to war without the accompaniment of an ark, to the great anxiety of his friends. He has the following to say regarding the numbers taking part in an expedition and their method of conducting it after they had left home:

"It may be expected I should describe the number of men their war companies consist of, but it is various, and uncertain: sometimes, two or three only will go to war, proceed as cautiously, and strike their prey as panthers. . . .

"The common number of an Indian war company, is only from twenty to forty, lest their tracks should be discovered by being too numerous: but if the warring nations are contiguous to each other, the invading party generally chuses to out-number a common company, that they may strike the blow with greater safety and success,

[5] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 181-184.

[6] Cf. Ibid., p. 184.

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684 of their ears where the earrings were commonly worn were cut off; for the second offense the whole ear was cut off; and for the third offense they cut off the nose, saying to the culprit "You have not sense enough to smell anything." He added that if a man had a wife and children and some other woman began running about with him, the women inflicted the punishment. They would rush upon their victim, foaming at the mouth like mad tigers, tear off her clothing and leave her all covered with blood. Meantime the men related to the woman's husband would gather round and, if they saw matters were likely to be carried to extremes, pull the woman away.

As the evidence of a single person was admitted, frequently a very young one at that, the innocent sometimes suffered, and the attentions of the Indians were often extended to white traders among them, in many cases no doubt on the most ample grounds.

•836 If we were to accept Swan's testimony we should have to suppose that sexual looseness before marriage was not punished nor indeed curtailed in the smallest degree. He says:

"Simple fornication is no crime or reproach among the Creeks; the sexes indulge their propensities with each other promiscuously, unrestrained by law or custom, and without secrecy or shame. If a young woman becomes pregnant before she is married, which most of them do, the child is maintained in her clan without the least murmuring." [63]

Hodgson also declares that "female licentiousness before marriage is not attended with loss of character," [64] and Romans that "they will never scruple to sell the use of their bodies when they can do it in private" and "the savages think a young woman nothing the worse for making use of her body, as they term it." [65]

Bossu and Hitchcock testify to the same effect,[66] the latter attributing the abuse to the influence of polygamy.[67]

Nevertheless, from what may be gathered from other sources, it is evident that there were limits beyond which a young person could not go without being made to suffer in consequence.

At the meetings of the clan to which the offender belonged he (or she) would probably be reprimanded by the oldest clan uncle and perhaps "dry scratched" or whipped. The former punishment was inflicted by means of an implement made of gar teeth, or in later times needles. One person grasped the arms of the victim and held them about the ball-post while the scratching was done, and the latter usually bore it in stoical silence for fear of the ridicule of his companions. Another punishment was sarcasm, in which the Indians are

[63] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[64] Hodgson, Journey through N. Am., pp. 267-268.
[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. of E. and W. Fla., p. 67
[66] See p. 279.
[67] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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adepts. They would praise the culprit in the highest manner, reviewing with the most circumstantial details his assumed virtuous actions, the exact opposite, of course, of the things he had really done, until he was only too glad to flee from the general ridicule.

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The punishment usually meted out to those members of different but linked clans who had carnal intercourse with each other was "the long scratch" (sápka tcápko), performed by inserting a gar tooth or needle in the skin at the back of the neck and making a shallow cut along the spine and then on down to the heel. The pain was, of course, intense, but the public shame attending the performance, which took place in the presence of all of the people, was very much worse. As one man put it, it was to show that the offenders were no better than brutes and placed a stigma for life upon the parties undergoing it. According to another informant, instead of being dry scratched, the culprits were flogged very severely. At Chiaha the scratching took place at the northeast corner of the square ground. Mr. William McCombs, of this town, remembered that during the Civil War a Potato man and a Raccoon woman were in danger of a thrashing for having consorted together.

If the offenders belonged to the same clan the punishment was worse—often death. An Abihka Indian told me that he remembered a case in which a woman of the Wind clan was beaten to death for an offense of the kind. Another informant stated that for the first offense in such cases the long scratch was the sole punishment, but flogging for the second. Still another claimed that flogging was the penalty for the first offense, the nose and ears also being cut off. In later times they omitted cutting off the nose. Flogging was also the punishment among the Texas Alabama, but in more ancient times it is though that the penalty was more severe. At any rate, this crime was considered so dreadful by the Alabama that it was believed "the earth might burn up" in consequence of it, and the sentiment is so strong down to the present day that there are only three instances of endogamous marriages, while far more marriages take place outside of linked clans among all the people of the Creek confederacy. For instance, one of my interpreters belonged to the Panther clan, his father was an Alligator, and his wife a Bear. Another belonged to the Aktayatci, his father was a Bear, and his father's father a Panther. Still another belonged to the Deer, his father to the Raccoon, and his father's father to the Potato. The last lived at Tukabahchee where marriage between the Potato and Raccoon was allowed.

Related to these crimes was one mentioned by Adair when he says that the Muskogee came near putting some white traders to death because, when "in their cups," they forcibly viewed the nakedness of a woman who was reputed to be a hermaphrodite, and he states

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585 singing the Epithalamium, they depart with friendly glad hearts, from the house of praise."[1]

Bossu's description of Alabama marriage customs is short.

"The savages are ordinarily satisfied with one wife, of whom they are excessively jealous. When a savage passes through a village and has no wife, he hires a girl for a night or two, according to his fancy, and the parents find in that nothing to blame;[2] they disturb themselves very little about their girl, giving as a reason that she has the right to her own body; the daughters of the savages do not abuse this liberty at all; they find it for their interest to appear modest in order to be sought in marriage; but with regard to the married women they say that by marriage they have sold their liberty, and therefore they ought not to have any other men besides their husband. On their side [the men] reserve the right to have many wives. . . .

[836] [581]

"Marriage . . . is of a simple nature, and of no other form than mutual consent of the parties. The future husband makes presents of skins and provisions at the cabin of the father of his intended; after the meal there is a dance, they sing of the war exploits of the ancestors of the husband. Next day the oldest man presents the wife to the parents of her husband. That is the entire marriage ceremony. . . . Those who are good warriors and good hunters choose the prettiest girls; the others have only the rejected and the ugly."[3]

From Romans:

"Polygamy is here allowed, though not generally made use of; they marry without much ceremony, seldom any more than to make some presents to the parents, and to have a feast or hearty regale at the hut of the wife's father; when once married the women are bound to the strictest observation of obedience and conjugal fidelity, [the Indians] saying that she that has once sold herself, can not any more dispose of any thing whatever; and of their wives they are the most unreasonably jealous of any nation under the sun."[4]

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Says Bartram:

"Amongst some of the bands in the Muscogulge confederacy, I was informed the mystery is performed after the following manner. When a young man has fixed his affections, and is determined to marry, he takes a Cane or Reed, such as they stick down at the hills of their Bean vines for their support: with this (after having obtained her parents' or nearest relations' consent) he repairs to the habitation of his beloved, attended by his friends and associates, and in the presence of the wedding guests, he sticks his Reed down, upright in the ground; when soon after his sweet-heart comes forth with another

[1] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 139-141.
[2] Girls were also offered to strangers as a mark of hospitality; cf. Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 17.
[3] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 19-21.
[4] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., pp. 67-68.

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585 prospective groom at least would now be a person of influence, able to make his wishes felt.

Swan is, as usual, the devil's advocate for the Creeks. He says that "marriage is considered only as a temporary convenience, not binding on the parties more than one year. . . .

"The married women are termed bound wenches—the single girls, free wenches. The least freedom with a bound wench is considered criminal, and invariably punished by the cropping law.

595 "A plurality of wives is allowed of—a mother and her two daughters are often kept by one man, at the same time; but this is most frequently by white traders, who are better able to support them. A large portion of the old and middle-aged men, by frequently changing, have had many different wives, and their children, scattered around the country, are unknown to them.

181 611 836 "Few women have more than two children by the same father; hence they have found the necessity of conferring the honors of chiefs and micos on the issue of the female line, for it would be impossible to trace the right by the male issue."[14]

Although there was no doubt an element of truth in this picture it is evident that Swan has magnified it very much, owing to his failure to understand the clan system and the collective terms in accordance with which people may be fathers, mother, sons, and daughters to each other in name but not in fact. The reason he gives for matrilineal descent is also offered by Bossu.[15] It is an old ex post facto explanation furnished sometimes by the Indians themselves and sometimes by their white chroniclers. It has no relation whatever to the sexual looseness of the people.

583 It will be observed that a tendency crops out here, which I also observed during my work upon the north Pacific coast, to the development of an official marriage and an unofficial yet tolerated union, and in both cases they may be traced to the same cause. The official marriage in the case of young people is made for, not by, them. It represents the kind of union which agrees with tribal convention and ought to be best for the prosperity of the clans concerned, for the tribe, and for the couple so married The parties thus mated are of the proper clans, the proper standing in the tribe, the proper age, and their virtues are such as to constitute a fair exchange. From all a priori considerations they are the mates for each other. Nevertheless, the serious blows which our conventions receive are signs that they are only conventions after all, and the same thing was true in primitive society. Thus it often happened that a couple which ought to agree did not, and in such cases it was frequently found necessary to undo what had been done. There can be no doubt that the frequency of divorce among many primitive peoples is

[14] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273 [15] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, p. 21.

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861 The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was [751] inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

861 Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:

622 "It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an [838] opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [tcihaksi kania he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Hakeinna* [tcihaksina], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [tciabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"[28]

861 In another place the same writer remarks that in his time chil-
609 dren who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

[28] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156-157.

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695 truth?" And the answer is *Aklooska Ke-e-u-que-Ho*, "I do not lie; I do not, of a certain truth."[77] Regarding epithets he says, "the sharpest and most lasting affront, the most opprobrious, indelible epithet, with which one Indian can possibly brand another, is to call him in public company, *Hoobuk Waske*, Eunuchus, praeputio detecto."[78]

GENERAL CUSTOMS

000 In treating of the general customs of the Creeks it will be well to keep in mind certain cycles. Thus there were customs that concerned the cycle of human life itself, including the important events incident to existence, such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. There were certain others determined by the annual cycle of the seasons, and still others by the shorter cycle of day and night. Beyond these there were still other customs independent of changes in life or nature. It will be as well to take up the customs concerned with events incident to human life in the first place, and then proceed to the rest.

THE VITAL CYCLE

PUBERTY AND CHILDBIRTH

•841 [846] The regulations imposed upon a woman at the time of her monthly periods and at childbirth resembled each other in many particulars and may be conveniently treated together. Adair's account is the oldest. It applies primarily to the Chickasaw, but there was little difference between their usages and those of the Creeks. He says:

". . . They oblige their women in their *lunar retreats*, to build small huts, at as considerable a distance from their dwelling-houses, as they imagine may be out of the enemies reach; where, during the space of that period, they are obliged to stay at the risque of their lives. Should they be known to violate that ancient law, they must answer for every misfortune that befalls any of the people, as a certain effect of the divine fire; though the lurking enemy sometimes kills them in their religious retirement. Notwithstanding they reckon it conveys a most horrid and dangerous pollution to those who touch or go near them, or walk anywhere within the circle of their retreats; and are in fear of thereby spoiling the supposed purity and power of their holy ark, which they always carry to war; yet the enemy believe they can so cleanse themselves with the consecrated herbs, roots, etc. which the chieftain carries in the beloved war-ark, as to secure them in this point from bodily danger, because it was done against their enemies.

"The non-observance of this separation, a breach of the marriage-law, and murder, they esteem the most capital crimes. When the time of the women's separation is ended, they always purify them-

[77] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 51. [78] Ibid., p. 136.

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selves in deep running water, return home, dress, and anoint themselves. They ascribe these monthly periods to the female structure, not to the anger of *Ishtohoollo Aba*.

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"Correspondent to the Mosaic law of women's purification after *travail*, the Indian women absent themselves from their husbands and all public company, for a considerable time—The *Muskōhge* women are separate for three moons, exclusive of that moon in which they are delivered. . . .

"Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity, they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people, as the necessary effect of the divine anger for their polluting sin, contrary to their old traditional law of female purity. Like the greater part of the Israelites, it is the fear of the temporal evils, and the prospect of temporal good, that makes them so tenacious and observant of their laws. At the stated period, the Indian women's impurity is finished by ablution, and they are again admitted to social and holy privileges." [79]

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One of my Creek informants spoke of the monthly course as "a strong disease." I do not know to what extent this represented the former opinion among Creeks generally. His account is as follows:

"When a woman had her monthly course, or when she had a child, she had to go outside and stay four days, or for as many days as it lasted. She lived in a house by herself, used special dishes, ate no large game animals of any kind, and did not go into the garden. She washed and put on entirely new clothing before she came back. If she should go into the garden, people thought the vegetation would be weakened. They thought that the menstrual flow could be sensed at a distance and affect the vitality of men and other creatures. A woman at that period must bathe down stream from a man. She must also pass every man she met in such a way that the wind would not blow from her to him. If these regulations were not observed, it was feared that the man's lungs and blood would be affected and that he would in consequence be weakened for life."

Says Speck, of the Tuskegee:

"During menses the woman remained in seclusion and did not come into contact with anything belonging to her household. At the approach of childbirth she also retired to the seclusion lodge and neither she nor the father resided in the usual house for the period of a month. The mother was allowed to partake of food from the time the child was born, but the father fasted for four days thereafter. For a month after the event, the mother was not allowed to prepare her husband's meals nor to eat or sleep with him, and he on his part was not allowed to touch her." [80]

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[79] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 133-134. [80] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 116.

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846 The point of particular interest about this quotation is that it contains almost the only reference to a custom resembling the couvade.

Hitchcock's information comes mainly from the Tukabahchee, and is as follows:

"When [a woman] is visited with what is peculiar to the sex . . . she is obliged to occupy a separate tent or house, to eat from separate dishes, and to live entirely apart from all others until it is passed. Then she is taken and thoroughly washed, whether in winter or summer, and returned to the family. The utensils used by her are laid aside until required for a similar purpose. No man is ever allowed to sit in the seat which has been used by a woman under those circumstances.

"At the period of childbirth the woman is obliged to leave the house and the child must be born out of the house, winter or summer. The mother must not enter the house for ten days and must not sleep in it for two months, and if she is taken sick in giving birth to a child she is not allowed to sleep in the house for four months. Before the child is allowed to suckle it is taken to a branch or spring, and water is thrown upon its tongue several times. Children are often bathed in a creek by the time they are a month old. Formerly they were rolled in the snow to make them hardy. When the child is a boy, a physic maker, a sort of priest, is called upon for a preparation which is placed upon the mother's nipple to make the child hardy and brave, and an active ball player."[81]

841 The Alabama living in Texas say that when a woman's monthly sickness (holotci' taye'ha) came on she took a blanket and went away to a small house near some stream or spring to live until it was over. She did her own cooking there and when she drank used her two hands instead of a cup. During that time she might not speak to anyone. When the time was passed she bathed and washed all of her clothes thoroughly before returning home. If she ate with her family without having done this it was thought they would fall sick. At that time a man avoided walking close to a woman for the same reason.

[881] It is the universal testimony that the regulations observed by a girl at her first menstrual period differed in no particular from those undergone by her on every recurring month.

844 When a woman was going to have a child she acted in much the same manner, only she seems not to have camped so far away. She observed the same regulations, however. An old woman acted as midwife, and for some time after its birth the child was bathed every day. Swan's words in the following quotation must not be accepted literally when he says that the young mother was "entirely alone." He says:

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"It is an established rule, that pregnant women be entirely alone at the time of delivery; and this rule is rigidly adhered to. Nature seems to have fortified them with strength to undergo the operation without assistance. On the 12th of December, 1790, four women came from the white ground, ten miles from Little Tallassie, to sell horse-ropes to the beloved man. The day was cold and rainy, with a sleet of snow; they stayed all night. About midnight, one of them, a young woman, was taken in travail; her mother was with her, and immediately ordered her to take some fire and go into the swamp, about thirty rods from the out-house where they slept. She went alone, was delivered of her child, and at ten o'clock next morning, being bare-footed and half naked, took the infant on her back, and returned home through the rain and snow, which still continued to fall, without the least inconvenience. 844

"This circumstance, had I not been present and seen the woman with the infant on her back, I might have been doubtful of its possibility."[32]

Romans says: "The women are just as easily delivered as those of the other savages, and immediately after birth the infant is plunged into cold water."[33]

According to Jackson Lewis a prospective mother was not allowed to eat at the same table as the rest of the family. 843

Virility was a matter of pride with Creek men—the more children they had the better—and Adair says that the Indians of his acquaintance entertained "a contemptible opinion of their females that are barren—sterility they consider as proceeding from the divine anger, on account of their conjugal infidelity."[34] 842

Among many tribes twins were held in abhorrence and one of them was frequently killed, but Mr. Grayson informed me that the Creeks anciently considered the younger of twins was likely to make an efficient kila or prophet. 845

Sometimes the child was kept from nursing for four days and was made to swallow certain small roots to make it live long. The same effect was produced by keeping it indoors four months so that no one could see it. 846 789

Adair has the following to say regarding the sympathetic magic practiced on Chickasaw babies in order to insure them good fortune:

"Their male children they chuse to raise on the skins of panthers, on account of the communicative principle, which they reckon all nature is possessed of, in conveying qualities according to the regimen that is followed: and, as the panther is endued with many qualities, beyond any of his fellow animals in the American woods, as smelling,

[32] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[33] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 82.
[34] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 72.

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[82] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[83] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
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757 had been used very successfully by a white physician in North Carolina "in curing the *yaws*." [51]

Still farther on he says: "Several species of *Smilax*, the woody vines of *Bignonia crucigera*, some of the *bays* (*laurus*), are of great account with the Indians as remedies . . .

"The caustic and detergent properties of the white nettle (roots) of Carolina and Florida (*Jatropha urens*), used for cleansing old ulcers and consuming proud-flesh, and likewise the dissolvent and diuretant powers of the root of the convolvulus panduratus [*Ipomoea pandurata*], so much esteemed as a remedy in nephritic complaints, were discovered by the Indians to the inhabitants of Carolina." [52]

One or two other items may be added from notes taken by the Agent Eakins from an Alabama Indian:

"The big prairie-weed is used as an emetic, taken as a tea. For cathartics they have a number of roots and weeds, prepared as a tea . . . They have two modes of treating eruptions of the skin: First, the external application of a decoction of herbs; and, Secondly, by steaming with the same decoction. The cause of their known and general failure to treat small-pox, or varioloid, is, First, their limited knowledge of the nature of the disease; and, Secondly, their belief that it is contagious prevents their administering for its cure. In no cases, whatever, do men assist in parturition. After parturition, [844] they use a simple root or weed. For paralysis, their treatment is not, in all cases, successful, which is generally by roots or herbs. They use the vapor bath efficaciously." [53]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

796 Through the kindness of Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., I am able to add the following notes regarding a Creek busk witnessed by the artist J. M. Stanley and Mr. Sumner Dickerman in the summer of 1843, the year after the busk described by General Hitchcock. They were contained in a letter written at "Bayou Menard, Cherokee Nation, August 4, 1843," by Mr. Dickerman and printed in a newspaper, and give little more than an account—a very good one nevertheless—of the women's dance. The town was probably Tukabahchee, but this is uncertain. Mr. Dickerman, as well as his companion, seems to have had some artistic ability, since the services of both gentlemen were utilized by the Indians in painting a banner for the occasion. "On one side was painted the American Eagle, with the motto, 'E Pluribus Unum,' and the thirteen stars; on the other the crossed pipes, hatchet, and clasped hands, with the motto of 'Peace and Friendship.'" After Mr. Dickerman had run this up on a pole about 21 feet high, at one corner of the square, the Indians took it down and inverted it so that the eagle might be seen from the inside of the square as the wind was then blowing.

Mr. Dickerman describes the ceremonial ground as measuring "about 35 feet square," and says, "on each side is a small house with open front, facing the interior, and an entrance from each end of the house. Seats were arranged in

[51] Bartram, Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., p. 44.
[52] Ibid., pp. 44–47.
[53] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 374.

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"This circumstance, had I not been present and seen the woman with the infant on her back, I might have been doubtful of its possibility."[83]

Romans says: "The women are just as easily delivered as those of the other savages, and immediately after birth the infant is plunged into cold water."[84]

According to Jackson Lewis a prospective mother was not allowed to eat at the same table as the rest of the family. 843

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[83] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[84] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 92.
[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 72.

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764 involves one real aboriginal explanation of the custom. His account of the treatment accorded the body of a suicide I have seen nowhere else.

The Alabama now living in Texas give the following account of their old burial customs:

Nowadays several persons dig a grave, but in former times a single old man performed the office. While he was at work upon it he ate by himself, for it was thought that anyone who ate with him would fall sick. He did not smoke, and, no matter how hot the sun was, he drank no water. Anciently the body was bundled tightly together, wrapped about, and placed upon a board which was then sunk into the earth, head to the east, so that when his spirit got up it would be in the right position to start on the spirit trail westward.[66] A framework of poles was afterwards put all about the grave. Afterwards the gravedigger washed his clothes, took some of the button-snake root, and vomited. Then he could eat, and the relatives of the deceased gave him a horse in payment. Those who attended to burials in later times must duck all over in the creek four times no matter how cold the weather. My informant had done this when ice was on the water and the snow flying, and he almost fainted from the cold. Blankets were put under the head of the corpse as a pillow and a butcher knife in his hand with which to fight off an eagle supposed to infest the trail of the dead. For four days the wife or husband and the children and near relatives visited the grave every morning before breakfast and every evening before supper, and at their evening visits they lighted a fire at the head. After each of these visits they went to a stream, bathed all over, and washed their clothing before they ate. For four days they must eat no food that contained salt, and during the same period they remained quiet and made no noise. Not only the family but all of the people abstained from playing ball then, though they might do some hunting.

Although the later accounts do not mention the custom of discharging a gun the moment a death took place, it appears from Gregg that it was maintained until after the Creeks had removed west.[67]

[845] Among all of the Creek tribes a miscarriage, a stillborn child, or a very young child was laid away in a hollow tree where it was nicely ceiled in. Otherwise it was thought that there would be a drought, that a pestilence would break out, or that deaths from other causes would occur.

The Diurnal Cycle

512 805 Adair has the following regarding divisions of the day recognized among the Chickasaw, with which those of the Creeks were practically identical:

[66] This means that the body was laid flat on its back. The orientation must have been different from that common among the Creeks generally.

[67] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. XX, p. 328.

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695 truth!" And the answer is *Akloosha Ke-e-u-que-Ho*, "I do not lie; I do not, of a certain truth."[77] Regarding epithets he says, "the sharpest and most lasting affront, the most opprobrious, indelible epithet, with which one Indian can possibly brand another, is to call him in public company, *Hoobuk Waske*, Eunuchus, praeputio detecto."[78]

GENERAL CUSTOMS

000 In treating of the general customs of the Creeks it will be well to keep in mind certain cycles. Thus there were customs that concerned the cycle of human life itself, including the important events incident to existence, such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. There were certain others determined by the annual cycle of the seasons, and still others by the shorter cycle of day and night. Beyond these there were still other customs independent of changes in life or nature. It will be as well to take up the customs concerned with events incident to human life in the first place, and then proceed to the rest.

The Vital Cycle

PUBERTY AND CHILDBIRTH

841 [846] The regulations imposed upon a woman at the time of her monthly periods and at childbirth resembled each other in many particulars and may be conveniently treated together. Adair's account is the oldest. It applies primarily to the Chickasaw, but there was little difference between their usages and those of the Creeks. He says:

". . . They oblige their women in their *lunar retreats*, to build small huts, at as considerable a distance from their dwelling-houses, as they imagine may be out of the enemies reach; where, during the space of that period, they are obliged to stay at the risque of their lives. Should they be known to violate that ancient law, they must answer for every misfortune that befalls any of the people, as a certain effect of the divine fire; though the lurking enemy sometimes kills them in their religious retirement. Notwithstanding they reckon it conveys a most horrid and dangerous pollution to those who touch or go near them, or walk anywhere within the circle of their retreats; and are in fear of thereby spoiling the supposed purity and power of their holy ark, which they always carry to war; yet the enemy believe they can so cleanse themselves with the consecrated herbs, roots, etc. which the chieftain carries in the beloved war-ark, as to secure them in this point from bodily danger, because it was done against their enemies.

"The non-observance of this separation, a breach of the marriage-law, and murder, they esteem the most capital crimes. When the time of the women's separation is ended, they always purify them-

[77] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 51. [78] Ibid., p. 136.

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selves in deep running water, return home, dress, and anoint themselves. They ascribe these monthly periods to the female structure, not to the anger of *Ishtohoollo Aba*. 841

"Correspondent to the Mosaic law of women's purification after *travail*, the Indian women absent themselves from their husbands and all public company, for a considerable time—The *Muskōhge* women are separate for three moons, exclusive of that moon in which they are delivered. . . . 846

"Should any of the Indian women violate this law of purity, they would be censured, and suffer for any sudden sickness, or death that might happen among the people, as the necessary effect of the divine anger for their polluting sin, contrary to their old traditional law of female purity. Like the greater part of the Israelites, it is the fear of the temporal evils, and the prospect of temporal good, that makes them so tenacious and observant of their laws. At the stated period, the Indian women's impurity is finished by ablution, and they are again admitted to social and holy privileges." [78]

One of my Creek informants spoke of the monthly course as "a strong disease." I do not know to what extent this represented the former opinion among Creeks generally. His account is as follows: 841 846

"When a woman had her monthly course, or when she had a child, she had to go outside and stay four days, or for as many days as it lasted. She lived in a house by herself, used special dishes, ate no large game animals of any kind, and did not go into the garden. She washed and put on entirely new clothing before she came back. If she should go into the garden, people thought the vegetation would be weakened. They thought that the menstrual flow could be sensed at a distance and affect the vitality of men and other creatures. A woman at that period must bathe down stream from a man. She must also pass every man she met in such a way that the wind would not blow from her to him. If these regulations were not observed, it was feared that the man's lungs and blood would be affected and that he would in consequence be weakened for life."

Says Speck, of the Tuskegee:

"During menses the woman remained in seclusion and did not come into contact with anything belonging to her household. At the approach of childbirth she also retired to the seclusion lodge and neither she nor the father resided in the usual house for the period of a month. The mother was allowed to partake of food from the time the child was born, but the father fasted for four days thereafter. For a month after the event, the mother was not allowed to prepare her husband's meals nor to eat or sleep with him, and he on his part was not allowed to touch her." [80]

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[78] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 123-124. [80] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n, vol. ii, p. 116.

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•846 The point of particular interest about this quotation is that it contains almost the only reference to a custom resembling the couvade.

Hitchcock's information comes mainly from the Tukabahchee, and is as follows:

"When [a woman] is visited with what is peculiar to the sex . . . she is obliged to occupy a separate tent or house, to eat from separate dishes, and to live entirely apart from all others until it is passed. Then she is taken and thoroughly washed, whether in winter or summer, and returned to the family. The utensils used by her are laid aside until required for a similar purpose. No man is ever allowed to sit in the seat which has been used by a woman under those circumstances.

"At the period of childbirth the woman is obliged to leave the house and the child must be born out of the house, winter or summer. The mother must not enter the house for ten days and must not sleep in it for two months, and if she is taken sick in giving birth to a child she is not allowed to sleep in the house for four months. Before the child is allowed to suckle it is taken to a branch or spring, and water is thrown upon its tongue several times. Children are often bathed in a creek by the time they are a month old. Formerly they were rolled in the snow to make them hardy. When the child is a boy, a physic maker, a sort of priest, is called upon for a preparation which is placed upon the mother's nipple to make the child hardy and brave, and an active ball player."[81]

841 The Alabama living in Texas say that when a woman's monthly sickness (holotci' taye'ha) came on she took a blanket and went away to a small house near some stream or spring to live until it was over. She did her own cooking there and when she drank used her two hands instead of a cup. During that time she might not speak to anyone. When the time was passed she bathed and washed all of her clothes thoroughly before returning home. If she ate with her family without having done this it was thought they would fall sick. At that time a man avoided walking close to a woman for the same reason.

[831] It is the universal testimony that the regulations observed by a girl at her first menstrual period differed in no particular from those undergone by her on every recurring month.

844 When a woman was going to have a child she acted in much the same manner, only she seems not to have camped so far away. She observed the same regulations, however. An old woman acted as midwife, and for some time after its birth the child was bathed every day. Swan's words in the following quotation must not be accepted literally when he says that the young mother was "entirely alone." He says:

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[81] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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"This circumstance, had I not been present and seen the woman with the infant on her back, I might have been doubtful of its possibility."[82]

Romans says: "The women are just as easily delivered as those of the other savages, and immediately after birth the infant is plunged into cold water."[83]

According to Jackson Lewis a prospective mother was not allowed to eat at the same table as the rest of the family. 843

Virility was a matter of pride with Creek men—the more children they had the better—and Adair says that the Indians of his acquaintance entertained "a contemptible opinion of their females that are barren—sterility they consider as proceeding from the divine anger, on account of their conjugal infidelity."[84] 842

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Adair has the following to say regarding the sympathetic magic practiced on Chickasaw babies in order to insure them good fortune:

"Their male children they chuse to raise on the skins of panthers, on account of the communicative principle, which they reckon all nature is possessed of, in conveying qualities according to the regimen that is followed: and, as the panther is endued with many qualities, beyond any of his fellow animals in the American woods, as smelling,

[82] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 271.
[83] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
[84] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 72.

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846 strength, cunning, and a prodigious spring, they reckon such a bed
789 is the first rudiments of war. But it is worthy of notice, they change the regimen in nurturing their young females; these they lay on the skins of fawns, or buffalo calves, because they are shy and timorous: and, if the mother be indisposed by sickness, her nearest female relation suckles the child, but only until she recovers."[36]

539 The following cradle songs are from the Tuggle collection, but the phonetics have been modernized, and the translations corrected in some places.

I

FIRST VERSION

No'tcâlit o	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit o	That is what we say
Tcî'tckît o	Your mother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit o	Hunting
Ayâ'nkit o	Went
Notci, notci.	Sleep, sleep.

SECOND VERSION

No'tcâlit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	That is what we say
Tcîpo'sî	Your grandmother
Lutca tâko'tcki	Highland terrapin
Hopo'yit	Hunting
Ayâ'nkit	She went
Sha'la ka'lis	She would come back [with]
Maka'tcukîn	That is what she says
[Łalaka'li] istce'	The end ("Like Selah")

THIRD VERSION

Notca	Go to sleep!
Notca	Go to sleep!
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Tcî'îkît	Your father
Ma'kît ayunks	That is what he said and went
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep
Ma'kit	He said
Lutca ho'poałân	Terrapin hunting [he has gone]
Notcâ'lit	It will go to sleep

[36] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 420-421.

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desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment. 681

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment. 628 682 614

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[39a] 888

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows: 847

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[40]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[41]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed 754 683

[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 467.
[39] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 25-28.
[39a] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 98.
[40] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 272.
[41] Milfort, Mém., p. 251.

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II

A hunter passing a bear's den heard an old she bear singing to her cubs the following song: 539

A'tàn	Down [the stream]
Ayatco'ksě	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Hà'tci yo'ksàn	Up the stream
Li'tkatcokat '[86]	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
A'libà	Up the stream
Ayatco'ksè	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Łàn iyo'ksa	To the top of the bald peak
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen
Li'tkatcokat	Running unseen

FREE TRANSLATION

If you hear the noise of the chase
Going down the stream
Then run up the stream.
If you hear the noise of the chase
Going up the stream
Then run to the top of the bald peak
Then run to the top of the bald peak

EDUCATION

Among early writers Swan and Adair have the most to say about the education of children. Swan declares: 855

"The father has no care of his own child. The invariable custom is, for the women to keep and rear all the children, having the entire control over them until they are able to provide for themselves. They appear to have a sufficient natural affection for them; they never strike or whip a child for its faults. Their mode of correction is singular: if a child requires punishment, the mother scratches its leg and thighs with the point of a pin or needle, until it bleeds; some keep a jaw-bone of a gar-fish, having two teeth, entirely for the purpose. 861

"They say that this punishment has several good effects; that it not only deters the child from mischief, but it loosens the skin, and gives a pliancy to the limbs; and the profusion of blood that follows the operation, serves to convince the child that the loss of it is not attended with danger, or loss of life: that when he becomes a man and a warrior, he need not shrink from an enemy, or apprehend that the wounds he may receive, and the loss of blood, will endanger his life." [87] [826]

[86] This seems to be the nearest word to Tuggle's "Lit kahts ehsen."
[87] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 273-274.

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given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [89]

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [90a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikáno' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

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[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 412.

[90a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 24-25.

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515 From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice: "However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yo Yo*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding [689] day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin.[91]

He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them." [92] This is somewhat at variance with the information I [855] myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.[93]

721 554 Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair." [94]

703 554 Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

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[91] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 120.
[92] Ibid., p. 121.
[93] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 25.
[94] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. V, p. 280; cf. p. 434.

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II

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A'tàn	Down [the stream]
Ayatco'ksè	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Hà'tci yo'ksàn	Up the stream
Lí'tkatcokat '[88]	Running unseen
Lí'tkatcokat	Running unseen
A'łibà	Up the stream
Ayatco'ksè	You hear the noise of her going
Maka tcoko'fa	That is what they say
Łàn iyo'ksa	To the top of the bald peak
Lí'tkatcokat	Running unseen
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FREE TRANSLATION

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"They say that this punishment has several good effects; that it not only deters the child from mischief, but it loosens the skin, and gives a pliancy to the limbs; and the profusion of blood that follows the operation, serves to convince the child that the loss of it is not attended with danger, or loss of life: that when he becomes a man and a warrior, he need not shrink from an enemy, or apprehend that the wounds he may receive, and the loss of blood, will endanger his life."[87] [826

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[87] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 273-274.

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861 The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was [751] inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

861 Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:

622 "It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might [838] have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [tcihaksi kánia he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Haksinna* [tcihaksina], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [tciabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"[88]

861 In another place the same writer remarks that in his time chil-
609 dren who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

[88] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156-157.

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given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [89]

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [89a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikáno' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

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[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 412.

[89a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 24-25.

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846 The point of particular interest about this quotation is that it contains almost the only reference to a custom resembling the couvade.

Hitchcock's information comes mainly from the Tukabahchee, and is as follows:

"When [a woman] is visited with what is peculiar to the sex . . . she is obliged to occupy a separate tent or house, to eat from separate dishes, and to live entirely apart from all others until it is passed. Then she is taken and thoroughly washed, whether in winter or summer, and returned to the family. The utensils used by her are laid aside until required for a similar purpose. No man is ever allowed to sit in the seat which has been used by a woman under those circumstances.

"At the period of childbirth the woman is obliged to leave the house and the child must be born out of the house, winter or summer. The mother must not enter the house for ten days and must not sleep in it for two months, and if she is taken sick in giving birth to a child she is not allowed to sleep in the house for four months. Before the child is allowed to suckle it is taken to a branch or spring, and water is thrown upon its tongue several times. Children are often bathed in a creek by the time they are a month old. Formerly they were rolled in the snow to make them hardy. When the child is a boy, a physic maker, a sort of priest, is called upon for a preparation which is placed upon the mother's nipple to make the child hardy and brave, and an active ball player."[a]

841 The Alabama living in Texas say that when a woman's monthly sickness (holotci' taye'ha) came on she took a blanket and went away to a small house near some stream or spring to live until it was over. She did her own cooking there and when she drank used her two hands instead of a cup. During that time she might not speak to anyone. When the time was passed she bathed and washed all of her clothes thoroughly before returning home. If she ate with her family without having done this it was thought they would fall sick. At that time a man avoided walking close to a woman for the same reason.

[831] It is the universal testimony that the regulations observed by a girl at her first menstrual period differed in no particular from those undergone by her on every recurring month.

844 When a woman was going to have a child she acted in much the same manner, only she seems not to have camped so far away. She observed the same regulations, however. An old woman acted as midwife, and for some time after its birth the child was bathed every day. Swan's words in the following quotation must not be accepted literally when he says that the young mother was "entirely alone." He says:

[a] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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Muskogee

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Household

Geographical, economic, consanguineal, and religious factors all entered into the evolution of the Creek confederacy. They took concrete shape in the household, family, clan, phratry, clan moiety, town, and town moiety. 592

Women owned the houses and were permanent occupants, moving only as new houses were built for them or as the entire group to which they belonged migrated seasonally or permanently. These houses were also the homes (hûti) of the nearest male blood relations, those whom the women called "uncles," "brothers," and "sons." They, however, normally went to the homes of their wives as soon as they were married, besides spending much time in the public square and in the tcokofa. On the other hand, aged men, whose wives had died and whose children were grown up and scattered, might come back to the homes of their childhood, or, as frequently happened, they might spend their last years moving from house to house among the women of their own clan connection—never, however, among those of the clan connection of their wives. [562] [591] [888]

A typical Creek home would therefore consist of a man and woman, their children, one or more sons-in-law, some grandchildren, some aged or dependent individuals of the same clan group, and perhaps an orphan or two or one or more individuals taken in war. These last, though somewhat looked down upon at first, were rapidly assimilated with the tribe which had captured them and soon came to be appreciated in accordance with their proven merit. There was nothing that may properly be called a slave system among the Indians of the Southeast. Where polygamy existed the wives were generally own sisters and usually inhabited the same house, though there were cases in which a man had wives living in two or more distinct houses. [597] [567] [595]

The Family

GENERAL REMARKS

A fairly accurate clue to the Muskogee conception of the "family" is furnished by the terms of relationship. These consist of a number of root words, not now analyzable, and words formed from these which it is natural to assume are secondary in importance. Many terms are of the "classificatory" type, covering a number of individuals who to our way of thinking bear quite distinct relations to the speaker. Theorists have tried to maintain that this collective use preceded the special or individual use, but so far as the Muskogee are concerned the evidence points to the special application as having been, if not the original, at least the typical or primary. Secondary or derivative 601

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cleared space or in the immediate neighborhood where the pair would set up housekeeping. As his other girls married this process was repeated. When the children grew up the girls would continue to occupy the ancestral dwellings, or others erected for them in the neighborhood, while the boys would marry elsewhere. A man might erect and pay for a house and call it "my house," but it was to all intents and purposes the property of his wife. "My house" was a term applied by the Chickasaw to his clan as well as to his habitation.[68] By a Creek male the word which has been translated into English as "home" (hûti) was not bestowed upon the house in which he and his wife lived, even though he might have built it himself, but on the houses in which lived the women of his clan. A woman's hûti, or "home," was indeed her home in our understanding of the term, except that the houses occupied by other women of the same clan were also her homes, but a man's hûti was not usually where he spent most of his adult life, but the home of his mother and the other women of his clan. In case a stranger visited the town and made known to what clan he belonged it was the duty of a man married into that clan to invite him to his house. In this case, although neither he nor his wife had set eyes on the man before, he would say to him "Come to your home (hûti)." This duty of hospitality toward a fellow-clansman often brought men outside of the family proper under the same roof, whether they were welcome or not. Sometimes an old man whose children were grown up, or who for any reason was alone in the world, would travel about from one to another of the houses of his female kin. He would say, "Well, I am going to my home," and make for the house of someone who had never seen him before. In later times this struck the young people as very presumptuous, but it was the old law. In the days before there were hotels, restaurants, old peoples' homes, insurance, etc., it was a very convenient device. It not only served to provide for the old, infirm, and indigent, but enabled the adventurous to travel and see more of the world than would otherwise be possible.

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The best early account of the arrangement of a Creek village and its dwellings, including also the position of the ceremonial grounds with reference to them, is given by Bartram, and I herewith append it along with the sketch accompanying (fig. 1). He says:

"The general position of the Chunk-Yard and Public Buildings of the Creeks, in respect to the dwellings of the Indians themselves, is shown in the following engraved plan:

"*A* is the Rotunda; *B*, the Public Square; *C*, the grand area or Chunky-Yard. The habitations of the people are placed with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated in the plan.

[68] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 17.

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desire him to be made free." Frequently this was done and he suffered no punishment. 681

Among the Alabama retaliation for murder rested, as among the Creeks, with the clan of the victim. Upon one occasion, after this tribe had removed to Louisiana and Texas, one of the Louisiana Alabama killed another and fled to Texas. Sometime afterward he suddenly appeared among the people he had left while a dance was going on. The men belonging to the clan of the murdered man then got their guns, came to the place, and killed him. He on his part crouched by the fire and made no attempt to escape. Evidently he had decided deliberately that death was better than banishment. 628 682 614

There is no instance recorded of an old person being killed to save his family the trouble of supporting him, and Bartram is insistent that such cases occurred rarely, and only at the earnest request of the victim.[38] Bossu says that "the old people who can not follow during a retreat ask to be killed with blows of clubs, as well to spare them the grief of decrepitude as for fear lest they fall into the hands of their enemies, and be burned or eaten,"[39] but he is careful to explain that death was inflicted upon the aged only from motives of humanity. Says Romans: "They revere old age to excess," but he adds, "in extreme sickness they will out of compassion break the neck of the decrepit or lingering patient."[40] 888

Infanticide was practiced under certain circumstances, as the following from Swan shows: 847

"If a young woman becomes pregnant by a fellow whom she had expected to marry, and is disappointed, in revenge, she is authorized by a custom of the country, to destroy the infant at the birth, if she pleases, which is often done, by leaving it to perish in the swamp where it was born, or throwing it into the water. And, indeed, to destroy a new-born infant is not uncommon in families that are grown so numerous as to be supported with difficulty; it is done by mutual consent of the clan and parents, and without remorse."[41]

This is supported by Milfort:

"In this nation the children all belong to the mother, who has the right of life and death over the one to whom she has just given birth, during the first month following her confinement. This time having expired, if she should kill it she would herself be punished with death."[42]

Witchcraft was often given as the reason for killing a certain person, but it must be remembered that the person was not destroyed 754 683

[38] Bartram, Travels, p. 497.
[39] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. ii, pp. 32-33.
[40] Nat. Hist. E. and W. Fla., p. 88.
[41] Swan, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 273.
[42] Milfort, Mém., p. 281.

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men who had obtained eagle feathers,[56] and in later times the Seminole of Florida honored in this way one who had killed a certain number of deer. 703 554

Moreover, germs of what might be called higher schools of education had come into existence. These were in the care of those men who, in agreement with the usage of ethnologists, would be called medicine men, but there were at least two classes of men to which the title would have to be applied, the healer (aliktca or hilis haya), one of whom officiated at every busk, and the knower (kila), who was a kind of soothsayer or prophet, and in his medical capacity a diagnostician. The first class communicated their knowledge to novices for a certain consideration. They would take from one to four pupils at a time, have them go through a preparation of fasting and sweat bathing somewhere away from the village and then inculcate their mysteries. These mysteries were communicated in courses. The first time the novices would bathe and fast for 4 days on a stretch, the next time for 8 days, and finally for 12 days. The completion of this last was equivalent to the taking of a very high degree and people who had attained it were very much respected. A more particular account of this will be given when we come to speak of Creek medical practice. Jackson Lewis, from whom much of this information comes and who had himself taken two degrees, stated that those who were chosen to conduct war parties came from this class, only that they must be from one of the Red clans, but it is possible that he is speaking of the medicine man who accompanied the party in his professional capacity, not of the actual leader of the party. I have been told that there were also graduates in the telling of myths, and some claimed the powers of wizards, such as an ability to fly, roast the hands in the fire, etc., "by a word." A red line painted from each corner of the mouth indicated that the individual so decorated wanted to play ball, that he was well up in the mysteries and a powerful man generally. These graduates, of whom there were several in each town, were evidently the repositories of learning, the keepers of the sacred myths, the historians, and the guardians of the supernatural mysteries. 756 538 791

The Tukabahchee chief, like many another Indian and white man before and since, thus laments to Hitchcock over the increasing insubordination of the rising generation: 177 888

"Young people are not so orderly and obedient to the old people now as they used to be in the old nation. When we tell them to do anything they seem to stop and think about it. Formerly they always went at once and did as they were told; that is, before they came to this country."[56]

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[56] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 96. [56] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

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754 picion was also encouraged by the doctors themselves, who frequently attributed sickness to the doings of witches, and the public mind was kept wrought up to a condition of feverish excitement and fear by the most grewsome tales vouched for as absolute truth.

Says Stiggins:

"They are tinctured with superstition and believe anything of a marvelous report. As soon as it is announced that a man is acquainted with the work and dismal effects of the diabolical art, such as flying about the country far and near to poison such people as are inimical to him, or blowing and infusing a contagious air into a house in passing by it at night or into the nostrils and lungs of a particular person while asleep, by which the wizard often destroyed by instant death a person or an entire family that he did not like—the wizard it was said being seen at twilight only of an evening flying about to do mischief—whenever such a person was found, I say, it was not for him to exculpate himself. He was seized by a mob, tied to a tree with ropes, and lightwood piled around him and set on fire and he burned to death with as little compunction or remorse of conscience as, in the Roman inquisition, many of the most enlightened and well disposed to peace and good order, were brought to a fiery ordeal for the common good." [14]

Hitchcock learned that witches and wizards "can take the form of owls and fly about at night and at day return home in the form of women and men; that they can take the heart and the spirit out of living men and cause their death; that they can cripple people by shooting rags or blood into their legs through a reed or out of their mouths." "Formerly," he was told, "the Indians have been known to knock old women regarded as witches on the head and throw them into the water. Now there is a law against it, but even last year an old woman was killed as a witch." [15]

Adair says that "there are not greater bigots in Europe, nor persons more superstitious, than the Indians, (especially the women) concerning the power of witches, wizards, and evil spirits. It is the chief feature of their idle winter night's chat: and both they, and several of our traders, report very incredible and shocking stories. They will affirm that they have seen, and distinctly, most surprising apparitions, and heard horrid shrieking noises." [16]

754 Suspicion of witchcraft attached not only to doctors and graduates but to old persons of both sexes. I was told that formerly the Creeks
•888 did not allow their children to hang around where old people were conversing, for they thought that by standing around them and looking at them they would get into the habit of telling lies and also that

[14] Stiggins, Ms. [15] Hitchcock, Ms. notes. [16] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 86.

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the old people might bewitch them. This does not speak very highly for the reputation for veracity enjoyed by the aged. It was thought that any old man who had passed through as many fastings as most of them had undergone at that time of life might be a wizard. It was feared that he might shoot a pain into the child or injure it in some other manner. One of my informants said he had often been slapped hard enough to be knocked down when he was standing near some of the old people. The following from Adair gives additional information regarding witchcraft among the Chickasaw, and contains the only extant account of an exorcism to preserve the house from evil influences. He says: 754 888

"In the year 1765, an old physician, or prophet, almost drunk with spirituous liquors, came to pay me a friendly visit: his situation made him more communicative than he would have been if quite sober. When he came to the door, he bowed himself half bent, with his arms extended north and south, continuing so perhaps for the space of a minute. Then raising himself erect, with his arms in the same position, he looked in a wild frightful manner, from the south-west toward the north, and sung on a low bass key *Yo Yo Yo Yo*, almost a minute, then *He He He He*, for perhaps the same space of time, and *Wa Wa Wa Wa*, in like manner; and then transposed and accented those sacred notes several different ways, in a most rapid guttural manner. Now and then he looked upwards, with his head considerably bent backward; his song continued about a quarter of an hour. As my door which was then opened stood east, his face of course looked toward the west; but whether the natives thus usually invoke the deity, I cannot determine; yet as all their winter houses have their doors toward the east, had he used the like solemn invocations there, his face would have consequently looked the same way, contrary to the usage of the heathens. After his song, he stepped in: I saluted him, saying, 'Are you come my beloved old friend?' he replied, *Arähre-O*, 'I am come in the name of Oea.'[16a] I told him, I was glad to see, that in this mad age, he still retained the old Chikkasah virtues. He said, that as he came with a glad heart to see me his old friend, he imagined he could not do me a more kind service, than to secure my house from the power of the evil spirits of the north, south, and west,—and, from witches, and wizards, who go about in dark nights, in the shape of bears, hogs, and wolves, to spoil people: 'the very month before, added he, we killed an old witch, for having used destructive charms.' Because a child was suddenly taken ill, and died, on the physician's false evidence, the father went to the poor helpless old woman who was sitting innocent, 754

[16a] This is Aiali, "I come," followed by a simple exclamation. The being "Oea" is contributed by Adair's imagination.